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A

# CRITICAL

# COMMENTARY AND PARAPHRASE

ON THE

# OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

AND THE

# APOCRYPHA.

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BY

PATRICK, LOWTH, ARNALD, WHITBY, AND LOWMAN.

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A NEW EDITION:

CORRECTED BY THE

REV. J. R. PITMAN, M. A.

ALTERNATE EVENING PREACHER AT THE FOUNDLING AND MAGDALEN HOSPITALS.

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*IN SIX VOLUMES,*
VOL. I.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND

# WILLIAM,

## LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

*&c. &c. &c.*

THIS EDITION OF

## A COMMENTARY AND PARAPHRASE

ON THE

## HOLY SCRIPTURES,

IS

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

In reprinting these volumes, considerable care has been taken to select the best copies of the respective commentators, and to make every other improvement calculated to render the present edition superior to former impressions of the work. While the sheets were passing through the press, my attention was occupied, principally, in examining the learned quotations; and, I may confidently affirm, that numerous errors have been removed: those which have escaped observation, will, I trust, prove of an unimportant description, and obtain that indulgence usually afforded by those, who are aware of the difficulties always incident to the mechanism of the press.—I avail myself of this opportunity to express my favourable opinion of the general execution of the publication, which, from typographical neatness and accuracy, will, I am persuaded, be entitled to approbation.—It is a matter of pious congratulation, that, while writings of the most pernicious tendency are circulated with a lamentable and alarming industry, there exists a disposition to encourage others admirably adapted to counteract their contagious influence:—among those of the latter description, the excellent Commentary and Paraphrase, now presented to the public, will not fail, it is hoped, to maintain their long-established pre-eminence.

J. R. PITMAN, M. A.

*YOUNG STREET, KENSINGTON,*
*November, 1821.*

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A

# COMMENTARY

UPON THE

# HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

DR. SYMON PATRICK,

LORD BISHOP OF ELY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A COMPLETE ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# PREFACE.

HAVING been persuaded to put together some scattered notes, which I long ago made upon several places of Holy Scripture, I began the last year to consider some texts in the Book of Genesis. Where I soon found there would be a necessity of making an entire commentary, upon a good part of it: and therefore I resolved to go through the whole, in the same manner as I had done the three first chapters.

After I had finished the better half of my work, I was informed that Mons. le Clerc had published a Critical Commentary upon the same Book: but whether I have concurred in any thing with him, or contradicted him, I am not able to say; having wanted leisure to peruse his work, by reason of the public business, which came upon me in the end of the year: when I likewise understood, that a very learned friend and brother had put into the press, Annotations upon all the five books of Moses. But by communicating some of our papers to each other, we found there would be no reason that either of us should lay aside our design; but go on, in our several ways, to make the Scriptures better understood, by all sorts of persons: for all helps are little enough in this age; which seems to take pleasure in being ignorant of the most important truths.

In which we are so particularly instructed by Moses, as by no other author, nor by all the authors that are, or have been known to be, extant in the world. For to him we owe the knowledge of the beginning of the world; of the first parents of mankind; the inventors of arts; the original of nations; the founders of kingdoms and empires; the institution of laws; the fountain of religious rites; yea, of all the ancient mythology; and, which is most considerable, the means of propagating that sense of God and of religion, which mankind brought into the world with them; and how it came to be corrupted.

There have been those who have taken the liberty to say, that it is impossible to give any tolerable account of the creation of the world, in six days; of the situation of Paradise; the fall of our first parents, by the seduction of a serpent, &c. But I hope I have made it appear, there is no ground for such presumptuous words: but very good reason to believe every thing that Moses hath related: without forsaking the literal sense, and betaking ourselves to, I know not what, allegorical interpretations. Particularly, I find the truth of what I have noted concerning Paradise very much confirmed by a learned and judicious discourse of Mons. Huetius; which I did not meet withal till I had made an end of these Commentaries: but then took a review of what I had written, and found cause to correct what I had noted out of Mr. Carver, concerning the spring of Tigris and Euphrates. I might also have given a clearer account of the deluge, if I had observed some things which are come to my notice since these papers went to the press: but I hope I have said enough to evince that it is not so incredible, as some have pretended. For, having made the largest concessions concerning the height of the highest mountains, which, according to the old opinion, I have allowed may be thirty miles high, Gen. vii. 19. (whereas if, instead of thirty, I had said not above three perpendicular, I had had the best of the modern philosophers to defend me), it appears there might be water enough to cover the loftiest of them; as Moses hath related.

Whose account of the families by whom the earth was peopled after the flood, is so surprisingly agreeable to all the records that remain in any language, of the several nations of the earth; that it carries with it an uncontrollable evidence of his sincerity and truth, as well as of his admirable universal knowledge. For, as there is no writer that hath given us an account of so many nations, and so remote, as he hath done: so he hath not satisfied himself with naming them; but acquainted us with their original; and told us at what time, and from what place, and on what occasion, they were dispersed into far distant countries. And this with such brevity, that he hath informed us of more in one chapter, than we can find in the great volumes of all other authors: having shewn us from whom all those people descended, who are spread over the face of the earth, from the Caspian and Persian sea, to Hercules' pillars (as the ancients speak); that is, all the world over.

In short, whatsoever is most ancient in those countries, which are farthest from all commerce with his own, is clearly explained by Moses: whose writings therefore cannot but be highly valued, by all


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those who will apply their minds seriously to the study of them. For if they, who now have no regard to him, would but compare what he hath written on the forenamed subject, with what they find in those heathen writers, whom they have in the greatest veneration, they would be forced to confess him to be a man of wonderful understanding; and could not reasonably doubt he had an exact knowledge of the truth of those things whereof he wrote. To this purpose, I remember, the famous Bochartus speaks; who hath given the greatest light to the tenth of Genesis, wherein these things are delivered.

And truly, it is some wonder, that they who so much cry up the Egyptian learning, should not easily grant (unless they will believe all historians but only those whom we account sacred), that Moses must needs be qualified, even without the help of Divine revelation (which he certainly had), to write both of their original, and of all those who were related to them: being bred up in their country; nay, in their court, till he was forty years old; and well versed in all the wisdom that was to be found among them, Acts vii. 22. Which wisdom of theirs, I doubt not, was much augmented by Abraham's living among them, (as I have observed upon xiii. 2.) but especially by Joseph's long government of that country, for the space of eight years: who was endued with such an incomparable spirit, that the wisest men among them learnt of him; for he *taught their senators wisdom*, Psal. cv. 22. And, in like manner, Moses lived forty years more among the Midianites, where, it appears by Jethro, there wanted not persons of great knowledge. And from thence he might easily be instructed in all that the Arabians knew: who were no mean people (it appears by the story of Job and his three friends, and Elihu, who is supposed by some to have wrote that admirable book), and were near neighbours to the most famous nations of the eastern countries: from whom, it is evident by this history, all learning, arts, and sciences, originally came.

I could add a great deal more to this purpose; but the reader, I hope, will find enough to satisfy him in the Commentary itself. And therefore I shall only make this one request to him—that he would take his Bible, and read every verse entirely along with this Commentary: for I have not set down every word of the text, for fear of swelling this work to too great a bulk.

*April* 10, 1694.

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# TABLE OF AUTHORS

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Zenobius

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## BESIDES THE PARAPHRASE AND COMMENTARY, THIS WORK CONTAINS,

First, A PREFACE to the Reader, being a discourse concerning the genealogy of St. Luke, and the Cainan mentioned in it.

Secondly, A General Preface, proving the truth and Divine authority of the Scriptures of the New Testament, and the certainty of the Christian faith.

Thirdly, A Preface to the Four Gospels, proving that they only ought to be received, and that they have been handed down to us uncorrupted; and inquiring, whether the Gospel of St. Matthew was originally written in Hebrew or in Greek.

Fourthly, A General Preface to the Epistles, proving the truth and certainty of the Christian faith.

With Nine other Prefaces, *viz.*

I. To the Gospel of St. Mark,

II. To the Gospel of St. Luke,

Asserting their authority, and Divine assistance in the writing of them.

III. To the Gospel of St. John, shewing, that the apostle was the true author of that Gospel, and when he writ it: with a Postscript, proving,

First, That the descent of the Holy Ghost on our Saviour, mentioned John i. 33. was the same with the descent of the Holy Ghost on him at his baptism.

Secondly, That he did not begin his private ministry as to preaching, baptizing, and working miracles, long before his own baptism.

Thirdly, That the Passovers during his ministry were only four.

IV. To the Acts of the Apostles, shewing, that they contain an evident demonstration of the truth of the Christian faith.

V. To the First Epistle to the Corinthians, asserting the resurrection of the same body that dieth, and answering the objections against it.

VI. To the Epistle to the Galatians, concerning the nature of faith, and touching justification by faith.

VII. To the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, concerning the man of sin.

VIII. To the Epistle to Titus, concerning the episcopal jurisdiction of Timothy and Titus, and the succession of bishops in all Christian churches.

IX. To the Epistle of St. John, inquiring, whether this proposition, That Jesus is the Christ, be all that is necessary to be believed to justification, or to make a member of Christ's church and body.

And Seventeen Appendixes, *viz.*

I. An Appendix to the second chapter of St. Matthew, concerning the import of that phrase, *ἵνα πληρωθῇ, that it might be fulfilled.*

II. To the fifth chapter, inquiring, Whether Christ there added to the moral law, or only corrected the false glosses of the scribes and pharisees concerning it.

III. To chap. vi. 16. inquiring, Whether fasting be a duty incumbent upon Christians, and a part of Divine worship.

IV. To chap. xii. concerning the nature of the sin against the Holy Ghost.

V. To chap. xxiv. concerning the time of which Christ speaks in that chapter.

VI. To chap. xxvi. answering an objection of Crellius against Christ's satisfaction.

VII. To the second chapter of St. Mark, ver. 19. concerning the baptism of infants.

VIII. To chap. xiv. concerning the day on which our Lord did eat the passover with his disciples.

IX. A Sermon on John vii. 47—49. in answer to the Guide of Controversies.

X. To Acts ii. 26, 27. concerning Christ's descent into hell.

XI. To the eleventh chapter to the Romans, proving, that there will be a general conversion of the Jewish nation to the Christian faith.

XII. To 1 Cor. i. 30. concerning the imputation of Christ's perfect righteousness to us for justification.

XIII. To the sixth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, touching the necessity of Divine assistance for the due performance of our duty, and explaining the reason and the manner of it.

XIV. An Advertisement, relating to the Preface to the Epistle to the Galatians.

XV. To the first chapter of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, proving that the eternal punishment of those who die in their sins, is well consistent both with the justice and the goodness of God.

XVI. A Discourse by way of inquiry, Whether the apostles in their writings spake as conceiving the day of judgment might be in their days?

XVII. A Parallel betwixt the Jewish and the Roman antichrist.

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# COMMENTARY

UPON

# THE FIRST BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

# GENESIS.

THAT Moses wrote this and the four following books hath been so constantly believed, both by Jews, Christians, and heathens, that none, I think, denied it, till Aben Ezra (a Jewish doctor, who lived not much above five hundred years ago) raised some doubts about it, in his Notes upon the First of Deuteronomy, out of twelve passages in these books themselves: which he pretended could not be his, but the words of a later author. But when I meet with those places, I shall make it appear, that all such exceptions are very frivolous, and ought not to shake our belief of this truth, that these five books were penned by Moses, and nobody else.

The first is called Genesis, because it contains the history of the creation of the world, with which it begins; and the genealogy of the patriarchs, down to the death of Joseph, where it ends. It comprehends a history of two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine years, or thereabouts: the truth of all which it was not difficult for Moses to know, because it came down to his time through but a very few hands. For from Adam to Noah, there was one man (Methuselah) who lived so long as to see them both. And so it was from Noah to Abraham: Shem conversed with both. As Isaac did with Abraham and Joseph; from whom these things might easily be conveyed to Moses, by Amram, who lived long enough with Joseph. In short, Moses might have been confuted, if he had written any thing but the truth, by learned men of other nations, who sprang from the same root, and had the like means of being acquainted with the great things here reported by tradition from their forefathers; who lived so long in the beginning of the world, that they more certainly transmitted things to their posterity. Besides, it is not reasonable to think, they had not the use of writing as we have, whereby they conveyed the knowledge of times foregoing to those that came after.

## CHAP. I.

Ver. 1. *IN the beginning.*] The world is not eternal, but had a beginning, as all philosophers acknowledged before Aristotle. So he himself informs us, (lib. i. de Cœlo, cap. 2. speaking of the ancient opinions concerning the original of the world) Γενόμενον μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες εἶναι φασίν, *they all say it had a beginning:* but some thought it might have no end; others judged it to be corruptible.

*God created.*] He who is eternal gave a being to this great fabric of heaven and earth, out of nothing. It is observed by Eusebius, (in the beginning of his book De Præpar. Evang. p. 21. 25. Edit. Paris.) that neither the ancient historians, nor the philosophers, do so much as mention God, οὐδὲ μέχρι ὀνόματος; no, not so far as to name him, when they write of the beginning of the world. But this Divine lawgiver, designing to hang the whole frame of his polity upon piety towards God, and to make the Creator of all the founder of his laws, begins with him. Not after the manner of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, who bestowed this adorable name upon a great multitude: but he puts in the front of his work the name of the sole Cause of all things, the Maker of whatsoever is seen or unseen. As if he had told the Hebrew nation, that he who gave them the law contained in these books was the King and Lawgiver of the whole world; which was, like a great city, governed by him. Whom therefore he would have them look upon, not only as the enacter of their laws; but of those also which all nature obeys. See lib. vii. de Præpar. Evang. cap. 9, 10; and lib. xii. cap. 16.

*The heaven and the earth.*] The Hebrew particle *eth* put before both heaven and earth, signifies as much as *with*, if Maimonides understood it aright; and makes the sense to be this: *He created the heavens with all things in the heavens*, and the earth with all *things in the earth;* as his words are in More Nevochim, p. ii. cap. 30. Certain it is, these two words, *heaven* and *earth*, comprehend the whole visible world. Some would have the angels comprehended in the word *heaven;* as particularly Epiphanius, (Hæres. lxv. n. 45.) ἅμα οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ Ἄγγελοι ἐκτίσθησαν. But others of the fathers are of a different opinion, as Petavius observes. It is a pretty conceit of Theophilus Antiochenus, (lib. ii. ad Autolycum) that the *heavens* are mentioned before the *earth*, to shew that God's works are not like our's: for he begins at the top, we at the bottom: that is,



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he first made the fixed stars and all beyond them, (so I take the word heaven here to signify) for they had a beginning, as well as this lower world, though they do not seem to be comprehended in the six days' work, which relates only to this planetary world, as I may call it, which hath the sun for its centre. And thus Philo understood the first word *bereschith, in the beginning,* to respect the order wherein things were created. God began his creation with the *heavens,* as the most noble body, and then proceeded to the *earth;* an account of which follows.

Ver. 2. *And the earth was without form,* &c.] Some connect this verse with the foregoing, by translating the first verse in this manner: *When God first created,* or began to create, *the heaven and the earth,* the earth was without form, &c. That is, at first he only created a rude matter of those things, which afterwards were fashioned as we now see them.

*Without form.*] A confused, indigested heap, without any order or shape.

*And void.*] Having no beasts, nor trees, nor herbs, nor any thing else, wherewith we now behold it adorned.

So these two words, *tohu vabohu,* are used in Scripture, where we meet with them (which is not often) for confusion and emptiness, (Isa. xxxiv. 11; Jerem. iv. 23.) being a description of that which the ancients called the Chaos (of which the Barbarians had a notion, no less than the Greeks), wherein the seeds and principles of all things were blended together. This is called, in the pagan language, by Epicharmus, πρῶτον Θεῶν, *the first of the gods:* because all things sprang out of this; which was indeed the first of the works of God, who, as Moses shews in the sequel, produced this beautiful world out of this chaos.

*And darkness was upon the face of the deep.*] Nothing was to be seen, for want of light; which lay buried, as all things else did, in that great abyss, or vast confused heap of matter, beforementioned. So the Hebrew word *tehom* signifies (which we translate *deep*) tumult and turbid confusion: the first matter being very heterogeneous, as they speak, *i. e.* of various sorts and kinds, huddled together without distinction.

*And the Spirit of God moved.*] Men have been extremely fanciful in the exposition of these plain words: some understanding, by the *Spirit of God,* the sun, which gives spirit and life to all things upon earth; others, the air, or the wind; when as yet there was no sun in the firmament, nor any wind that could stir, without the power of the Almighty to excite it. This therefore we are to understand to be here meant: the infinite wisdom and power of God, which made a vehement commotion, and mighty fermentation (by raising, perhaps, a great wind) *upon the face of the waters:* that is, on that fluid matter beforementioned, to separate the parts of it one from the other.

*Waters.*] That which Moses before called the *deep,* he now calls *the waters;* which plainly shews that some parts of the confused mass were fluid and light, as other parts were solid and heavy. The heavy naturally sunk, which he calls the *earth;* and the lighter parts got above them, which he calls the *waters:* for it is clearly intimated the *waters* were uppermost.

The word we here translate *moved,* signifies literally *brooded* upon the waters, as a hen doth upon her eggs. So the ancient and modern interpreters have observed: and Morinus, who opposes it, hath said nothing to make us doubt of this sense of the phrase. From whence some have, not unhappily, conjectured, the ancients took their notion of a πρωτόγονον ὠόν, *a first-laid egg,* out of which all things were formed: that is, the chaos (out of which all the old philosophers, before Aristotle, thought the world was produced) consisting of earth and water, of thicker and thinner parts, as an egg doth of the yolk and white.

Now the *Spirit of God* thus *moved* upon the waters, that by its incubation (as we may call it) it might not only separate, as I said, those parts which were jumbled together; but give a vivific virtue to them, to produce what was contained in them. The souls and spirits, that is, of all living creatures, were produced by the *Spirit of God,* as Porphyry saith Numenius understood it. For his opinion, he tells us, was, that all things came out of the water, θεοπνόῳ ὄντι, *being divinely inspired:* for which he quoted these words of the prophet, as he called Moses. See Porphyry περὶ τοῦ Νυμφ. Ἄντρου, on those words of Homer:

——Ἱερὸν Νυμφαίων, καὶ Νηϊάδες καλέονται.

Which gives us to understand, that the spirits of all living creatures (which we call their active forms) did not arise out of matter, for that is stupid; but proceeded from this other principle, the powerful *Spirit of God,* which moved upon the face of the waters, by a vital energy (as St. Chrysostom speaks), so that they were no longer *standing* waters, but *moving,* having ζωτικήν τινα δύναμιν, a certain living power in them. From whence we may also gather, that the spirits of living creatures are distinct things from matter, which of itself cannot move at all, and much less produce a principle of motion.

And thus indeed all the ancient philosophers apprehended this matter: and some of them have most lively expressed it. For Laertius in the Life of Anaxagoras tells us, that he taught, among other things, Πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα Νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε, *all things were huddled together: and then the Mind came and set them in order.* And Thales before him (as Tully informs us, lib. i. de Nat. Deor.) "Aquam dixit esse initium rerum; Deum autem eam mentem quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret," said, *Water was the beginning of things; and God that Mind, who formed all things out of the water.*

By the *Spirit of God* some of the ancient Jews have understood the *Spirit of the Messiah* (as Hackspan observes in his Cabala Judaica, n. lxvi. out of Baal Hatturim, the Hierusalem Targum, &c.) which explains the evangelist, St. John, who in the beginning of his Gospel says, all things were made by the eternal ΛΟΓΟΣ, or *Word of God* (the same with the Νοῦς of the ancient philosophers), whose almighty Spirit agitated the vast confused mass of matter, and put it into form.

Ver. 3. *And God said.*] These words are taken notice of by Longinus, περὶ ὕψους, as a truly lofty expression, wherein appears the wisdom of Moses, who represents God, like himself, commanding things into being by his word; that is, by his will: for wheresoever we read these words in the history of the creation, *He said,* the meaning must be understood to be *he willed,* as Maimonides interprets it. (More Nev. p. i. cap. 65.) This Justin Martyr demonstrates Orpheus had learnt out of Moses's books, when he swears by the heaven, the work of the great and wise God, and

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by the "word of the Father, which he spake at first," when he established all the world by his counsels. So his words are in Παραινετ. εἰς Ἕλληνας.—P. 16.

And as there is nothing more famous in antiquity than the τὸ Ὀρφικὸν ᾠόν, *Orpheus's egg*, which I before mentioned; so it is remarkable, that the Egyptians (among whom Orpheus travelled) described their God Kneph, with an egg coming out of his mouth, which was a lively representation of this world (noted by the egg) produced by God's omnipotent Word: for how richly soever the chaos was furnished with materials, it could have brought forth nothing, without his powerful motion, and wise contrivance, by whom it was created. So Anaxagoras himself resolved, νοῦν μὲν ἀρχὴν κινήσεως· that *Mind was the principle of motion* (as Laertius tells us in his Life), by which Mind he understood God, as others have reported his opinion more largely in these admirable words: "The beginning of all things is ὁ Νοῦς, the Mind, who is the Cause and the Lord of the whole world, and gave τάξιν τοῖς ἀτάκτοις, καὶ κίνησιν τοῖς ἀκινήτοις, &c. order to things in disorder, and motion to things immoveable, and distinction to things confused, and beauty to things deformed."

*Let there be light.*] Having spoken of the creation of all things, now follows an account of their formation out of that rude matter which was at first created. And the first thing produced was light, which Greg. Nazianzen (Orat. xliii. p. 699. a.) calls ἀσώματον καὶ ἀνήλιον, because it was not yet collected into a body, as it is now in the sun. Others think it to have been a dimmer sort of light from the sun, not yet perfectly formed. Abarbinel (upon the xlth of Exodus) takes this to be the Schechinah, the most excellent of all created things, called, in Holy Scripture, *the glory of the Lord;* which God, saith he, sealed up in his treasures, after the luminaries were created, to serve him upon special occasions (for instance, to lead the Israelites in the wilderness, by a cloudy pillar of fire), when he would make himself appear extraordinarily present. And because of the perfection of this *light* he fancies it is that Moses says in the next verse, that "God saw the light (repeating the word light) that it was good:" whereas, in all the rest of the six days' work, he only says, "He saw it was good," without naming again the thing he had made.

But it seems to me most rational by this *light*, to understand those particles of matter, which we call fire (whose two properties, every one knows, are light and heat), which the almighty Spirit, that formed all things, produced as the great instrument for the preparation and digestion of the rest of the matter; which was still more vigorously moved and agitated, from the top to the bottom, by this restless element, till the purer and more shining parts of it, being separated from the grosser, and united in a body fit to retain them, became *light*.

Ver. 4. *And God saw the light, that it was good.*] He was pleased in this work of his, as agreeable to his design: which for the present was (we may conceive) to influence the upper parts of the chaos, and to be the instrument of rarefaction, separation, and all the rest of the operations, which were necessary to mould it into such creatures, as were afterwards made out of it.

*And God divided the light from the darkness.*] Appointed that they should constantly succeed one another; as we see they do *now*, that this light is embodied in the sun; and as they did *then*, by the circular motion of this first light of fire, round about the chaos, in the space of twenty-four hours: which made it day to those parts where it shined; and night, where it did not. It is remarkable how Moses ascribes every thing to God, the former of all things; who, by making this light move round about the chaos, still more prepared and exalted the remaining indigested parts of matter for their several uses.

Ver. 5. *And God called the light day; and the darkness he called night.*] He settled them (that is) in such a constant course, that it gave them these distinct names.

*And the evening and the morning were the first day.*] In the Hebrew language, evening and morning signify a whole day; which the motion of this light made, if we conceive it to have been formed about noon, and to have gone round the forementioned heap of matter in twenty-four hours.

How long all things continued in mere confusion, after the chaos was created, before this light was extracted out of it, we are not told. It might be (for any thing that is here revealed) a great while; and all that time the mighty Spirit was making such motions in it, as prepared, disposed, and ripened every part of it, for such productions as were to appear successively in such spaces of time, as are here and afterward mentioned by Moses; who informs us, that after things were so digested, and made ready (by long fermentations, perhaps,) to be wrought into form, God produced every day, for six days together, some creature or other, till all was finished; of which light was the very first. This Maimonides hath very happily illustrated, in his More Nevochim, p. ii. c. 30; where, observing that all things were created at once, and then were afterwards separated one from another successively, he says, their wise men resemble this proceeding to that of a husbandman, who sows several seeds in the earth at the same moment; some of which are to come up after one day, others after two, and others not till three days be past; though the whole sowing was in one and the same moment. Thus God made all things at the first, which did not appear together; but, in the space of six days, were formed and put in order one after another: *light* being the work of the first day.

Ver. 6. *And God said, Let there be a firmament.*] The next thing that God commanded to come forth of the chaos, was the *air;* particularly that region next to us, wherein the fowls fly, as it is expounded afterwards. (Ver. 20.) The Hebrew word *rachia*, properly signifies *a body expanded*, or spread forth, (as may be seen in Exod. xxxix. 3; Isai. xl. 19; Jer. x. 9; where it can have no other meaning) but it is by the LXX. translated στερέωμα, and from thence by us, *firmament;* because the air, though vastly extended and fluid, yet continues firm and stable in its place.

*In the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.*] This region of the air manifestly parts the waters above it in the clouds from those below it here upon earth; the one of which *waters* bears a good proportion, and is in some measure equal unto the other: for there are vast treasures of water in the clouds; from whence the *waters* here below, in springs and rivers, are supplied. This appeared afterwards in the deluge, which was partly made by continued rains for many days. The great objection against this exposition is, that now there



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were no clouds, neither had it, after this, rained on the earth. (Gen. ii. 6.) But it must be considered, that neither were the *waters* below as yet gathered into one place: and therefore Moses here speaks of the air, as a body intended to be stretched between the *waters* above and beneath, when they should be formed.

That the clouds above are called *waters* in the Scripture language, is plain enough from Psalm civ. 3; Jer. x. 13; and other places.

Ver. 7. *And God made the firmament, and divided,* &c.] What his Divine will ordered, his power effected, by that light which rolled about the chaos, and that heat which was excited within it; whereby such exhalations were raised, as made the *firmament:* that is, the thicker parts of them made this region of the air, which is the *lower firmament;* (Ver. 20.) and the thinner parts of them made the ether, or *higher firmament,* wherein the sun and the planets are seated. Ver. 14, 15.

Ver. 8. *And God called the firmament heaven.*] Made it so different from the rest of the mass, called *earth,* that it had the name of *heaven,* to distinguish it from the other. So all above the earth is called, as appears by the following part of the chapter, in the verses now mentioned. And that is the very import of the word *schamaim,* which in the Arabic language (as Aben Ezra observes) signifies *height,* or *altitude.*

*And the evening and the morning were the second day.*] This was the work of another whole day. Concerning which it is commonly noted, that it is not said of this, as of all the works of the other five days, "God saw that it was good." What the reason of this should be, is inquired by all interpreters; and the most solid account that I can find of it is this:—that the waters, mentioned upon this day, were not yet separated and distinguished from the earth; and, therefore, in the next day's work, when he did gather the waters together, (ver. 10.) and when he commanded the earth (which was become dry) to bring forth, (ver. 12.) these words, "God saw that it was good," are twice repeated. Which made Picherellus and Ger. Vossius think the two next verses (9, 10.) belonged to the second day's work; and that the first words of the ninth verse should be thus translated, "And God had said, Let the waters under the heaven," &c. And so the words in the end of the tenth verse, "God saw that it was good," relate to the second day. Lib. ii. de Orig. Idolol. c. 67.

Ver. 9. *And God said, Let the waters under the heaven.*] All the *waters,* which continued mixed with the earth, and covered the surface of it.

*Be gathered together,* &c.] Collected into one body by themselves.

*And let the dry land appear.*] Distinct and separate from the waters.

There being such large portions of matter drawn out of the chaos, as made the body of fire and air beforementioned, there remained, in a great body, only water and earth; but they were so jumbled together, that they could not be distinguished. It was the work therefore of the third day to make a separation between them, by compacting together all the particles which make the earth, which before was mud and dirt; and then, by raising it above the waters, which covered its superficies (as the Psalmist also describes this work, Psalm civ. 6.); and, lastly, by making such caverns in it, as were sufficient to receive the waters into them. Now this we may conceive to have been done by such particles of fire as were left in the bowels of the earth, whereby such nitro-sulphureous vapours were kindled, as made an earthquake; which both lifted up the earth, and also made receptacles for the waters to run into; as the Psalmist (otherwise I should not venture to mention this) seems in the forementioned place to illustrate it, (Psalm civ. 7.) where he says, "At thy rebuke they (*i. e.* the waters) fled; at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away." And so God himself speaks, (Job xxxviii. 10.) "I brake up for it (*i. e.* for the sea) my decreed place, and set bars and doors." Histories also tell us, of mountains that have been, in several ages, lifted up by earthquakes; nay, islands in the midst of the sea: which confirms this conjecture, that possibly the waters were, at the first, separated by this means; and so separated, that they should not return to cover the earth: for the word, in the beginning of this verse, which we translate *gathered,* comes from *kav,* which signifies *a square, a rule,* or *perpendicular line;* and therefore denotes they were most exactly collected, and so poised in such just proportions, that they should not again overflow the dry land.

This work of God (whereby the waters were sent down into their proper channels, and the earth made dry, and fitted for the habitation of such creatures as were afterwards created) is observed by Strabo in his Geography as an act of Divine Providence. (lib. xvii.) Because, says he, the water covered the earth, and man is not ἔννδρον ζῶον, a creature that can live in the water, God made ἐξοχὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ πολλὰς καὶ ἐνοχάς, &c. many cavities and receptacles in the earth for the water; and raised the earth above it, that it might be fit for man's habitation.

Ver. 10. *And called the dry land,* &c.] This is sufficiently explained, by what has been said upon verses 5 and 8; only this may be added, that the word *eretz, earth,* in Arabic, signifies any thing that is low and sunk beneath, opposite to *schamaim, heavens,* which, in that language, as I noted before, signifies *high* and *lifted up.*

Ver. 11. *And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding,* &c.] Or, rather, it should be translated, *and the herb yielding,* &c. though the copula be omitted, which is usual in Scripture; particularly in Habak. iii. 11, "the sun, moon," *i. e.* the sun and moon.

Moses having shewn how the first matter, (ver. 2.) and then the elements of things, as we call them, (ver. 3. 6. 9, 10.) were produced, he proceeds to the production of more compounded bodies. And here an account is given of all sorts of vegetables, which are ranged under three heads; *grass,* which comes up every year without sowing; *herbs,* bearing a seed, which comprehends (as Abarbinel here notes) all sort of corn, and whatsoever is sown; and *trees,* which also bear fruit. There are several kinds of all these; which some have cast into eighteen, others into six-and-thirty classes; none of which could at the first spring out of the earth, of itself, by the power of external and internal heat, and of the water mixed with it, (no, not so much as one single pile of grass) without the almighty power and wisdom of God; who brought together those parts of matter, which were fitted to produce them; and then formed every one of them, and determined their several species; and also provided for their continuance, by

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bringing forth seed to propagate their species to the end of all things. And here it is very remarkable, how God had secured the seeds of all plants with singular care: some of them being defended by a double, nay, a treble inclosure.

Ver. 12. *And the earth brought forth grass, and the herb,* &c.] These things did not grow up out of seed, by such a long process, as is now required to bring them to maturity; but they sprung up in their perfection, in the space of a day, with their seeds in them, completely formed, to produce the like throughout all generations. Thus Moses gives a plain account of the first production of things, according to the natural method: for supposing they had a beginning, the herb and the tree must naturally be before the seed they bear; as the hen is before the egg she lays. And to make a question, which was first (as some of the philosophers did) is very frivolous; because that Power which alone could produce the seeds of all things, could as easily make the things themselves, with a power to propagate their kind by seed.

It is therefore most judiciously noted by Abarbinel, a learned Jew, that the production of plants, in the beginning, differed from their production ever since in these two things: *first,* That they have sprung ever since out of seed, either sown by us, or falling from the plants themselves; but, at the beginning, were brought out of the earth, with their seed in them, to propagate them ever after. And, *secondly,* They need now, as they have done since the first creation, the influence of the sun, to make them sprout; but then they came forth by the power of God, before there was any sun, which was not formed till the next day. Of this last Theophilus Antiochenus, long before Abarbinel, took notice (lib. ii. ad Autolycum) where he says, God produced things in this order; foreseeing the vanity of philosophers, who, saying nothing of Him, made all things to be produced by the sun, ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων, *out of the elements.* Porphyry himself, also, (lib. ii. περὶ ἀποχῆς) could observe out of Theophrastus, that the earth brought forth trees and herbs before beasts, δένδρα μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸ ζώων ἀνέδωκε ἡ γή, &c. which Eusebius remembers in his Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 9. p. 28.

Ver. 14. *Let there be lights.*] This is a different word from what we had, ver. 3; signifying, as Paulus Fagius observes, that which is made out of light; *luminous bodies,* whereby light is communicated to us: the Hebrew particle, *mem,* before a word, being used to express the instrument of an action. And so now we are to conceive, that the light produced at first, having for three days circulated about the earth, and that near unto it, to further the production of the things beforementioned, was on this fourth day distributed into several luminaries, at a great distance from the earth. So it follows—*in the firmament of heaven,* in the upper region, which we call the ether, or sky, where the sun and the planets are placed.

*To divide the day from the night.*] By a continued circular motion, finished in four-and-twenty hours; in one part of which, by the presence of the sun, the day is made: and, in the other part, by the sun's absence, night is made, in a constant succession.

*And let them be for signs and for seasons.*] That is, for signs of the times or seasons; as Ger. Vossius expounds it, by the figure of ἐν διὰ δυοῖν. And by *times* are meant, the spring, summer, autumn, and winter; and, by consequence, the *seasons* for ploughing, sowing, planting, pruning, reaping, vintage, sailing, &c.—L. de Scientiis Mathemat. cap. 38.

*And for days, and years.*] By a speedy swift motion round, in twenty-four hours, to make *days;* and by a slower, longer motion, to make *years;* and a grateful variety of seasons, in the several parts of the earth, which by this annual motion are all visited by the sun's beams.

Ver. 15. *And let them be for light,* &c.] *i. e.* Let them there continue to give constant light and warmth to the earth: and so they do immoveably.

Ver. 16. *And God made two great lights.*] It is observable that nothing is said to have been created, since the first matter, out of which all things were made or formed. And the *two great lights,* or luminaries, *enlighteners* (as the word signifies), are the sun, which enlightens by day; and the moon, which enlightens us by night. The moon, indeed, is not so great as the rest of the planets (for it is the least of all, except Mercury), but it affords the greatest light to us, by reflecting the beams of the sun to us in its absence; and thereby very much abating the disconsolate darkness of the night.

*He made the stars also.*] That is, the rest of the planets, and their attendants.

Ver. 17. *And God set them in the firmament of heaven,* &c.] By the repetition of this so often, Moses intended to fix in the people's mind this notion—that though the heavenly bodies be very glorious, yet they are but creatures, made by God, and set or appointed by his order to give us light; and, therefore, He alone is to be worshipped, not they.

It is commonly taken notice of, that there is no mention of the creation of angels in all this history; nor was there any need of it. For the ancient idolatry, consisting in the worship of the sun, moon, and stars (as appears from the very names of the most ancient idols in the Old Testament, such as Moloch, Ashtaroth, and the like), which they believed to be eternal beings, the great design of Moses was to confute this opinion, by representing them over and over as the work of the eternal God, which struck at the very root of idolatry. The worship of angels was a later invention.

Ver. 18. *And to rule over the day, and over the night.*] Some have fancied that the ancient idolatry sprung from this word *rule;* men looking upon these glorious lights as having a dominion over them. Whence the sun was called Baal, that is, *lord* or *governor,* by the eastern people; and Moloch, that is, *king,* by the Egyptians. But one word sure was not the ground of so foul an error, when the scope of Moses was to shew, that these things were made by a higher Being, and made not to rule over men, but over the day and the night, which the sun makes when it rises and sets, by the order and appointment of God.

*And God saw that it was good.*] He was pleased with this work, as suitable to the ends for which he intended it. The first light *was good* (ver. 4.) for the purpose to which it served; which was, by its heat, to agitate, rarefy, and separate the matter of the chaos, for the making of air, and gathering together the waters, and drying the earth, and producing grass, herbs, and trees, which made it necessary it should continue some days near to the earth, that it might powerfully penetrate into the matter it was to digest; but, if it should have continued longer so near to

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the earth, it would not have been good for it; because it would have burnt up all the plants that the earth had brought forth; and, by its too scorching heat, have hindered the production of those living creatures, which were ready on the next day to be made, or, at least, made the earth unfit for their habitation. For the air, which all living things, even fishes themselves, need (nay, the plants also, which have vessels for conveying air to all their parts), would have been so very hot, that it would have afforded no refreshment to them: therefore *it was good* that it should be advanced into the firmament of the heaven, and there embodied in those luminaries, which, being removed further from us, give such a moderate heat, as is necessary for the preservation of us and of all things living that dwell upon the earth.

Ver. 19. *And the evening*, &c.] Thus the fourth day concluded.

Ver. 20. *And God said, Let the waters*, &c.] Now God proceeded to form the lower sort of animals, or living creatures, viz. the fish, and the fowl, which are in many respects inferior to beasts. And the fishes are called *moving* (in the Hebrew, *creeping*) creatures; because their bellies touch the water, as creeping things do the earth. Both fishes and fowls were made out of the *waters*; that is, out of such matter as was mixed with the *waters*, which contained in them many things besides simple water; for the sea and rivers are still very richly furnished with various compounds, for the nourishment of an innumerable multitude of fishes. The great congruity that there is between fish and fowl, in many particulars, will not let us doubt they had the same original: for they are both oviparous, which makes them more fruitful than the beasts of the earth; neither of them have any teats: they both direct (and, as I may say, steer) their course by their tail, &c. See Ger. Vossius de Orig. et Progr. Idolol. lib. iii. cap. 78.

*Bring forth abundantly.*] That is, various sorts of both kinds, there being many hundred kinds of fishes, and birds, or fowls; many of the latter of which live in the water (which shews their original to have been from thence), and others of them live both in the air and water. The formation of these creatures is, in every part of them, very wonderful, especially in those parts whereby they are fitted to swim, and to fly. Which demonstrate a most wise Agent, by whose infinite power they were so contrived, as to be able also to propagate their kind.

Ver. 21. *And God created great whales.*] The vastness of these creatures, perhaps, made Moses again use the word *create* (which he had not done since the beginning of the chapter); not because they were made as the chaos was, out of nothing; but because it required a greater power to make out of the precedent matter moving things of so huge a bulk, and of such great agility, than to make any other thing hitherto formed.

The Hebrew word *tanim*, which we translate *whales*, comprehends several sorts of great fishes, as Bocharius observes in his Hierozoic. p. i. lib. i. cap. 7. where he shews the prodigious bigness of some of them. But he should have added, that this word also signifies *crocodiles*, which he himself shews are set forth in Job xli. as the most astonishing work of God. For Job Ludolphus, I think, hath demonstrated, that nothing but the crocodile can be meant by this word *tanim*, in Ezek. xxix. 3. and xxxii. 2. and some other places. Vid. lib. i. Comment. in Histor. Ethiop. cap. xi. n. 86.

*And God saw that it was good.*] Was pleased with the structure of these several creatures: of the *birds*, who were furnished with wings to fly in the air; and of the *fishes*, whose fins serve them to swim in the water; and of *water-fowl*, whose feet are formed so, as to serve for the same use; and some of them (such as dive under water), covered so thick with feathers, and those so smooth and slippery (as the learned and pious Mr. Ray hath observed), that their bodies are thereby defended from the cold of the water, which cannot penetrate or moisten them. See Wisdom of God in the Creation, pt. i. p. 135.

Ver. 22. *And God blessed them*, &c.] His blessing them, was giving them a power to multiply and increase, till they had filled the water with fish, and the air with fowl, which required a particular care of Divine Providence, as Abarbinel observes: because they do not bring forth young ones perfectly formed, as the beasts do, but lay their eggs in which they are formed, when they are out of their bodies. This, saith he, is a wonderful thing, that when the womb, as we may call it, is separate from the genitor, a living creature like itself should be produced, which is the reason, he fancies, that a blessing is here pronounced upon them, and not on the beasts, that were made the next day. The ancient fathers are wont to observe, that the *first* blessing was given to the waters, as a type of baptism. Theophilus ad Autolyc. lib. ii. and Tertullian. de Baptismo, cap. 3.

*And let fowl multiply in the earth.*] There, for the most part, they have their habitation and their food; though some live upon the water.

Ver. 23. See verse 19.

Ver. 24. *And God said, Let the earth bring forth.*] Thus, by a gradual process, the Divine Power produced creatures still more noble: the matter being more digested and prepared in five days time than it was at first. I do not know whether there be any weight in the note of Abarbinel, who observes that Moses here uses a new word, which we translate *bring forth*, to shew the difference between plants and animals. The former of which spring out of the earth indeed, but continue fixed in it, and perish if they be separated from it: whereas animals, though made out of the earth, and living upon it, have a separate existence, and do not still adhere to it.

*After his kind.*] Three sorts of living creatures are immediately mentioned, which were formed out of such matter as the earth afforded (not simple earth, we must understand, no more than before simple water; for it was impregnated with many other principles); the first of which, *behemah*, which we translate *cattle*, always signifies the flocks and herds of tame beasts, when it is distinguished from *chaja*, which we translate, in the end of the verse, *beasts of the earth*, that is, wild beasts: between which two, he mentions a third kind of living creatures on the earth, which he calls *remesh—creeping things;* because, whatever feet they have, they are so short and small, that they seem to the naked eye to have none at all; but to crawl on their bellies upon the ground. Of all these three kinds there are various sorts wherewith God hath replenished the earth: and of every kind, some vastly great, and others very little; as Abarbinel notes even among

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reptiles, there being serpents of a prodigious length, and other creeping things far smaller than ants.

Ver. 25. *And God made,* &c.] The earth did not bring them forth, by virtue of the influence of heaven upon prepared matter: but God framed them out of the matter so prepared, and produced them in their full perfection after their several kinds.

*And God saw it was good.*] Was pleased with the great variety of these creatures, and their complete structure, fitting them for their several uses.

Ver. 26. *Let us make man.*] God not only reserved man for the last of his works; but doth, as it were, advise and consult about his production. Not to signify any deliberation within himself, or any difficulty in the work; but to represent to us the dignity of man, and that he was made (as Abarbinel glosses) with admirable wisdom and great prudence. To the same purpose St. Chrysostom here speaks. And see Greg. Nyssen. de Opificio Hominis, cap. 3. and Orat. i. on these words; with Greg. Nazianzen. Orat. xliii. p. 699; who observes, that God brought him into this world, as into a noble palace, ready furnished with all manner of things; which is the notion also of Methodius: see Epiphanius Hæres. lxiv. n. 18. It is to be observed also, that God doth not say, "Let the earth bring forth man," as he saith before (ver. 24.) of other animals; for the same reason: to represent man as a far more noble work, than any other upon earth: for though he was made (as we read in the next chapter) *of the dust of the ground;* yet a greater power and skill was employed in producing a creature of such beauty and majesty.

*Let us.*] The ancient Christian looked upon this as a plain intimation of a plurality of persons in the Godhead: insomuch, that Epiphanius says, "This is the language of God to his Word and only Begotten, as all the faithful believe." See Hæres. xxiii. n. 2; and xliv. n. 4; and xlvi. n. 3, where he says, Adam was πεπλασμένος ἐν χειρὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, *formed by the hand of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* To which one cannot but incline, who considers how poorly the Jews expound this place: who fancy a kind of senate or council of angels, without whom God doth nothing; (which they ground upon Dan. iv. 14.) whereas, there is not the least signification as yet of any such beings; much less, that they had any hand in the making man, who was not made in their image, but in the image of God. Yet thus Saturnilus foolishly expounded these words, as Epiphanius informs us, in the forenamed Hæres. p. 62. Edit. Paris. And Moses Gerundensis still more foolishly imagines God spake to the earth, that it should bring forth man, as it had done other creatures: but Maimonides, who magnifies that saying of their masters (that God doth nothing without his council), is forced to acknowledge, (More Nevoch. p. ii. cap. 6.) that it is not to be understood, as if he asked their advice, or was assisted by their judgment, but only that he used them as instruments in the producing of every thing, which is directly contrary to the very words, which are not in the form of a *command,* but of a *consultation* before execution. Others therefore think God speaks after the manner of kings, who advise with their council, but do things themselves; and are wont to speak in the plural number, when they declare their pleasure. But I take this to be a custom much later than the days of Moses, when they spake as the King of Egypt doth to Joseph: (Gen. xli. 41. 44.) "I am Pharaoh, and see I have set thee (not we have set thee) over the land of Egypt." In which style the King of Persia writes long after this: (Ezra vi. 8.) "I Darius make a decree."

All these poor shifts are a plain confession, that they found it very hard (as the Socinians do at this day) to give any account of this way of speaking, without granting a plurality of persons in the Godhead. And therefore Menasseh Ben Israel, in his Conciliator, mentions one of their doctors, who, in Bereschith Rabba, says, that when Moses by God's direction was about to write these words, "Let us make man," he cried out, "O Lord of the world, why wilt thou give men occasion to err about thy most simple unity?" To which he received this answer, "Write as I bid thee; and if any man love to err, let him err." The same story is told by Joseph Albo; which shews, that their doctors have been long puzzled with this manner of speech, which unavoidably suggested to their thoughts more than one person in the Deity: which, till they believe, they are at a loss what to say about it.

*In our image, after our likeness.*] Two words (some think) to express the same thing: with this difference only, as Abarbinel explains it, that the last words, *after our likeness,* give us to understand that man was not created properly and perfectly in the image of God; but in a resemblance of him. For he doth not say, *in our likeness* (says that author) as he had said *in our image,* but *after* our likeness: where the *caph* of similitude (as they call it) abates something of the sense of what follows; and makes it signify only an approach to the Divine likeness, in understanding, freedom of choice, spirituality, immortality, &c. Thus Tertullian explains it, "Habent illas ubique lineas Dei, qua immortalis anima, qua libera et sui arbitrii, qua præscia plerumque, quà rationalis, capax intellectus et scientiæ." Lib. ii. contra Marcion. cap. 9. And so Gregor. Nyssen. cap. 16. De Opific. Hom. Πάντες τοῦ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ προβουλεύειν δύναμιν ἔχουσιν, &c. *All have a power of considering and designing, of consulting and fore-appointing, what we intend to do.* Purity and holiness likewise seem to be comprehended in this: as may be gathered from the apostle: (Coloss. iii. 10.) "For the new man consists in righteousness and true holiness." (Eph. iv. 24.) But though he was created with a faculty to judge aright, and with a power to govern his appetite, which he could control more easily than we can do now; yet he was not made immediately good (*quia hoc soli Deo cedit,* which belongs to God alone, as Tertullian excellently discourses in that place) but might, without due care, be induced to do evil, as we see he did. For an habituated, confirmed estate of goodness, was even then to have been acquired by watchfulness and exercise: whereby, in process of time, he might have become so steadfast, that he could not have been prevailed upon, by any temptation, to do contrary to his duty.

*And let them have dominion,* &c.] Some have thought the image of God consisted in this alone. (See Greg. Nyssen. cap. 4. De Opific. Hom. p. 143.) Which rather follows upon man's being made in God's image, viz. an intelligent being; which gave him dominion over other things, that are not endued with such understanding. I conclude this note with a very pertinent observation of his

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in that book: (cap. 16.) That Moses speaks more magnificently of man, than any philosopher ever did: for they could say nothing of him beyond this, that he was μικρὸς κόσμος, *a little world;* but, according to the church's account, his greatness consists not in his likeness to the created world, but in his being made κατ' εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ κτίσαντος φύσεως, *after the image of the nature of the Creator of all things.*

*Over all the earth.*] Over all four-footed creatures in the earth, though never so wild; as Bochartus observes.

Ver. 27. *And God created man in his own image.*] From these words Origen gathers there is a great deal of difference between Εικών, *image,* and Ὁμοίωμα, *likeness;* because, though God said, (ver. 26.) "Let us make man in our image, and after our likeness," yet here he is said to have made him only *in his own image;* and not, for the present, *after his likeness.* For that, saith he, (lib. iv. contra Celsum) is reserved to the other world; when, as St. John says, (1 Epist. iii. 2.) ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα, *we shall be like him.* But this seems too curious. No doubt God made man just as he designed, in such a complete resemblance of himself, that there is no creature like to man, no more than God hath any equal to himself: as some of the Hebrew doctors explain this matter. And therefore Moses repeats it again, "in the image of God created he him:" to imprint upon the minds of men, a sense of the great dignity of human nature; which was foully debased by worshipping any creature.

*Male and female created he them.*] He made woman the same day he made man; as he did both sexes of all other living creatures, and as he made herbs and plants with seed in them, to propagate their species on the same day they were produced. It is plain by this, also, that woman, as well as man, was made in the image of God. And it seems to be pertinently observed by Abarbinel, that Moses here again uses the word *create* (and that three times) to denote the original of human souls; which are not *made* out of pre-existent matter, as our bodies are; but by the power of God, when they had no being at all.

Ver. 28. *And God blessed them,* &c.] The former part of this blessing, "be fruitful and multiply," God hath bestowed before (ver. 22.) upon other creatures: unto which he adds two things here, "replenish the earth, and subdue it." He gives them the whole earth for their possession, with a power to *subdue it:* that is, to make it fit for their habitation, by bringing under or driving away wild beasts. For, secondly, he gives them the dominion (unto which he designed them in their creation) over all other creatures; whether in the water, air, or earth. And he speaks to them in the plural number; which is a demonstration, that man and woman were both created, and received his blessing, on the same day.

Ver. 29. *Behold I have given you,* &c.] Here he assigns them their food; and makes no mention at all of beasts, but only of plants and fruits of the earth. For beasts being made by pairs, in their several species (we may well suppose) as man and woman were, and not being yet multiplied, the killing of beasts, birds, and fishes, would have been the destruction of the kind: whereas, there were plants innumerable and great variety of fruit for their sustenance. And therefore here being no grant made to them of animals for their food, though no prohibition neither, it is very probable they abstained from eating flesh, till after the flood, (when God expressly gave them every living thing for meat, as much as the herbs, ch. ix. 2.) unless it were upon some special occasions; as, perhaps, when they sacrificed living creatures; which they did in process of time, (iv. 4.) though not at the first.

Ver. 30. *And to every beast,* &c.] Here he gives to the beasts, and fowl, and creeping things, all herbs for their food, but saith nothing of fruit; from which we cannot well think the birds would abstain; and therefore they are included in the phrase, *of every green herb.*

Ver. 31. *Very good.*] From these words Epiphanius confutes the Manichees, Hæres. lxvi. n. 18. where there is an explanation of this phrase, "God saw that it was good," throughout this whole chapter. Where it being said at the end of every day's work, "God saw it was good;" and particularly here on the sixth day, before he had quite ended the work of it, he saith so of the formation of the beasts, (Ver. 25.) Abarbinel will have this to relate peculiarly to the creation of man and woman. But the beginning of the verse plainly shews that he speaks of every thing that he had made: and therefore their doctors in Bereschith Rabba (whom he mentions) say a great deal better, that man is meant in the first and principal place, when Moses says, "God saw every thing that he had made; and behold, it was very good."

## CHAP. II.

MOSES having given a short account of the orderly production of all things, from the meanest to the noblest, explains more largely in this chapter some things, which were delivered briefly in the foregoing, because he would not too much interrupt the coherence of his discourse about the works of the six days. Particularly he relates how Eve was made; and also further illustrates the production of Adam, &c.

Ver. 1. *Thus the heavens, and the earth.*] *i. e.* The visible world.

*Were finished.*] Brought to that perfection wherein we see them.

*And all the hosts of them.*] That is, all creatures in heaven and in earth; which are called *host,* or army, because of their vast variety, and excellent order.

Ver. 2. *And on the seventh day, God ended his work.*] Or rather, *had ended* (as it may be translated), for he did not work on the seventh day: but, *rested from all his work which he had made;* having so completely finished it, that there remained no more to be done. An emblem of the rest that we shall have, when we have done our work faithfully, and left none undone, as Origen's words are, lib. vi. contra Celsum.

Ver. 3. *And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it.*] As God sanctified Jeremiah in aftertimes from his mother's womb, (Jer. i. 5.) by ordaining him to be a prophet; so he now determined and appointed the seventh day, from the very beginning of the world, to be observed in memory of its creation. And this setting it apart, and consecrating it to that holy use, was his *blessing* it, or recommending it to be observed, as a day of blessing and praising him, in all his works of wonder; and (I know not why I should not add) of his bestowing blessings upon all his pious worshippers.

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There is no mention, indeed, made of Adam's, or Abel's, &c. observing this day; which hath inclined many to conclude these words to have been written by way of anticipation: this day being set apart in aftertimes by the law of Moses for God's service; but, in their opinion, not till then. To which I cannot agree; because it seems to me far more reasonable to think, that God took care to preserve the memory of the creation in the minds of mankind; and the worship of him, the one only God, by whom it was created: which could not be done by any means more effectually, than by setting apart this day for that purpose. Which if he had not appointed, yet men being made religious creatures, I cannot but think they would have agreed upon some set time for the exercise of their religion, as well as some set place (though that be not mentioned neither) where to meet for Divine service: and what time more proper, wherein to honour their Creator, with their sacrifices, praises, and thanksgivings, than this day? Which Philo well styles τοῦ κόσμου γενέσιον, *the birthday of the world:* which was so much observed all the world over (though they forgot the reason), that the seventh day, he observes, may be truly called ἑορτὴ πάνδημος, *the universal festival,* kept by all people. Josephus speaks to the same purpose; and there is a great deal more said by Aristobulus, a peripatetic philosopher, out of Hesiod, Homer, and others, in Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. xiii. cap. 12. concerning the sacredness of the seventh day. Which, though Mr. Selden (lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 17, &c.) endeavours to prove is meant of the seventh day of the month, not of the seventh day of the week; yet we may look upon that as a remain of this ancient tradition. Which, in time, men forgot, as they did the most natural duties; having so corrupted their ways (as we read Gen. vi. 10, 11.) that there was nothing good among the generality of them. And therefore no wonder if they did not regard the service of God every seventh day: to which I shall shew, in due place, Noah, the only righteous man among them, had some regard. Which continued in the family of Abraham after the flood: Moses speaking of it, not long after their coming out of Egypt (where it is likely they were not suffered to observe it, having no time free from their intolerable labours), as a day known to them before the giving of the law at Mount Sinai, Exod. xvi. 23. 25, 26.

Which is not to be understood, as if the patriarchs, before and after the flood, kept such a rest as God enjoined the Israelites by Moses: for that was proper to them, for a peculiar reason—because they had been slaves in Egypt; and therefore were commanded to keep the sabbath, without doing *any manner of work* upon that day. (Deut. v. 15.) Which is all the Christian fathers mean, when they say the patriarchs did not *Sabbatizare,* keep the sabbath as the Jews did. (See Tertullian adv. Judæos, cap. 2, et 4. Irenæus, and others.) For in religious offices I doubt not they observed the seventh day; as a proper time for that sacred hymn, which Galen himself (lib. iii. de usu partium) says, we should all sing to the Creator of all; "If we ourselves first know, and then tell others, οἷος μέν ἐστι τὴν σοφίαν, &c. how wonderful he is in wisdom, how great in power, and how rich in goodness."

*Because that in it he had rested from all his work.*] This is the reason why this day was distinguished from the other six; that a remembrance of God's resting from all his works on this day, might be preserved; by men's laying aside their other employments so long as to praise Him solemnly, by whom this great world was made.

*Which God created, and made.*] Or, as the Hebrew phrase is, *created to make, i. e.* rested from all the six days' work. For he created something at the first, out of which to make all the rest, in six days' space; and now he ceased from all.

Ver. 4. *These are the generations,* &c.] That is, this is a faithful account of the original of the world. Which Moses here repeats, more deeply to imprint on the people's minds, that the world was not a god, but *the work of God:* which they were to acknowledge every seventh day.

*In the day (i. e.* At that time, so *day* often signifies) *when the Lord God made the earth and the heavens.*] It is observed by Tertullian, that *exinde Dominus qui retro Deus tantum,* &c. from henceforward (ver. 7, 8, 9. 15, &c.) he is called Lord, who hitherto was called only God: of which he endeavours to give a reason. (L. adv. Hermog. cap. 3.) The Hebrew doctors observe, that Jehovah Elohim (Lord God) joined together, is *the full and perfect name of God:* and therefore fitly reserved till this place, when the works of God were perfected, and not before.

Ver. 5. *And every plant in the field before it was in the earth,* &c.] That is, before there was any seed to produce them, God made them to spring up with their seed in them; as was said before, in the first chapter. And Moses here mentions these alone, because they were the first productions out of the earth; without which there had been no food for living creatures.

*For the Lord God had not caused it to rain on the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground.*] Here are two reasons to confirm, that plants were not produced in the way they are now: for, there had been no showers of rain; nor was there any man to prepare the earth to receive the seed (if there had been any); both which are necessary in the ordinary method of Divine providence, ever since the world was made. From hence some collect there were no Præadamites (people before Adam), for then Moses could not have said, "There was no man to till the earth."

Ver. 6. *But there went up a mist,* &c.] Many think this will best cohere with what went before by translating it, *nor did there* (taking the particle אל *not,* from the foregoing verse, as is usual) *a mist go up from the earth.* (See Drusius in Levit. x. 6. and Hottinger in Hexapl. Paris. p. 89.) But I see no necessity of this; and think it more likely, there did go up a vapour or steam out of the earth, when it came reeking out of the waters, (as was said upon verse 9. of chap. 1.) to moisten the superficies of it; before any clouds were raised, by the power of the sun, to give rain.

Ver. 7. *Out of the dust of the ground.*] Not dry, but moist dust, as the LXX. have it, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, χοῦν ἀπὸ γῆς. From whence the apostle calls him ἄνθρωπον χοϊκόν, (1 Corinth. xv. 47.) which teaches us this dust was mixed with water: for so χοῦς signifies; *limus,* as the Vulgar Latin hath it. Which agrees with the Hebrew *jatzar, formed;* which is used concerning potters, who make their vessels of clay, not of dry earth. Diodorus Siculus seems to have had some notion of this, when he saith, man was made out of "the slime or mud of Nile." Upon which original of man's body the ancient fathers make many pious reflections: but



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none better or shorter than that of Nazianzen's, who says, it is to teach us, ἵν' ὅταν ἐπαιρώμεθα διὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, διὰ τὸν χοῦν συστελλώμεθα, *that when we are apt to be lifted up because we are made* after God's image, *the thoughts* of the dirt *out of which we were taken, may humble and lay us low.*

*And God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.*] This being said of no other creature, leads us to conceive, not only that the soul of man is a distinct thing, of a different original from his body; but that a more excellent spirit was put into him by God (as appears by its operations) than into other animals. For though the simple speech of inspiring him with "the breath of life," would not prove this; yet Moses speaking in the plural number, that God breathed into him *nischmath chajim*, the *breath* or *spirit of lives*, it plainly denotes, not only that spirit which makes man breathe and move; but think also, reason, and discourse.

*And he became a living soul.*] This is the immediate result of the union of the soul with the body. Which Eusebius thus explains: (lib. vii. Præpar. Evang. cap. 10.) Moses having laid the foundations of religion beforementioned, viz. The knowledge of God, and of the creation of the world, proceeds to another point of doctrine most necessary to be understood; which is the knowledge of a man's self; to which he leads him by shewing the difference between his soul and the body: his soul being an intelligent substance, made after the image of God; his body, only an earthly covering of the soul. To which Moses adds a third, πνοὴν ζωῆς ἐνωτικήν τινα, καὶ συναπτικὴν δύναμιν, &c. *A certain vital breath, whereby the other two are united and linked together by a powerful bond, or strong tie.* His soul, it is manifest, did not come out of the earth, or any power of matter; but from the power of God, who infused it into him by his Divine inspiration.

And this was the original of Eve's soul also, though it be not mentioned: for if her soul had been made out of Adam, as her body was, he would have said, not only, She is bone of my bone, but soul of my soul; which would have mightily strengthened the bond of marriage, and exceedingly heightened conjugal affection.

Ver. 8. *And the Lord God planted.*] Or, *had planted;* for it doth not seem to be a new thing.

*A garden.*] A most pleasant part of the earth.

*Eastward.*] Or, as others translate it, *before, in the beginning*, viz. On the third day, when he made all vegetables. And it cannot be denied, that *mikkedem* may signify *time* as well as *place:* but as the greatest part of interpreters, ancient and modern, take it here to signify place; so Moses himself uses it in the following part of this book, iii. 24. xi. 2. xii. 8. xiii. 11.

*In Eden.*] A country (as most understand it) so called, perhaps, from its pleasure: Τόπον διάφορον φωτὶ, διαυγὲς ἄερι λαμπροτέρῳ, φυτοῖς παγκάλοις, as Theophilus de Autolyc. speaks. (lib. ii.) Where Eden was, there are two or three places of Scripture that give some direction to our search; (2 Kings xix. 12. Isa. xxxvii. 12. Ezek. xxvii. 23.) which shew there was a country, that, for many ages after this, retained the name of Eden: and that eastward, as Moses here tells us, it was situated; that is, eastward of Judea, or of the desert of the Amorites, where he wrote these books. For the Scripture calls those people "The children of the east," who dwelt in Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia. But in what country of the east Eden was, will be best understood from ver. 10.

*And there he put the man, whom he had formed.*] He was formed we must suppose in some other place; and conducted hither by God, in token of his singular kindness to him. Where he declared him, saith a Syriac writer mentioned by Hottinger, (in his Dissert. de Hexaplis, Paris. p. 115.) an heir of paradise, and made him נביא מלכא וכהנא *a king, a priest,* and *a prophet.*

Ver. 9. *And out of the ground.*] Of that garden beforementioned.

*Made the Lord God to grow every tree,* &c.] The greatest variety of the choicest plants, flowers, and fruits: for *tree* comprehends every thing that grows out of the earth.

*Pleasant to the sight.*] He gratified man's eye, as well as his taste, and his smell.

*The tree of life.*] So called, because there was a virtue in it, as several of the ancient fathers think, not only to repair the animal spirits, as other nourishment doth; but also to preserve and maintain them, and all the organs of the body, in the same equal temper and state wherein they were created, without any decay: until man should have been fit to be translated into another world. To this purpose Irenæus, St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, but especially Greg. Nazianzen speak, Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐμείναμεν, &c. "If therefore we had continued what we were, and kept the commandment, we should have been what we were not by coming to the tree of life, ἀπαθανατισθέντες καὶ Θεῷ πλησιάσαντες, being made immortal, and approaching nigh to God." (Orat. xliii. p. 699. D.) And why we should think it impossible or unlikely, that God should make such a fruit, I do not see. Nay, it seems necessary there should have been such a kind of food; unless we will suppose God would have preserved Adam (had he continued innocent) from dying, by a continual miracle: which is a harder supposition than the other.

But this garden being also a type of heaven, perhaps God intended by this tree to represent that immortal life, which he meant to bestow upon man with himself. (Rev. xxii. 2.) And so St. Austin in that famous saying of his: "Erat ei in cæteris liquis alimentum, in isto autem sacramentum:" (lib. viii. de Gen. ad Lit. cap. 4.) *In other trees there was nourishment for man; but in this also a sacrament.* For it was both a symbol of that life which God had already bestowed upon man (who was hereby put in mind, that God was the author of his being, and all his enjoyments), and of that life he was to hope for in another world, if he proved obedient.

*In the midst of the garden.*] This signifies either its situation, or its excellence: for that which is most eminent in any place, the Hebrews say is "in the midst," xxiii. 10.

*The tree of knowledge of good and evil.*] So called, as I take it, because God intended by this tree to prove Adam and Eve, whether they would be good or bad: which was to be made known, by their abstaining from its fruit, or eating of it. It is generally thought indeed by interpreters (of which I leave the reader to judge), that it had this name afterwards; either because the tempter pretended it would make them so wise, as to know all things, (for so *good and evil* may be expounded, chap. iii. 5. to signify as much as *all things whatsoever*) or because, in the event, upon the eating of this fruit, they did actually know, by

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miserable experience (which they would not learn without it), the great difference between obeying and disobeying God's commands. That is, they who did not sufficiently attend to their duty, nor consider what it was to sin, and what the effect of it would be; presently, upon the eating of this fruit, reflected upon both. For they saw how grievous it was to incur God's displeasure, by believing a creature rather than him; and by being so ungrateful, as not to acknowledge his bounty in all the blessings they enjoyed; without thinking him envious in denying them one, as a proof of their obedience.

Some think it was so called, as a caveat to them, not to study craft and subtilty; but to content themselves in a simple, plain way of life (wherein God made them), without any curiosity to know more than was needful for them. Which they think is confirmed by chap. iii. 6. "She saw it was good to make one wise," *i. e.* cunning and wily.

Ver. 10. *And a river went out of Eden*, &c.] These words afford us such a key to open to us the place where this garden was planted, that one can scarce doubt whereabout it was; though the precise spot of ground be not marked out in this description of it. For it lay in the country of Eden; and we are directed to find that out by this remarkable circumstance, that *a river went out of it*: which doth not signify, that the spring of the river was in Eden; but that the river run through that country into the garden, *to water it*. The garden, therefore, it is probable, was a part of the province of Eden; and was watered by that river which came from it. The only difficulty is, to find what river this was. Our countryman Mr. Carver, in his learned discourse of the Terrestrial Paradise, (chap. vii.) endeavours to prove, that the two great rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, having but one and the same fountain in Armenia the Greater, run along for some time in one stream, called Tigris: upon which he thinks this garden was seated, before this river parted into two streams, Euphrates and Tigris. This he confirms out of the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians written to Rome 1552, and translated by Masius; where they call Tigris the River of Eden. And there are indeed some ancient authors, particularly Lucan and Boetius, who say that these two rivers come out of the same spring: but their mistake arose, it is likely, from hence, that they sprung (as Strabo tells us) out of one and the same mountain, viz. Niphates, which is a part of Taurus: and Euphrates sprung out of the northern side of it, and Tigris out of the southern; as Salmasius observes upon Solinus, (p. 621, &c.) Certain it is, that the best authors, both ancient and modern, make them to have different springs, from whence they hold different courses, Euphrates towards the west, and Tigris towards the east: and do not make one river, till (after they have run through many countries) they meet and join together about Apamia, according to Ptolemy. And then indeed they make, for a long way, but one great stream: which I take to be the river here mentioned by Moses, that run through the country of Eden, which perhaps lay on both sides of the river; as the garden, it is plain, by ver. 8. did on the eastern side of it; extending itself to the place where these united rivers parted again. For so it follows:

*And from thence.*] *i. e.* Below the garden.

*It parted.*] Or, was divided again, as it had been before into two other streams. By which words we seem to have found the place where the garden ended; but being not told where it began, nor how far it spread itself eastward from the river side, I will not presume to say what country or countries it included. Certain it is, there was a country, as I observed before, called Eden in aftertimes, which was part of the kingdom of Assyria, (2 Kings xix. 12.) And that kingdom then comprehended not only the country anciently called Ashur, but Mesopotamia and Babylonia, &c. In some part of which last province it is probable this garden was seated.

*And became into four heads.*] He doth not say *was parted* into four heads, but *became into* four heads (whose names here follow); two before they united, viz. Tigris and Euphrates; and two after they again parted, viz. Pison and Gihon.

These he calls *heads*, or principal rivers, as David Chytræus, I think, rightly understands it; *quatuor illustria et magna flumina efficiebant*, made four famous and great rivers. For all divisions from the main stream are called the *heads* of a water; as Sir W. Raleigh observes out of Ulpianus. And it is indifferent, whether the water come out of a fountain, or out of a river, or a lake: for that part of the river (suppose) where the branch forsakes the main stream, is called the *head* of that branch; which becomes a new river. In like manner may Euphrates and Tigris be called the *heads* of that river which they made at their meeting: as where they part again, the *beginnings* (as the LXX. translate the word) of the other two rivers, Pison and Gihon, are properly called the *heads* of them.

Ver. 11. *The name of the first is Pison*, or Phison.] This is that branch which runs westerly; and being nearest to the place where Moses wrote, on the other side of Jordan, is first mentioned by him. It is a long time since both this river and Gihon have lost these names: the Greek and Roman writers calling them still, after their parting, by the names they had before they met, Euphrates and Tigris. But there was a remainder of the name of Pison preserved in the easterly river, called Pasitigris, which is the same with Oroatis, as Salmasius observes in his Exerc. Plinianæ in Solin. p. 701, 702: and is called (as Mr. Carver notes) by Xenophon simply Physcus; in which the name of Phison is plainly enough retained. Which continued till the time of Alexander the Great; for Q. Curtius, as he further notes, commonly calls Tigris itself by the name of Phasis, and says it was so called by the inhabitants thereabout. Which, in all probability, was at first the name of this other river Phison; but lost by the many alterations which were made, for a long time, in the course of it, as Pliny tells us. For he says, the Orcheni, and other neighbouring nations, made great and deep cuts or canals to carry the water of Euphrates (meaning this river) into their fields; and so it lost its course, and run through Tigris and the marshes into the sea. Strabo saith the same, that from these διώρυγαι, as he calls them, *deep trenches*, which carried the water of Euphrates into Tigris, came the name of Pasitigris; that is, Pison mixed with Tigris. See Salmasius in the forenamed Exercitations, page 703. where he shews this river was not perfectly restored to its course till the times of Alexander the Great.

*That is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah.*] By finding where this country was, we certainly find the river Phison. Now Moses makes mention of two Havi-



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lahs; one descended from Cush, (Gen. x. 7.) and the other from Jocktan, (ver. 29.) The latter of these cannot be here meant, for his posterity were planted eastward; but the former, who were a more western people, in that part of Arabia Felix, which bordered upon this stream. For the Ishmaelites (who inhabited Arabia Deserta) are described by Moses, (xxv. 18.) as bounded by Shur towards Egypt, and by Havilah in the way to Assyria. And Saul found Havilah in aftertimes in the very same situation. (1 Sam. xv. 7.) And still, much later, Strabo mentions the Χαυλοταῖοι (which are certainly the posterity of Chavilah) among the people of Arabia. See Bochart's Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 11.

*Where there is gold.*] Nothing is more famous than the gold of Arabia: where Diodorus Siculus says it is digged up in great lumps, as big as a chesnut; lib. ii. p. 93. Edit. H. Steph.

Ver. 12. *And the gold of that land is good.*] *i. e.* Is excellent: for the forenamed author says, it is of such a flaming colour, that it adds much to the lustre of precious stones, that are set in it.

*There is bdellium.*] The Hebrew word being *bedolach*, some have thought *bdellium* to come from thence, which is an aromatic gum. Others think *bedolach* to be *crystal*, others *amber;* but Bochart rather thinks it signifies *pearl:* which he proves (in his Hierozoic. pt. ii. lib. v. cap. 25.) from the country itself here mentioned, viz. Havilah, which he looks upon as that part of Arabia which lies upon the Persian Gulph: at Catipha, there is a great pearl-fishing. The manna also, wherewith the Israelites were fed in the wilderness, is described (Numb. xi. 7.) to be round like coriander seed, and of the colour of *bedolach*. Now, in his former description, Moses says it was white, (Exod. xvi. 14.) which agrees to pearls, as also doth roundness, but not to the sweet gum called *bdellium:* of which see Salmasius in his Exerc. Plin. p. 1150.

*And the onyx stone.*] This country also was famous for precious stones; as appears by the report which Nearchus (Alexander's admiral) made of the western coast of the Persian Gulph, in Strabo, lib. xvi. But Braunius (lib. ii. de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr. cap. 18.) thinks *schoham* should rather be translated the *sardonyx*. Whichsoever it be, Arabia was famous both for the onyx and sardonyx, as Salmasius observes out of Pliny; ib. p. 562, 563.

Ver. 13. *The name of the second river is Gihon.*] There are no footsteps of this name remaining that I can find; but we are directed, by the country it is said to compass, to take it to be the eastern stream that arose from the parting of Euphrates and Tigris; as Pison, I said, was the western.

*Compasseth,* or, *runneth along by the whole land of Ethiopia.*] Or Cush: who was seated more eastward than his sons, Havilah, Seba, and the rest, (mentioned Gen. x. 6, 7.) upon the borders of this river. For when people first began to spread themselves, they kept as near to great rivers as they could; for the better communication one with another, and affording mutual succour and assistance. It is probable that he gave name to the country of Susiana; which the Greeks called Κίσσια, and is now called by the Persians, Chuzestan; *i. e.* the province of Chus. And when his posterity multiplied, they went more westward, toward the Arabian sea: from whence his brother Mitzraim passed into Egypt. Our translators follow the LXX. in rendering the Hebrew name Cush, by Ethiopia: not meaning that in Africa, but this in Asia. For the ancients frequently mention a double Ethiopia, as many have observed; particularly Job Ludolphus, who herein justifies the LXX. in great part; lib. ii. Comment. in Histor. Ethiop. cap. iii. n. 16.

Ver. 14. *The name of the third is Hiddekel.*] Which river, being called by Daniel (x. 4.) *the great river;* cannot be, as many have fancied, Naharmalcha: for that was but a cut, made by Trajan to waft his army out of Euphrates into Tigris (as Ammianus Marcellinus tells us), and therefore Hiddekel is Tigris itself. Which, as Pliny says, was called Diglito in those parts where its course was slow; and where it began to be rapid, it took the name of Tigris. And so the Arabians call this river Deglat, and Degela, from the Hebrew word *Hiddekel*. Which Salmasius derives from *Hadda*, or *Chadda*, sharp pointed; and *Kal*, swift; because of its very quick and hasty motion: and thence the Greeks, he observes, derive the name of Tigris, ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος. (Exerc. in Solin. p. 691.) Rauwolff, in his Travels, (pt. ii. cap. 9.) says, that when he was at Caruch, on the confines of Media (which was about a hundred years ago), Tigris was still called in their language Hidekel.

*Which goeth toward the east of Assyria.*] If it make a great bend northward (as Pliny saith it doth about Apamia), it must needs run towards the east of Assyria, for some time. But this is not the course of the river; and therefore the LXX. translate the word *kidmath*, which we English *towards the east*, simply *toward:* and it is certain Tigris did run by Assyria; for Nineveh, the chief city of Assyria, stood upon the east side of this river, as Bochart hath demonstrated in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 20.

*The fourth river is Euphrates.*] None doubt that the river called here in the Hebrew Perath, or Phrath, is the same that hath been called for many ages Euphrates. The course of which was so well known in those days, that Moses gives no description of it.

Ver. 15. *And the Lord God took the man.*] After such a manner as he took David from the sheepfolds, (Psal. lxxviii. 70.) by an extraordinary motion. For as a prophet was sent from God to anoint him; so God himself, I suppose, appeared to Adam, in a visible glorious majesty, which the Jews call the Schechinah; (as was noted before, i. 3.) because it was a token of God's special presence, and by it he dwelt among his people. It seems to have been a *very shining flame*, or *amazing splendour of light*, breaking out of a thick cloud: of which we afterward read very often, under the name of "the glory the Lord;" which at first appeared to Moses, as "a *flame of fire* out of the midst of a bush." (Exod. iii. 2.) To this I cannot think our first parents to have been strangers; but look upon it as highly probable, that this Divine Majesty conducted Adam from the place where he was formed into the garden of Eden.

*And put him.*] Or, placed him there.

*To dress it, and to keep it.*] To preserve it, by his care and labour, in the condition wherein he found it. Theophilus Antiochenus thinks it is not without a mystery, that God's putting man into paradise is twice mentioned, (here, and ver. 8.) to signify, that after man was cast out of one paradise, he should still have a right to another: "By

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being well instructed in his banishment, and prepared for a restitution, at the general resurrection and new creation." Lib. ii. ad Autolycum.

Ver. 16. *And the Lord God commanded the man.*] This is a farther indication, that the Divine Majesty appeared to Adam and spake to him, as he did to Moses out of the flame in the bush, saying,

*Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat.*] A very liberal concession; which was abundantly sufficient to demonstrate that it was not envy (of which the Divine nature is not capable) which moved their Creator to abridge our first parents' liberty in one particular.

Ver. 17. *But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,* (why so called, see ver. 9.) *thou shalt not eat of it.*] This small restraint it was fit to lay upon Adam, to make him sensible, that though he had dominion over all things, yet he was not their lord; but a servant of the Most High: who required this abstinence in token of his subjection, and to prove his obedience to him. This account many of the fathers give of it; particularly Tertullian, who calls this the *primordial law:* which was, *quasi matrix omnium præceptorum Dei,* (adv. Judæos, cap. 2.) including, as it were, in its womb, all the natural laws of God. For as, in observing this law, he had testified his unspotted love and obedience to God; so, in violating it, he threw off the Divine government, and opposed his own will to God's. But still some ask, why should his obedience be tried in such an instance as this? Not considering, that an experiment of it could scarce have been made in any of the moral precepts; which there was no occasion to violate. For what should tempt him to idolatry, or to take God's name in vain, or to murder his wife? How was it possible to commit adultery, when there was nobody but he and she in the world? How could he steal, or what room was there then for coveting, when God had put him in possession of all things? It had been in vain to forbid that which could not be done; and it had not been virtue to abstain from that to which there was no temptation, but from that which invited them to transgress. I speak in the plural number; because it must be remembered, that this prohibition was given, not only to Adam, but to Eve also, (iii. 1, 2.) an account of whose production immediately follows.

Theoph. Antiochenus, in the place beforenamed, hath several pretty reflections upon this prohibition; and this among the rest: That Adam and Eve, being but newly brought into the world, were in simplicity, to be wholly ordered and governed by the will and pleasure of their heavenly Parent; and not affect much knowledge (as not agreeable to their infant state), but to grow up in it by degrees, and not ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν φρονεῖν, *to aim at wisdom above their age.* To which purpose Greg. Nazianzen also discourses in many places. (Orat. xxxviii. p. 619; Orat. xlii. p. 681; and Carm. Arcan. vii. p. 162.) And indeed many excellent meditations may be raised from hence; particularly, that Christians new-born should not be so greedy of knowledge, as careful and solicitous of well-doing: for many have been ruined by early speculations. Which, if one could pick any good sense out of such stuff as the Valentinians uttered, I should think they intended to represent, when they said, the last of their Æons, whom they called Wisdom, labouring to comprehend the βύθος, or *depth (i. e.* the Father of all), had like to have lost itself, till it was helped by ὅρος, or *limit.* That is, we are preserved by setting some bounds to our desires after knowledge.

*Thou shalt surely die.*] In the Hebrew, *dying thou shalt die;* to shew the certainty of it, as we rightly translate it. Which doth not signify, as appears by the event, that he should instantly die; but become mortal; lose the immortality wherewith he was invested. (Gen. iii. 19.). And, as Athanasius thinks, the doubting the expression denotes, μὴ μόνον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ θανάτου φθορᾷ διαμένειν, (lib. de Incarn. Verbi) he should *Not only die, but remain in the corruption of death;* as we should all have done, had not the second Adam obtained for us a happy resurrection.

I need not add, that diseases, sicknesses, and pains, the forerunners of death, are included in this threatening.

Ver. 18. *And the Lord God said.*] Or, *had said,* as it is by some translated; the better to shew that the foregoing precept was given to both. And to *say* in this place, is as much as to *resolve* and decree: as Melancthon well explains it, in one of his Epistles: "*Dicere,* hoc loco significat, miranda sapientia sancire, et nobis hoc decretum tradere:" To say *here signifies to establish with wonderful wisdom, and to deliver this decree to us.* (lib. i. Epist. 126.) Where he again repeats it, "The Lord said;" that is, by his wise counsel and immutable decree, he established this order.

*It is not good that man should be alone.*] Uncomfortable to want society, and unfit there should not be an increase of mankind. Concerning which Plato hath left these wonderful words: (lib. vi. De Legibus:) This is the encouragement to marriage—not only that the human race may be perpetuated; but a man may, παῖδας παίδων ἀεὶ τῷ Θεῷ ὑπηρέτας ἀνθ' αὑτοῦ παραδιδόναι, *leave children's children behind him when he is gone, to serve God in his stead.*

*I will make him an help.*] For all the necessities and uses of life.

*Meet for him.*] In whose company he shall take delight; so the Hebrew phrase, *as before him,* imports; being as much as, answerable to him, every way fitted for him; not only in likeness of body, but of mind, disposition, and affection: which laid the foundation of perpetual familiarity and friendship. Or, as the author of Cether Shem Tobh, mentioned by Hackspan, interprets it, "She shall always be ready to observe and serve him." For to *stand before* any one, in the Hebrew language, signifies readiness to do what is desired. See more on ver. 25.

Ver. 19. *And out of the ground the Lord God formed.*] Or, *had formed;* i. 20. 24.

*Every beast of the field,* &c.] The *ground* here must be understood to comprehend the water also; out of which the fowl were made.

*And brought them unto Adam.*] It is commonly thought that this name of Adam, given to the first man, signifies as much as *red earth.* But Job Ludolphus hath made it far more probable that it imports *elegant,* or *beautiful.* (See his Histor. Ethiop. lib. i. cap. 15. n. 17, 18. and his commentaries upon that chapter, n. 107.) How the beasts and birds were brought to him we are not told: but it is likely by the ministry of angels; who were perpetual attendants upon the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty.

*To see what he would call them.*] To exercise and improve his understanding.

*And whatever Adam called,* &c.] God approved of it.

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Ver. 20. *And Adam gave names,* &c.] Or, *though Adam gave names* to all creatures; yet, among them all, when they were brought before him, there was not a fit companion found for him. It doth not follow, from his *giving names,* that he knew the *nature* of all those creatures: for the names of them in Scripture (which they who are of this opinion generally suppose were the names given by Adam) are taken from their voice, their colour, their magnitude, or some such external difference, and not from their nature. Therefore, this imposing names upon them, denotes rather his dominion than his knowledge. The anonymous author of the Chron. Excerpta before Joh. Antiochenus Malala, says, That Adam imposed names upon all creatures, κατὰ κέλευσιν Θεοῦ, *by the commandment of God,* τὸ δ' αὐτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ της γυναῖκος αὐτου Ἄγγελος Κυρίου εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, *but his own name and his wife's were told him by an angel of the Lord.*

Ver. 21. *And the Lord God caused a deep sleep,* &c.] Whereby he was made less sensible of the pain, which otherwise he would have felt in the opening his side, if his mind had not been wholly intent upon something else. As it was in this *sleep;* which was accompanied with an *extasy,* (so the LXX. translate this word, and it is agreeable to what we read Job iv. 13.) wherein was represented to his mind, both what was done to him, and the mystery of it; as appears by ver. 23, 24. Vid. Epiphan. Hæres. xlviii. n. 4, 5, 6.

*And he took one of his ribs.*] Tho. Bartholinus, a late famous physician, thinks it probable that Adam had thirteen ribs on each side, and that God took away one pair, with the musculous parts that adhere to them; and out of them made Eve. For commonly men have but twelve ribs, though sometimes there have been found (as Galen and Riolanus upon him testify) those who have had thirteen, and, very rarely, some who have had but eleven: as Bartholin himself observed in a lusty strong man whom he dissected, anno 1657, who had but eleven on one side, and a small appearance of a twelfth on the other. (Histor. Anatom. et Medic. Centur. v. cap. 1.) It is fit here to be observed, that God did not form Eve out of the ground, as he had done Adam; but out of his side: that he might breed the greater love between him and her, as parts of the same whole. Whereby he also effectually recommended marriage to all mankind, as founded in nature; and as the re-union of man and woman. It is likewise observable, that there is no mention here of his breathing a soul into her, as into him: for Moses only explains what was peculiar to Eve (which was her being made out of his side); the rest is supposed in those words, (ver. 19.) "I will make him an help *meet for him;*" which the Vulgar Latin rightly translates *simile ei,* like unto him. For so the Hebrew word *kenegdo* is used by the Jewish writers, particularly by Benjamin in his Itinerary; where, speaking of the Jews at Germuda, and naming several, he says, there were many more *kenegdem,* like unto them. And so the word ἀντὶ among the Greeks denotes *likeness* and *similitude,* as well as contrary. Of which see Const. L'Empereur, Annot. in Benj. Tudel. p. 138. The woman therefore was in all things like him: only he made out of the earth, she out of him: that he might cleave to her with the dearest love and affection. It was also said before this, (i. 27.) that both man and woman were made "in the likeness of God."

*And closed up the flesh, instead thereof.*] Made the flesh as firm as it was before.

Ver. 22. *And the rib,* &c. *made he woman.*] Which was as easy for the Divine power to do, as to make the man himself out of the earth.

*And brought her to him.*] Not merely by conducting her to the same place where he was; but the Divine Majesty (which now appeared to Eve) presented and gave her to him, to be his wife. God himself made the espousals (if I may so speak) between them, and joined them together in marriage.

Ver. 23. *And Adam said,* &c.] Now indeed I have found, what I could not see before among all God's creatures, *another self.*

*She shall be called woman,* &c.] Partake of my name, as she doth of my nature. For he called her Isseha, as he was called Issch. From whence Sepher Cosri and Abarbinel endeavour (in a very long discourse) to prove the Hebrew to be the primitive language. And Abarbinel observes the Christians to be of the same opinion, quoting, for a proof of it, St. Austin's book, De Civitate Dei.

Ver. 24. *Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife.*] Cohabit with her, rather than with his parents (if they cannot all dwell together), and be joined to her in the closest and most inseparable affection: as if they were but one person, and had but one soul and one body. That is the meaning of the next words,

*And they shall be one flesh.*] Most intimately conjoined in entire and inseparable love. Which arose from the singular union of the flesh of our first parents; one of them being taken out of the other. From whence Maimonides and other Hebrew doctors infer all mixture with beasts to be contrary to nature; who are neither one flesh with us, nor one with another. For in this our bodies, as well as our souls, have a pre-eminence above theirs; which were not made one flesh after such a manner as man and woman were. They hence also conclude all incestuous marriages, &c. to be unlawful, as may be seen in Mr. Selden. (De Jure N. et G. lib. v. cap. 2.) Their observation is more pertinent, who take notice, that God, creating and joining together but one man and one woman in the beginning, intended mankind should be so propagated, and not by polygamy. Which in process of time indeed became the general practice; but "from the beginning it was not so," as our Saviour speaks in the case of divorces. Which he concludes, from these very words, were against the Divine institution, which made "two to be one flesh;" (Matt. xix. 5, 6. 8.) so he interprets these words, (and St. Paul doth the same, 1 Cor. vi. 16.) "they shall be one flesh:" and so doth Jonathan's Paraphrase, and the Samaritan Code, as Mr. Selden observes, in the place now named.

Ver. 25. *And they were both naked, the man and his wife.*] They did not yet find any necessity for clothes.

*And they were not ashamed.*] Did not blush; no more than little children do, when they behold one another naked, and embrace with an innocent affection. Besides, there was nobody but they two (who in effect were as one) to behold them: and therefore they had no more reason to blush, than a man doth when he is naked alone by himself.

## CHAP. III.

EUSEBIUS observes, (lib. vii. Præpar. Evang. cap. 9, 10.) that Moses, having settled the great doctrines of the

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*creation of the world,* and the *dignity of man,* made in the image of God; proceeds very wisely to instruct the Israelites, that there are none so happy, but, without due care and watchfulness, may become most miserable: there being πονηρὸς δαίμων (as his words are), *a wicked demon* at every man's elbow, βάσκανος καὶ μισόκαλος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀρχῆθεν ἐπίβουλος σωτερίας, *envious, a hater of those that are good, and from the beginning a wily underminer of men's salvation.*

Now this following immediately after the relation of the formation of Eve, hath made some fancy, that our very first parents fell the very same day they were made. And thus much, I think, must be supposed—that they did not continue very long in their happy state: for if they had persisted steadfastly in their duty for a considerable time, they would have acquired such a habit of well-doing, as would not have been so easily lost. But that they continued longer than a day, there are many circumstances to induce us to believe. For it required some time for Adam to be acquainted with all other creatures, and to impose names upon them: and there being none of them a meet help for him, he slept some time, till Eve had taken her beginning out of him. Whom, when he saw, he received, and owned her for his wife; and no doubt made more reflections upon God's wisdom, power, and goodness, than are set down in this sacred story. They both also received a command from God, not to eat of one tree in the garden: into which, when they were brought, we cannot but think they walked about it, and took such a view of it, as to be convinced, by the bountiful provision God had made for them, they had no reason to complain of the small restraint he laid upon them. All which could not be performed so speedily as some have imagined: for though God can do what he pleases in an instant, yet man cannot; and God himself did not in one day create the world. And, besides that, some time was necessary for transacting all these things; it is not likely the devil would immediately set upon Eve, as soon as the command was laid upon them; but rather let it be a little forgotten. And if the time be observed when he assaulted her, it will much confirm this opinion, which was in the absence of her husband; for that we cannot easily believe to have been upon the same day they were created. The extraordinary kindness they had one for the other, will scarce allow us to think it possible, they should be so soon separated. It is plain also, God "sanctified the seventh day" before their fall; which it is highly probable they spent in admiring and praising the almighty goodness.

Ver. 1. *Now the serpent.*] Or, *that serpent* (as some think it should be translated) which the tempter made use of, as his instrument to deceive.

*Was more subtil.*] The whole species of serpents is noted by Aristotle (lib. i. Histor. Animal. cap. 1.) to be μάλιστα ἐπίβουλος, *extremely insidious;* but this was extraordinary wily. What sort it was is not here expressed: but all agree there is now none like it; the curse of God having degraded it. St. Basil in his Book of Paradise (p. 627.) saith, it was not a frightful creature, as it is now, ἀλλὰ προσηνὴς καὶ ἥμερος, but *mild and gentle:* not crawling and winding about, in a terrible manner, upon the ground, ἀλλ' ὑψηλὸς ἐπὶ πόδων βεβηκώς, *but lofty, and going upright upon its feet.* Several of the Jews have been of this opinion; and our famous Mr. Mede inclines to it. (Discourse xxxviii. p. 291, &c.) But I take the conjecture of another very learned person, now a bishop of our church, to be far more probable: which I shall endeavour to strengthen. There were (and still are in the eastern and southern parts of the world) serpents having wings, and shining very brightly, like to fire. So we read (Isa. xiv. 29.) of "a flying fiery serpent." Which *fiery serpents* are called *seraphims,* in Numb. xxi. 6. 8. and termed *fiery,* not merely with respect to their venom, which made sore inflammations in the bodies of those who were bitten by them, but because they appeared shining like fire when they flew in the air.

Whence *seraphim* is the name also of the highest sort of angels, (called the "angels of the presence," Isa. vi. 2. 6.) who appeared, I suppose, in some such form with flaming wings. For otherwise, I cannot think serpents would have been honoured as sacred things in so many countries, as we find they anciently were, unless they had been the symbols of angels. The devil, therefore, I conceive, made use of some such serpent (but of a more surpassing brightness than any now extant), that he might resemble one of the most illustrious angels, who appeared sometimes in the like shape. Which moved Eve the more readily to hearken unto the voice of the serpent; taking it to be one of the heavenly seraphims, which she had seen sometime, in such a splendid form, attend upon the Divine glory, or majesty: for the angels always made a part of the Schechinah. And thus, one would think, Tertullian understood this matter, when he said, (in his book De Præscript. Hæret. cap. xlvii.) "Istum fuisse serpentem, cui Eva, ut filio Dei, crediderat;" *this was the serpent to whom Eve gave credit as to the Son of God.* Which, if any one take to be the words of the heretics he is there speaking of; yet those are not which we find in his book against the Valentinians, (cap. 2.) where he saith the serpent was "à primordio Divinæ imaginis prædo," *an usurper of the Divine image from the beginning.* (See Dr. Tenison of Idolatry, p. 356.) To which that passage in Epiphanius may be added, who mentions some heretics (who might have some truth among them) that said, the woman listened to the serpent, καὶ ἐπείθη ὡς υἱοῦ Θεοῦ, and *believed him,* or was persuaded by him, *as the Son of God.* (Hæres. xxxvii. n. 25.) And, one would think, Rabbi Bechai had this notion in his mind, when he said (upon the 14th verse of this chapter,) "This is the secret (or mystery, of the holy language), that a serpent is called Saraph, as an angel is called Saraph." For which he quotes the forenamed place, (Numb. xxi. 6.) and then adds, The Scripture calls serpents seraphim, because they were *toledoth hanacash hakadmoni, the offspring of this old serpent: understand this,* (so he concludes, as our Saviour speaks in another case, "Whoso readeth, let him understand,") as a matter of great concernment. Which can have no other meaning, I think, but this; that the devil, (whom St. John also calls the "old serpent," Rev. xii. 9.) in this serpent here spoken of, counterfeited a glorious seraphim, and thereby seduced Eve to give credit to him.

However this be, it is most reasonable to suppose, it was some beautiful creature; by whom Eve thought an angel, who wished them well, discoursed with her: for she was not so simple as to think that beasts could speak;

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much less, that they knew more of God's mind than herself. Nor doth it seem at all credible to me, that she could have been otherways deceived, but by some creature which appeared so gloriously, that she took it for an heavenly minister; who, she thought, came to explain to them the meaning of the Divine command.

*Yea, hath God said.*] This doth not look like the beginning of a discourse, but the conclusion: as the Jews themselves have observed. And it is not improbable, that the tempter, before he spake these words, represented himself as one of the heavenly court; who came, or was sent, to congratulate the happiness that God hath bestowed upon them in paradise: which was so great, that he could not easily believe he had denied them any of the fruit of the garden. He desired therefore to be satisfied, from her own mouth, of the truth of what he pretended to have heard; or to know how they understood the command of God: for so these words may be translated, "Is it true indeed, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree," &c. Which is a very ancient interpretation, and more probable than theirs, who would have the Hebrew particles, *aph ki*, signify as much as *ut ut:* "Although God hath said, Ye shall not eat, notwithstanding ye shall not die." So they suppose he was going to add; but, before he had spoken the latter part of the sentence, Eve interrupted him, saying, "We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden." This had been too gross, flatly to contradict what God had said: whereas the beginning of the verse tells us, he went more subtilly to work.

Ver. 2. *And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden.*] She seems to have understood him, as if he thought God had forbid them to eat of any fruit in the garden. And indeed the foregoing question is ambiguous; like those oracles of his which made him be called Λοξίας (oblique or crooked), by the ancient heathen; because they had two meanings. She truly therefore reports the sense of God's prohibition, in this and the following verse. Though there are those who think she pronounced these words, "We may eat of the fruit," &c. with some admiration, that they should be restrained from one fruit, when God had most liberally granted them all the rest. The reason of which she did not know, and shewed her desire perhaps to understand it.

Ver. 3. *But of the fruit of the tree, which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, nor touch it, lest ye die.*] Some fancy the woman here began to prevaricate in two things: First, In saying they might not *touch it:* Secondly, In saying only there was danger if they meddled with it, and not an absolute threatening. Of which the devil, they think, took advantage; and immediately assured her, there was no danger at all. This last they grounded upon the Hebrew particle *pen*, which we translate *lest*, and expresses a doubting. But I do not think either of these observations are solid: for that particle does not always imply a doubt, as we may learn from the second psalm, the last verse, and many other places: and the *touching* of the fruit, signifies the plucking it off from the tree, in order to eat it: which was expressly forbidden.

Ver. 4. *Ye shall not surely die.*] You are under a mistake: death will not be the certain consequence of your eating this fruit: for God is too good to inflict such a heavy punishment for so small a fault.

Ver. 5. *For God,* &c.] The particle *ki*, which we translate *for*, signifies here as much as *but* (as Abarbinel and others observe), just as in Psalm cxv. 1. So the meaning is, you shall be in no danger, but quite contrary, be great gainers by tasting of this fruit: as God himself knows, who only keeps you in awe by his threatening, but will not be so severe as to execute it; when he sees you much improved, not impaired by eating of it.

*Then your eyes shall be open.*] For you will immediately discover abundance of things, whereof you are now ignorant.

*And ye shall be as gods.*] Like unto us, the angels of God: who are frequently called Elohim, *i.e.* gods, in Scripture. Thus Maimonides understands it, (More Nev. pars i. cap. 2.) and Onkelos, who translates it *princes*, meaning angels, who are called Ἀρχαί *principalities*, and *powers*, &c.

*Knowing good and evil.*] *i.e.* All manner of things. Or, as some of the Hebrews understand it, "Know what is fit for you to do, without any advice or instruction, and without any restriction, being subject to none; but enjoy freely what you please." For to *know* is sometimes as much as to *enjoy*, in the scripture language. So that according to this interpretation, he promises them likeness to God himself; who is absolutely free, and subject to none.

But in this suggestion the devil proved, what our Saviour says of him, that he was "a liar from the beginning:" for there are no less than four lies (as some reckon them) in these two verses. Which makes it seem strange that Eve should give credit to these suggestions, which were very foolish: it being incredible that God should envy them any thing, who had given them their beings, and innumerable blessings. I can give no account of it but this: that when we are searching after the reason of things as she, I suppose, was of this prohibition) and cannot find it; if one be suggested to us, which never came into our mind before, though in itself unlikely, we are ready to catch at it, and to be pleased with it: for when the mind is weary with inquiring, it is satisfied with a false reason rather than have none. The promise also of knowledge was very tempting; especially of such knowledge as he gave her hope would raise and advance her to a more noble condition. And it is likely she thought an heavenly minister (as she took him to be) might understand God's meaning better than herself.

Ver. 6. *And when the woman saw the tree was good,* &c.] This verse gives a further account of that which seems very strange, the disobedience of our first parents. She looked so long upon the forbidden fruit, till she not only had an appetite to it, as excellent food, but was taken with its beautiful colour; and was also strongly possessed, by the persuasion of the old serpent, that her mind would be no less pleased than her palate by an increase in knowledge and wisdom. These were powerful temptations, (expressed in these words, "Good for food, pleasant to the eyes, and to be desired to make one wise,") and she could see no evil in the thing itself; it being the mere pleasure of God, of which she did not apprehend the reason, that made the eating of it a crime. This fruit also was planted, not in an obscure place, but "in the midst of the garden," (ver. 3.) near to the tree of life: which made it the more

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inviting; by its being always in her eye, as well as very beautiful; and raised, perhaps, the greater wonder in her, that God should forbid a thing which he had made so eminent for its beauty. Hereupon she yielded, and (as it follows) "took of the fruit thereof and did eat."

*And gave unto her husband with her.*] Who returned to her, it is likely, as she was eating the fruit; and was soon persuaded to bear her company; for it immediately follows, "and he did eat."

It is a question, whether he debated the matter with her, till he was satisfied with the arguments that moved her to eat; or his great affection to her drew him in, to do as she did: without any other consideration, perhaps, than this; that he chose rather to die, than out-live one, whom he loved most passionately. To this last, the apostle's words seem to incline, (1 Tim. ii. 14.) "Adam was not deceived:" though they do not necessarily signify, it must be confessed, that he was not seduced by the tempter's arguments; but only that Eve was first seduced, and then helped to seduce him. So that he might be wrought upon, both by those arguments, and by his affection also to his wife: but could have been deceived by neither, had he not been first guilty of a great ἀπροσεξία and ῥαθυμία, (as St. Chrysostom calls it) *heedlessness* and *non-attention*, arising from *sloth* and *negligence*. The reflection which Gregor. Nazianzen. makes upon her gazing upon the beautiful fruit is this; Φεύγωμεν τὰς εὐχροίας· εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς βλέπωμεν, &c. (Orat. xlvii. p. 700. D.)

Ver. 7. *And the eyes of them both were opened.*] Not in the sense the serpent promised, but a very much different: for they soon saw their folly, and made sad reflections upon what they had done.

*And they knew* (or felt) *that they were naked.*] A cold shivering seized on them; and they perceived also that they were stripped of their intellectual ornaments, (as Athanasius expounds it, contra Gentes, p. 4.) and blushed also at their bodily nakedness, of which they were not before at all ashamed.

*And they sewed fig-leaves together.*] Or, *twisted the young twigs of the fig-tree, with the leaves on them:* which are very broad in the eastern countries. Pliny reckons this among the trees that have the largest leaves, (lib. xvi. cap. 24. and cap. 26.) where he saith, it hath "folium maximum, umbrosissimumque," *the greatest and most shady leaf of all other.*

*And made themselves aprons.*] A covering, which they girt about them.

Ver. 8. *And they heard the voice of the Lord walking in the garden.*] The sound of the *majestic presence*, or the *glory of the Lord*, approaching nearer and nearer unto the place where they were. For the *walking* may be referred to *voice*, as well as to the Lord: signifying that the *sound*, as I said (for so *voice* is often used in Scripture) of the Divine Majesty's approach, came still nearer, and made a louder noise, to terrify them. For thus the word *walk* is applied to the *voice* (*i. e.* sound) *of the trumpet* at the giving of the law, when Moses says of it, (Exod. xix. 19.) הולך וחזק *it walked*, or *increased, and grew stronger.*

Just so, I conceive, the sound, which the motion of the Schechinah made, did at this time. And that,

*In the cool of the day.*] When the wind began to rise (so it is in the Hebrew, *in the wind of day*); that is, towards the evening, as most understand it: for then there was wont to be a gentle breath of wind; as Aristotle observes of his country, τὸν Ζέφυρον πρὸς τὴν δείλην πνεῖν, *the west wind was wont to blow towards the close of the day.* Which being a soft and gentle gale, the sound they heard was the more astonishing, which seemed to threaten a dreadful storm.

Onkelos thus paraphrases the first words, "they heard the voice of the Word of the Lord:" that is, of the Son of God; who appeared in very glorious clouds, or rather in flaming fire, of such an amazing brightness, that they were not able to endure the sight of it. For so it follows:

*Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God,* &c.] It is plain by this there was the appearance of an extraordinary presence; which affrighted them, and made them run "among the trees of the garden," *i. e.* into the thickets, or closest places they could find there.

I cannot but think the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, appeared quite otherwise than formerly; that is, not in so mild a lustre as when they were first acquainted with him; but in a more terrible burning light, as if it would consume them. For so we read in after-times, that the same Lord, who appeared unto Moses "in a flame of fire out of the midst of the bush," (Exod. iii. 2.) came down in a more dreadful manner, at the giving of the law, from Mount Sinai: when the mountain was "altogether on a smoke, (Exod. xix. 18.) because the Lord descended upon it in fire:" and that fire so great, that it flamed "unto the midst of heaven, (Deut. iv. 11.) with darkness, clouds, and thick darkness."

Ver. 9. *And the Lord God called unto Adam.*] As he did to Moses out of the bush, (Exod. iii. 4.) and to Israel out of the midst of the fire, (Deut. iv. 12.)

*And said unto him.*] With a majestic voice, against which he could not stop his ears.

*Where art thou?*] Why dost thou run into covers, like the wild beasts? Such questions do not argue innocence in him that asks them; but are intended to awaken the guilty to a confession of their crimes: as appears from (iv. 10.) "Where is Abel thy brother?" Of whom Cain stubbornly refusing to give an account, the Lord said immediately (to shew he needed not to be informed), "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground."

Ver. 10. *And he said, I heard thy voice, and I was afraid, because I was naked,* &c.] The very sound of the approach of thy presence so affrighted me, because I found I had lost my innocency, that I hid myself from thee. This was a foolish and vain attempt; but as guilt makes men fearful, so that bereaves them of all consideration.

Ver. 11. *And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked?*] Divested of those noble endowments, which I bestowed on thee?

*Hast thou eaten?* &c.] Transgressed my commandment?

Ver. 12. *And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest,* &c.] I confess my guilt; into which I was drawn by her whom thou gavest me for an help. Thus we are apt to excuse and palliate our faults; by laying that load upon others, with which we ought to charge ourselves.

Ver. 13. *And the Lord God said unto the woman,* &c.] What moved thee to violate my command?



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*And she said, The serpent beguiled me.*] My weakness was deceived by the cunning of the devil. Thus she also threw the blame upon another. But God, no doubt, convinced them both of the greatness of their guilt, and the miserable condition into which they were fallen by their transgression, before he ended this discourse with them. Which shews the infinite mercy of the Creator of all, who would not abandon them; but sought after them to save them, when they had lost themselves.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord said unto the serpent, Thou art cursed,* &c.] It is observed by Tertullian, that though God inflicted punishments on Adam and Eve, yet he did not *curse* them, as he did the serpent, *ut restitutionis candidatos,* they standing far for a restitution to his favour, (lib. ii. adv. Marcion. cap. 25.) And I may add, God did not begin with them; but first sentences the serpent, before he proceeds to judgment upon them: which denotes that he (the old serpent) was the great offender, being the first mover to sin; which made his crime more grievous than theirs.

Now, to be *cursed,* is to be deprived of what was before enjoyed, and doomed to a miserable wretched condition of life: the particulars of which follow. The only difficulty is, why the serpent (literally so called) should be cursed, as it manifestly is, (though the devil also, I shall shew, is intended) being but an instrument which the evil spirit used; and had neither will to sin, nor yet understanding or knowledge of what the devil did. It is commonly answered, that this is no more than the curse which God inflicted upon the earth (which was not capable of sinning) for Adam's sake, (ver. 17.) But still the reason of that curse is inquired; which is evident enough: man himself being punished by the curse upon the earth: which did not yield its fruit so plentifully and so easily, as it had done before his transgression. And the reason of this curse upon the serpent may be the better discerned, by another instance which we find Exod. xxi. 28. where an ox, which gored a man or woman that they died, is ordered to be stoned, and his flesh not to be eaten. This sure was to shew the great value God set upon man's life: which he secured also by this punishment; which moved all owners to look well to their beasts that might endanger it. Even so was the serpent condemned, in mercy to Adam and his wife (whom, it is manifest by what follows, God intended to restore into his favour), that they might be ever mindful of the foulness of their guilt, and excited to repentance; by seeing a noble creature (who was but the instrument of it) so extremely debased into a most vile condition.

*Upon thy belly shalt thou go.*] This shews the serpent was a more noble creature before this fact: but changed after it, from a flying seraph (as the word is, Numb. xxi. 6.) into a foul creeping serpent; not moving aloft in the air, but crawling upon the earth, and licking the dust. So it follows:

*And dust shalt thou eat, all the days of thy life.*] There is no viler food than this: which doth not signify the serpent should feed upon nothing else; but that creeping on the ground it cannot but lick up much dust together with its food, whatsoever that be.

All this is, literally, the curse of the serpent: but as the devil lay hidden under the covert of the serpent, though he be not named; so his curse is intended in this curse of the serpent, though it be not separately mentioned: as appears by the following verse, which has a peculiar respect to the devil under the name of the serpent. And the devil's curse in general was this: to be thrust down further than before, from his ancient heavenly habitation; and condemned to live in the lower smoky region of the air: where he hath lost all relish of celestial enjoyments, and pleases himself only in his vile endeavours to make mankind as wicked as himself.

Ver. 15. *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed.*] An irreconcilable feud, throughout all generations. Which is true of the serpent, literally understood, between whom and mankind there is such an antipathy, that it discovers itself both in the *natural* and *sensitive* faculties of them both: their humours being poison to each other; and man being astonished at the sight of a serpent more than any other creature: and the serpent in like manner at the sight of a man, especially (if naturalists say true) of a *naked* man. Thus, Mr. Mede, (Discourse xxxix. p. 295.) But this is far more true and certain of the *spiritual serpent,* the devil and his angels (who joined with him in his apostacy), and the woman and her seed, in whom these words are more literally fulfilled. For Maimonides justly admires, that the seed of the woman should be only mentioned, and not of Adam, (without whom *she* could have no seed; which therefore must be *his* seed) and that it should be said of *her* seed, not of *his,* that it bruised the serpent's head (More Nevochim, pt. ii. cap. 30.) "This," saith he, "is one of the passages in Scripture which is most wonderful, and not to be understood, according to the letter; but contains great wisdom in it." In which words he wrote more truth than he was aware; but was not able to unfold this hidden wisdom, as we Christians, blessed be God, are able to do. For this *seed* here spoken of is Christ, as both the Targums (that ascribed to Jonathan, and that called the Hierusalem) expound it; and as we are taught to understand it, by God's words to Abraham, when he renewed this promise: "In thy seed (that is Christ, saith the apostle) shall all nations be blessed," (Gen. xxii. 18. Gal. iii. 8. 16.) For he vanquished the devil, who had now vanquished mankind. So here it follows,

*It shall bruise thy head.*] *i. e. That seed* of the woman shall despoil thee of thy power (meaning the devil), and abolish thy tyranny. For in the head of the serpent (to which there is here an allusion) lies his strength: as Epaminondas represented to the Thebans, when he exhorted them to set upon a band of Lacedemonians, by shewing them the head of a vast snake, which he had crushed (*τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ θηρίου συντρίψας*), saying, "Look ye, the body can do no hurt now the head is gone:" meaning, that, if they routed the Lacedemonians, the rest of the confederates would signify nothing. (Polæn. lib. ii. Strateg.) And therefore Mr. Mede has rightly interpreted the *serpent's head,* to signify the *devil's sovereignty,* (Discourse xxv. p. 143. and xxxix. p. 298.) and that sovereignty is the power of death: which headship of the devil, the *seed of the woman* (that is, *Christ the Lord*) hath broken in pieces, and, at last, will utterly destroy. (1 Cor. xv. 25, 26.)

There is a notable example of this enmity in the struggle between Christ and the devil for empire, in Rev. xii. 7, 8. where Christ destroyed the sovereignty of the serpent in the Roman empire so effectually, that there was "no

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more place found for the dragon and his angels in heaven;" *i. e.* the devil utterly lost his sovereignty in that state; as Mr. Mede interprets it.

*And thou shalt bruise his heel.*] This victory over the devil was not to be gotten without blood: for the devil did all that he was able to destroy *this seed*. But that was impossible to be done; he could only assault his lower part, (called here the *heel*,) viz. *his body or flesh:* which, by his instruments, he persecuted, despitefully used, and at last crucified. By which very means (so admirable was the wisdom and goodness of God) the *seed of the woman* conquered the devil, as the apostle shews, Heb. ii. 14, 15. For it must be here noted, that Christ was properly and literally *the seed of the woman*, and not at all of the man: being born, without him, of a pure virgin. The tender mercy of God also must here be acknowledged; which gave our first parents hope of a recovery, as soon as they were fallen: by making them this most gracious promise. Which, though here something obscurely delivered, grew clearer and clearer, in every age, till Christ came.

It cannot be denied, likewise, but that by *seed* may be understood (collectively) all the faithful, who, by the power of their Lord, vanquish all the power of their spiritual enemy, (see Luke x. 19.) Yet so, that we must confess, there was *one eminent seed* here primarily intended, by whom they overcome. Unto whom another *seed* is not here opposed in this last part of the verse, (as in the former part,) but the serpent himself: which points out a single combat (as I may call it) between this promised *seed* and the devil. But if we will take in the other sense also, understanding by *seed*, Christ with all his members, then the *bruising their heel* signifies (as Mede expounds it) the devil's deceit and guile in assaulting us unawares; as they do who come behind others, when they do not observe them, and catch hold of their heel. For that this is an emblem of guile and deceitful dealing, appears from the story of Esau and Jacob; the latter of which had his name from catching his brother by the heel at his birth, which Esau took for an indication of his beguiling him, as he did two times. See Discourse xxxvii. p. 184.

It is fit, I think, here to note further, (what the learned Mr. Allix hath observed,) that God in this promise did a particular kindness to our father, Adam. Who having been seduced by his wife to eat the forbidden fruit, it might have occasioned a breach between them; had not God taken care to prevent it, by making this gracious promise of a Redeemer, to depend upon his union with his wife: from whom, he assures them, One should descend that should repair their losses.

The time likewise when this promise was made is remarkable: which was, before God had rejected Cain and preferred Seth to him; and long before any restriction made to Noah's family, or Sem's (who derived from him), that all the world might look upon the Messiah as a common benefit to all the sons of Adam.

Ver. 16. *Unto the woman he said.*] Next to the serpent, *the woman* receives her sentence (as Mr. Mede well notes), because she was more in the fault than Adam: being guilty, as his words are, (Discourse xxxviii. p. 287.) both of her own personal sin and of her husband's also. Whence it is, that he, who had only sinned himself and not caused others to sin, had his judgment last of all. This should be a little more considered than it is, by all those who not only do evil themselves, but draw others into the same guilt.

*I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and conception.*] *i. e.* Thy sorrow in thy conception: which includes all the time of women's going with child; when they frequently nauseate all their food, or have troublesome longings, and endure many other things which are very grievous to them; especially when they are in danger to miscarry of their burden.

*In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children.*] Brute creatures are observed to bring forth their young, with far less pain, and difficulty, and danger, than women commonly have in their labour. Who, after they are delivered of their children, are still in danger, by many accidents: especially when that stays behind which should follow the birth, (as it sometimes doth from various causes, noted by Bartholinus, in his Hist. Anatom. et Medic. Cent. v. Hist. xxxii. n. 3.) which occasions sore torments, and puts their lives in the greatest hazard.

*And thy desire shall be to thy husband.*] That is, it shall be subject to him; as the Vulgar Latin and Aben Ezra expound this phrase: which is so used, iv. 7.

*And he shall rule over thee.*] Have power to control thy desire. This looks like putting her more under the will of her husband, than was intended in her first formation: because she had not given a due regard to him; but eaten the forbidden fruit, without staying to consult him and ask his advice.

Ver. 17. *And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife*, &c.] Been so weak, as to mind her more than me.

*Cursed shall the ground be.*] It shall not bring forth so plentifully, nor so easily as it did.

*For thy sake.*] Because of thy sin; which shall be punished partly by its barrenness.

*In sorrow shalt thou eat of it.*] It shall cost thee a great deal of labour and toil, before thou reapest the fruits of it.

*All the days of thy life.*] Every part of the year shall bring along with it new wearisome labours.

Ver. 18. *Thorns and thistles*, &c.] It shall cost thee abundance of pains to root up the thorns, thistles, and unprofitable weeds; which shall come up instead of better plants.

*And thou shalt eat the herb of the field.*] Be content with such things as the common field produces; instead of the delicious fruits of paradise. Here the Rabbins cry out, "Mensura pro mensura;" *behold the justice of God, who served man in his kind!* He was not satisfied with the choice fruits of the garden in which God put him; and therefore he took them from him, and sent him to eat the ordinary food of beasts; and that not without hard labour. (Maimon. More Nevoch. pt. i. cap. 2.)

Ver. 19. *In the sweat of thy face*, &c.] Some conclude from hence, that the earth brought forth before the fall without any pains to cultivate it. And indeed there needed none; all things being produced at the first, by the Divine power, in full perfection. But what labour would have been necessary in time, if man had continued innocent, we do not know: only these words signify, that less toil would have served than man must now take for their sustenance.



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Some of the Jews reckon up nine punishments, besides death, which God inflicted upon Adam; and as many upon Eve. (See Pirke Eliezer, cap. xiv. and Vorstius upon him.)

*Till thou return to the ground.*] *i. e.* Till thou diest, and moulderest into dust.

*For out of it thou wast taken.*] From whence thou wast taken, as it is explained, ver. 23. which shews the particle *ki* is not always to be translated *for;* but sometime *whence,* or *whom,* as (iv. 25.) "God hath given me another seed instead of Abel, כי הרגו whom Cain slew."

The rest of this verse needs no explication.

Ver. 20. *Called her name Eve.*] Some think she was called Issha before, and now he changed her name into Eve: in belief that God would make her the mother of all mankind, and of the promised seed particularly; by whom (as D. Chytræus adds) he hoped to be raised from the dead to immortal life.

*Mother of all living.*] Of all men that should live hereafter, or of Him that should give life to mankind. So Havah may be interpreted, *viva* or *vivificatrix:* because she was the mother of all mankind, or because mankind, now sentenced to death, were by her *seed* to be made alive.

Ver. 21. *Unto Adam and his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins,* &c.] The first clothes of mankind were of the leaves of trees, which they made themselves; being ready at hand, woven by Divine art. The next were of the skins of beasts; which were much warmer, and better able to defend them from the injury of cold and weather: and these were made by God's direction. Who having made a most gracious covenant with our first parents, (ver. 15.) it seems not unreasonable to suppose, that he also signified to them, they should, for the confirmation of it, offer to him sacrifices: by the blood of which, covenants were ratified, in after-times, from this example. For it is not likely, that the beasts, of whose skins these coats were made, died of themselves; or that they were killed merely for this use, or for their food. And, therefore, what is so probable as that, by God's order, they were slain for a sacrifice to him, (the better to represent to them their guilt, and that the promised seed should vanquish the devil, and redeem them, by shedding his blood) and that of the skins of those beasts God directed coats to be made to clothe them? But whether by dressing them and making leather of them, or only by drying them, and letting the hair still continue on them, we cannot tell: certain it is, that this was a very ancient sort of clothing; as we learn, not only from profane authors, but from the sacred; particularly Heb. xi. 37. The Jewish doctors have carried this matter so far, as to say, that Adam being a priest, these ere his priestly garments. The skin, indeed, of the burnt-offering, under the law, is given to the priest, (Lev. vii. 8.) but not to make him clothes: and Eve, if this were true, must have been a priest also; for she had a coat made of skins, no less than Adam; who, they fancy, left this coat to his posterity. So that Noah, Abraham, and all the rest of the patriarchs (as Abel they say did) sacrificed in the very same coat; till Aaron was made high-priest, and had special garments appointed him by God. Among which, one being called by this very name of כתנת (Exod. xxviii.) it gave ground to this idle conceit.

Ver. 22. *Behold, the man is become,* &c.] Man, in this place, includes woman: and these words are generally thought to be spoken sarcastically; to approve their great folly, in thinking to increase their knowledge, whether God would or no.

*Like one of us.*] These words plainly insinuate a plurality of persons in the Godhead; and all other explications of them seem forced and unnatural: that of Mr. Calvin's being as disagreeable to the Hebrew phrase, as that of Socinus to the excellency of the Divine nature. This, I think, is well proved by Theodorick Hackspan, Disput. iv. De Locut. Sacris, n. 15, &c.

*And now, lest he put forth his hand,* &c.] This seems an abrupt kind of speech; something being kept back: as, let us turn him out (or some such-like words), "Lest he take also of the tree of life, and live for ever." Which many of the ancient fathers look upon as a merciful dispensation that man might not be perpetuated in a state of sin. So Irenæus, (lib. iii. cap. 37. and Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xxxviii. p. 619.) God thus ordered, Ἵνα μὴ ἀθάνατον ᾖ τὸ κακὸν, καὶ γίνεται φιλανθρωπία ἡ τιμωρία, &c. *that sin might not be immortal, and the punishment might be a kindness.* Which he repeats, Orat. xlii. p. 681. So Epiphanius also, (Hæres. xxxvii. n. 1.) "When man had spoiled himself, God unmade him, that he might make him better." And Methodius in him, (Hæres. xliv. n. 24, 25, &c. and 29.) where he proceeds so far as to say, that death was not sent upon man, ἐπὶ κακῷ τινί, *out of any evil design to him,* but as a mercy.

Ver. 23. *Therefore God sent him forth,* &c.] Or, *cast him out:* and that with reproach and disgrace; as Aben Ezra observes the Hebrew word, in this form, to signify. And so cast him out, that he should not return again.

*To till the ground from whence he was taken.*] This confirms what I said upon the second chapter: (ver. 8.) That Adam was made in another place, and thence brought into paradise: from whence, being now expelled, he was sent back to the place where he was first formed; there to labour in all the toils of husbandry. Though, it must be confessed, these words may signify no more, than those ver. 19. of this chapter, that he had his original from the earth: by the tilling of which he was put in mind of his return thither.

Ver. 24. *So he drove out the man.*] (With his wife) or, as Aben Ezra translates it, *after he had driven him out, he placed,* &c. This word גרש is that which the Hebrews properly use in divorces; and therefore denotes, they think, that the Lord put him away from his presence, as a man did his wife, to whom he gave a bill of divorce: or, as a prince banishes a subject that hath rebelled against him, whom he sends into exile out of his own country.

*And he placed at the east of the garden.*] This shews the entrance into paradise was from the east: at which entrance Adam being cast out, it is likely he afterward inhabited some of the eastern countries. Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, saith a mountain in India; which the Mahometans commonly call Sarandib, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. i. De Synedr. cap. ii. p. 452, &c.) But Aben Ezra's conjecture seems more reasonable, that he dwelt in some country not far from paradise.

*Cherubims.*] Some of the heavenly ministers, that waited upon the Divine Majesty: who were called by this name in Moses's time, when he wrote this history in the wil-

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derness, after the giving of the law. For the glory of the Lord, I take it, here appeared, at the expulsion of Adam and Eve, in a most dreadful manner; to deter them from attempting to come near this place again for fear of being consumed.

*And a flaming sword.*] Or, *flame of a sword.* Concerning which Maimonides thus discourses: (p. i. More Nevoch. cap. 4.) Our wise men understand by *lahat (flame)* an angel: according to the psalmist, "He maketh his angels spirits; his ministers *(lohet) a flaming fire.*" (Psal. civ. 4.) That is, one of the seraphims, or a flaming angel, in the form of a flying fiery seraph (or serpent), whose body moving in the air resembled the vibration of a sword, was appointed, with the cherubims, to guard the entrance of the garden. For the cherubims and seraphims, are frequently mentioned in Scripture as attendants upon the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty: which appeared here in great glory, at the passage into the garden of Eden; as it did in aftertimes at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation of Israel, to their great astonishment.

*Which turned every way.*] "Angels," says Maimonides, in the forenamed place, "can turn themselves into all forms and shapes: some of which strike greater terror into those that behold them than others do." But I take this expression, not to signify mutation of shapes, but the motion of the angel: which was so very swift and glittering, that devouring flames seemed to come streaming out on every side.

*To keep the way of the tree of life.*] To secure the passage into the garden of Eden, where this tree was; that none should dare to attempt a re-entrance. But Adam was so far from thinking of this, that, if the eastern traditions were to be credited, I should add, he plunged himself into the deepest sorrow for a long time; bewailing his sin, begging pardon, &c. till God dispatched an angel to comfort him, and further assure him of his favour: which being but probable conjectures, I say no more of such matters. Nor can I assert, with any degree of confidence, what our great primate of Ireland says, in his Annals, that it seems to have been the tenth day of the world's age, when Adam was cast out of paradise: in memory of which calamity, the solemn day of expiation, and the great fast, was instituted in aftertimes, wherein all were to afflict their souls, (Lev. xvi. 29.) This indeed is the doctrine of the Jews, who say, "The great day of expiation (which was on the tenth of September) was appointed and sanctified from the creation of the world:" but there is no other authority for it.

It will be more useful, I think, to observe what footsteps there are of these things remaining in the gentile world. I will mention but two. One of which is noted by Eusebius, who shews (lib. xii. Præpar. Evang. cap. 11.) that Plato, in his Symposium, hath preserved the memory of Paradise: his κῆπος Διὸς, *garden of Jupiter*, being the same with this *garden of God*, in which man was at first placed. The other by St. Austin, who says, Pherecydes, the scholar of Pythagoras, called the beginner of evil, Ὀφιονέα: that is, a demon in the shape of a serpent. So Heideggerus observes out of him, Exercit. iv. De Adamo et Eva, n. 82.

## CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1. *AND Adam knew Eve his wife,* &c.] After they were thrown out of paradise; not before (whatsoever some of the Jewish doctors fancy to the contrary); nay, as some will have it, after they had spent some time in acts of repentance, which is not an improbable opinion.

*I have gotten a man from the Lord.*] *i. e.* The promised Messiah; which she imagined would have been her firstborn. For the words of the promise (iii. 15.) might as well be expounded of the first *seed* the woman had, as of any of his posterity.

Ver. 2. *She bare his brother Abel.*] But gives no reason of his name, which signifies *vanity;* as she did of Cain's, which signifies *acquisition,* or *possession.* Nor is it said who gave this second son the name of Abel: but it seems they made no account of him, in comparison with the firstborn. "Quod non posnerunt in eo spem factæ promissionis de semine, ut in Kain," (as Joh. Forsterus judiciously speaks, in his Lexicon, on the word Hevel,) *Because they did not place in him their hope of the promised seed, as they did in Cain.*

*And Abel was a keeper of sheep,* &c.] The younger son was a shepherd; and the elder an husbandman and planter. For this last seems to have been Adam's chief employment, both before and after his fall, (Gen. ii. 15. iii. 23.) and therefore either chosen by Cain, in imitation of his father, or put upon him by his direction, as the more noble of the two.

Whence the eastern people gave him the name of Abdalcariths; which some mistook for another son of Adam: but in truth was another name of Cain, signifying *a tiller of the field,* as Mr. Selden shews, lib. v. De Jure N. et G. cap. 8.

The patriarchs indeed after the flood, at least in Abraham's family, chose to feed cattle: but that was because it was less laborious, and more suitable to that unsettled condition wherein they lived for many years, removing, like the ancient Nomades, from one country to another.

Ver. 3. *In process of time.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *in the end of days:* that is, in the conclusion of the year, or after harvest. So *days* signify in many other places, particularly Judg. xi. 4. where *after days* is *after a year.* This was a very seasonable time to make their grateful acknowledgments to God; who had given them a fruitful year, and blessed them with increase. Accordingly God ordained, in future times, that the Israelites should keep a solemn feast, in the year's end, to thank him for the ingathering of their fruits. (Exod. xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22.) But in what year of the world it was that Cain and Abel brought these sacrifices, we have no means to know. It was, no doubt, when they were grown men; and perhaps had more brothers and sisters besides themselves. See ver. 17.

*Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord.*] These were the most ancient sacrifices among the gentiles, both Greek and Roman, as their authors tell us; and therefore it is most likely that Adam began with these oblations, of herbs, flowers, frankincense, meal, &c. in which Cain followed him; being of the same profession, and provided with store of such things. Now, as there

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were solemn times of making their devout acknowledgments to God: so, I doubt not, there were some set places where they met for that purpose. For the word in Hebrew for *brought*, is never used about domestic or private sacrifices; but always about those public sacrifices, which were brought to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to be offered by the priest. As (Lev. iv. 4.) "He shall bring the bullock to the door," &c. Which occurs all along, especially in the ninth chapter of that book.

And therefore, I suppose, they *brought* these sacrifices, here mentioned, to some fixed place; looking towards the Schechinah, or glorious presence of God, at the entrance of the garden of Eden, from which Adam had been expelled. For there being, no doubt, some settled place where they performed sacred offices, it is most reasonable to think it had respect to the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty. Wheresoever that appeared, there they appeared (as the Scripture speaks) before God: because there he manifested his special presence, which moved them to go thither to worship him, to give him thanks, or to inquire of him, as we read Rebecca did, xxv. 22.

What kind of sacrifices these were, is a question among learned men. The Talmudists are of opinion they were *whole burnt-offerings*, and that there were no other before the law was given, (which I shall not now examine,) nor would the Jews, after the giving of the law, permit the Gentiles to offer any other at their temple.

It is their opinion also, that Cain and Abel brought these sacrifices to Adam, to be offered by him: for which I see no convincing reason; but, rather, they themselves seem to have offered them. And then this place effectually confutes their opinion, who say the first-born were separated to the office of priesthood: for, by these words, it is plain, the youngest sacrificed, as well as the eldest. And so they did in following ages; when we find Jacob performing the office of a priest, (Gen. xxviii. 18. xlvi. 1.) Which proves their opinion rather to be true, who say, that every man anciently had the power, in his own family, to do the office of a priest, as Job did, (i. 5.) But when families combined together, under one head, prince, or governor, he had the sole right of sacrificing devolved to him, as their common father. Thus Melchizedeck was both king of Salem and priest of the most high God. All which was taken away by the law of Moses, which permitted none to officiate among the Israelites, but the family of Aaron; and no sacrifices to be offered, but at the tabernacle of the congregation, Lev. xvii. 3, 4, 5.

It is a much harder question, how they came to sacrifice at all, either meal or beasts: since we read of no command from God requiring them to bring him such oblations: which hath led some to conclude, that men did this out of a grateful inclination, to return him some of his own blessings; though they had no directions from him about it. But, if this were true, how came Abel to believe that his sacrifice of a beast would be so acceptable to God, as the apostle says it was by faith? (Heb. xi. 4.) That faith had something else to warrant it, than barely his own reason. Adam, in all likelihood, had received some order concerning it; and began to sacrifice (as I noted before, iii. 21.) by direction from the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty: from whence a voice spake to him upon several occasions, (ii. 16; 17. iii. 8, 9, &c.) This order, indeed, is not recorded, no more than many other things which Moses in his short history omitted, (as Enoch's prophecy, Noah's preaching, the peopling of the world, &c. see ver. 15.) but it doth not seem probable that Adam would have presumed to invent a way of worship, by killing beasts and burning their fat: especially, since one cannot perceive any inclination of it in nature. And therefore Eusebius very judiciously resolves, in my opinion, that this way of worship was not taken up by chance, or by a human motion, κατὰ θείαν δ' ἐπίνοιαν ὑποβεβλημένον, *but suggested to them by a Divine intimation*, (lib. i. Demonstr. Evang. cap. 10.) Of which Plato one would think had some notion, when he forbids his law-maker (in his Epinomis) to make any alteration in the rites of sacrificing, because, οὐ δυνατὸν εἰδέναι τῇ θνητῇ τῶν τοιούτων περί, *it is not possible for our mortal nature to know any thing about such matters.*

Ver. 4. *And Abel, he also brought of the firstling of his flock*, &c.] Many have fancied, from hence, that Cain's guilt lay in this, that he did not bring the *first of his fruit*, as he ought to have done, and as the heathens ever did, or were bound to do by their pontifical laws, (as Mr. Selden observes, chap. i. of his Hist. of Tithes) in their Præmessum, *i. e.* the first-fruits of their corn, or their Calpar, which was the richest of their wine. For it is only said, he brought *of the fruit of his ground*, when Abel brought *of the firstlings of his flock*. And Moses also adding, that Abel brought *of the fat thereof*, that is, the very best; they think Cain's fault was, that he brought not the fullest ears of corn (which he kept for himself), but the lankest, or brought them with a niggardly hand, or a grudging mind. Thus Palladius, in the Life of St. Chrysostom, says, "He was the first that tasted the first-fruits, and kept the best things for his own belly." Τῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἀπεγεύσατο πρῶτος, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ λαιμεργίᾳ τὰ πρωτεῖα φυλάξας, p. 108. But there is no certainty of this; and the apostle to the Hebrews hath directed us to a better account, (xi. 4.) Abel offered with a pious mind; Cain without a due sense of God, and sincere affection to him. He offered the fruit of his ground; but did not devote himself to God. Therefore it follows,

*The Lord had respect unto Abel and his offering.*] He graciously accepted them: and his offering was accepted, because he himself was accepted. It is a metaphor from those who, when a present is made to them, look kindly upon the person that brings it, if they like him and his present; or turn away their faces, if they disdain them.

How God testified his acceptance of Abel's sacrifice is the only difficulty: which the Jews say was by fire coming from heaven (or rather, I think, by a stream of light, or a flame from the Schechinah, or glorious presence of God, to whom it was offered) which burnt up his sacrifice. Thus, Theodotion of old translated these words: Ἀπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας Ἀβὲλ, καὶ ἀνέπρησε: *He looked upon Abel's sacrifices, and set them on fire.* Which St. Hierom, and other ancient writers approve. The footsteps of which we meet withal, in Gen. xv. 17. and examples of it very many in future times: when Moses offered the first great burnt-offering according to the law, (Lev. ix. 24.) when Gideon offered upon the rock, (Judg. vi. 21.) and David stayed the plague, (1 Chron. xxi. 26.) and Solomon consecrated the temple, (2 Chron. vii. 13.) and when Elijah contended

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with the Baalites, (1 Kings xviii. 38, &c.) Whence the Israelites, wishing all prosperity to their king, pray that God would *accept* (in the Hebrew, *turn into ashes*) *his burnt sacrifice*, (Psal. xx. 4.) And we find some relics of this among the heathen: for, when the Greeks went on shipboard to the Trojan war, Homer represents Jupiter promising them good success in this manner, Iliad. ii. v. 354:

Ἀστράπτων ἐπιδέξι' ἐναίσιμα σήματα φαίνων.

by *lightning on the right hand of them*, (as it may be translated) or *shining graciously* upon them, (as the ancient scholiast expounds it) *and making favourable tokens appear to them.* In like manner, he gave the same encouragement to the Trojans, when they were going to set upon the Greeks, Iliad. x. v. 236, 237:

Ζεὺς δὲ σφὶν Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων,
Ἀστράπτει———

*Jupiter giving them good signs, lightened upon them.* And thunder sometimes accompanying these flashes of lightning (as it did on Mount Sinai), Virgil makes him to have established covenants in that manner, (Æneid. xii. v. 200.) Where, after Æneas had called the sun to witness, &c. Latinus lifts up his eyes and right hand to heaven, saying,

"Audiat hæc genitor, qui fœdera fulmine sancit."

*Let the (heavenly) Father hear what I say, who establishes covenants with thunder.*

If such passages as these were attended to, no considering man would think the books of Moses to be of less antiquity than they pretend to; they opening to us the very fountains of things, particularly of the ancient religion.

Ver. 5. *But unto Cain and his offering he had not respect.*] He did not so much as shine upon his sheaves; much less make them ascend up to heaven in a smoke: though he were the elder brother, and brought his offering first.

*And Cain was very wroth.*] This highly incensed him against Abel: when he should have made severe reflections on himself, and considered what it was that provoked God to slight his sacrifice; that so he might amend it, and procure his favour. Unto which he had not a title by his birthright, but by his piety. It is possible, indeed, that Eve might have instilled an opinion into him, that he, being the first-born, was the blessed seed which God had promised. And then this may be conceived to have enraged him the more against his brother; when he saw such a distinguishing mark of God's special favour to him in the very act of sacrificing. Which made him look upon Abel with a jealous eye, and tempted him to kill him; that he might not supplant him in his hope, of being the fulfiller of the oracle beforementioned, iii. 15.

*And his countenance fell.*] He did not merely look dejectedly through grief; but knit his brows, and had a down look, as we speak, lowering and cloudy: like those who have evil designs in their heads, and meditate nothing but revenge.

Ver. 6. *And the Lord said unto Cain,* &c.] He did not intend wholly to cast off Cain, by refusing his sacrifice, it is plain, I think, by this question. Which was, in effect, to tell him, he had no reason to be angry or out of humour; but only to become a better man: and then God would have respect unto him also. So it follows:

Ver. 7. *If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted?* &c.] There are vast varieties in the interpretation of this verse, with which I shall not trouble the reader (see Theodorick Hackspan, lib. i. Miscel. cap. 4. Mercer, and L. de Dieu, different from all, with Dr. Lightfoot), but only give the sense of our translation. "If thou dost well, shall thou not be accepted?" Canst thou doubt that I have an impartial respect to true goodness, wheresoever I find it?

*But if thou dost not well, sin* (that is, the punishment of sin, as ver. 13. xix. 15. and many other places) *lieth at the door.*] Is ready to follow the offence.

*And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.*] He is still thy younger brother, and shall be subject to thee, (see iii. 16.) and thou shalt be his superior. So here are three things suggested to Cain, to appease his anger against his brother. First, That the reason of his not being respected was not in his brother, but in himself: who, if he would do well, as Abel had done, should find favour no less than he. Secondly, That there was no reason he that did ill should fare like him that did well; but quite contrary, should feel the marks of God's displeasure. And yet, Thirdly, This should not alter his civil right, nor give Abel any authority over him: but he should still retain the privilege of his birthright; and need fear no harm from his brother, who was his inferior.

Ver. 8. *And Cain talked with Abel his brother.*] Asked him in a friendly manner (as one brother speaks to another) if he would walk into the fields? This seems more likely to me, than that he told him how the Lord had chidden him (as Aben Ezra interprets it), or that he disputed with him about the other world, and the judgment to come, as others of them expound it. Which Mr. Selden very judiciously concludes to have arisen from Onkelos's paraphrase on the foregoing verse, which is this: "If thou amend thy worship (or service of me) shalt thou not be pardoned? but if thou dost not amend it, thy sin shall remain to the day of judgment, in which thou shalt be punished if thou dost not repent." Upon which follows, in some editions of the Pentateuch, the dispute which Cain had with Abel about the day of judgment, as a traditional explication of this eighth verse. Lib. vii. de Jure N. et Gen. cap. 4.

*When they were in the field.*] When he had drawn him from company, and had him alone.

*Cain rose up against Abel his brother.*] Assaulted him on a sudden; took him at an advantage.

*And slew him.*] Gave him a stab; or some other way wounded him; so as to shed his blood. Verse 11.

Ver. 9. *The Lord said unto Cain, Where is thy brother?*] Which is not spoken, as if he was ignorant; but to awaken Cain, and make him sensible, that he knew what had passed.

*And he said, I know not.*] I can give no account of him.

*Am I my brother's keeper?*] Was he committed like a little child to my care; to look after him, and see he took no harm? Rage made him rude; and not mind what he said, nor to whom he spoke. Salvian, indeed, (lib. i. de gubern. Dei) thinks this speech proceeded from atheism; and that, in those early days, the opinion sprung up, which, in his time, had infected many, "Deum terrestria non respicere," &c. *That God did not mind what we do on earth:*

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*but the foulest fact may be covered with a lie.* But this conceit is confuted by the very question which is put to Cain.

Ver. 10. *And he said, What hast thou done?*] Consider what a heinous crime thou hast committed; which cannot be concealed from me. For,

*The voice of thy brother's blood crieth,* &c.] Calls for speedy and severe vengeance. In the Hebrew it is *bloods,* in the plural number; because, say the Hebrew doctors, he killed Abel and all his posterity, which were in his loins: according to what we read, 2 Kings ix. 26. "I have seen the blood of Naboth, and the blood of his sons (though we read of nobody stoned but Naboth himself), saith the Lord, and I will requite thee in this plat," &c. See Sanhedrin, cap. iv. and Excerpt. Gemara, cap. vi. N. 7. à Joh. Coch.

Ver. 11. *And now thou art cursed from the earth, which hath opened,* &c.] I pass a sentence of perpetual banishment upon thee, from this country; which hath drunk in the blood of thy brother. Hitherto Adam and his children had lived together; but now, as Aben Ezra well observes, Cain was banished into a region far off from his father, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Paradise.

Ver. 12. *And when thou tillest the ground,* &c.] And wheresoever thou shalt flee, the earth, which thou tillest, shall be barren; and not bring forth answerable to thy labour.

*A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.*] In that strange country thou shalt have no rest; but wander up and down unquietly, and not know where to settle: or as the LXX. translate the words, "Go about *groaning and trembling,* full of anguish in thy mind, and with a continual shaking in thy body." Thus St. Basil, in his Homily against Drunkenness understood it, when he said, "A drunkard draws upon himself the curse of Cain," Τρέμων καὶ περιφερόμενος διὰ παντὸς βίου. *Staggering and turned about uncertainly all his life long.* Hen. Valesius thinks his brother's ghost haunted him whithersoever he went; which made him run from place to place to avoid its persecution. So he paraphrases these words, (Annot. in lib. iii. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. cap. 6.) *Umbra fratris tui quem occidisti, persequetur te ubique, et aderit infesta.* And so he interprets the foregoing words, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the ground." Thy brother, whom thou hast impiously slain, requires me to avenge him, and exact the punishment of thee, which is due for his murder. And indeed it was a notion, not only among the pagans, but among the Jews also (as he shews), that the ghosts of those who were murdered persecuted their murderers, and required punishment of them.

Ver. 13. *My punishment is greater than I can bear.*] This is too heavy a punishment, for I sink under the weight of it. Others interpret it (as appears by the margin of our Bible), "My sin is unpardonable;" or too great to be forgiven. Thus he, who, at first, was not so sensible of his sin as to confess it, now thinks it to no purpose to beg mercy.

Ver. 14. *Behold, thou hast driven me this day from the face of the earth.*] Banished me (as was said before, ver. 11.) from my own native country.

*And from thy face shall I be hid.*] And more than that, I am banished from thy blessed presence, (as appears from ver. 16.) and shall not have the liberty to come before thy glorious Majesty. With respect to which he may be said to have been *excommunicated,* though not in full sense of that word, as Mr. Selden shews, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 2. p. 446. 455, &c.

*And I shall be a fugitive,* &c.] Wandering up and down in unknown regions.

*And it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me.*] I shall be looked upon as a common enemy: so that whosoever lights upon me, taking me for a dangerous person, will kill me. To find another, in Scripture language, signifies to fall upon him by chance or unawares; without any precedent hatred: as Bochart observes, from 1 Sam. xxiv. 14. and other places, lib. ii. Hierozoic. p. i. cap. 21.

Ver. 15. *And the Lord said unto him, Therefore, whoso slayeth Cain,* &c.] Or, (as the word we translate *therefore* may be rendered) *not so:* it shall not be as thou suspectest. But Lud. de Dieu gives many instances where this word לכן is used as an affirmative, signifying as much as *surely.* So the meaning is, Take it for a certain truth, that if any man slay Cain, he (that is Cain) shall be avenged sevenfold; or rather, through seven generations, God will punish the slaughter of Cain a long time: for the number *seven* is ἀορίστου πλήθους σημαντικόν, (as the Chronic. Excerpt. before Joh. Antiochenus speak:) *an indication of an indeterminate, but great number;* signifying as much as he shall endure many punishments. For God intended the life of Cain should be prolonged, in a miserable estate, as an example of his vengeance; to deter others from committing the like murder.

*And the Lord set a mark upon Cain,* &c.] What this *mark* was, we must be content to be ignorant. Some think God stigmatized him with a letter of his name in his forehead; (or, rather, I should think, set such a brand upon him as signified him to be accursed:) others, that he looked most frightfully, so that every body avoided him; or, that his head shaked continually; or, (as others) he had a trembling in his whole body; or, his face, perhaps, was blasted by lightning from the presence of the Lord. Certain it is, that it was some notorious mark of God's displeasure; which made men shun him. For we must not imagine there was nobody in the world, at this time, but Adam, Eve, and Cain: but consider that the design of this Holy Book is not to give us a particular account of the whole race of mankind descended from Adam (who, no doubt, had a great many more children than Cain and Abel; and they also had children before this happened), but only of those persons who were most remarkable; and whose story was necessary to be known, for the understanding of the succession down to Moses's time. Accordingly we read, presently after this, that Cain had a wife; and more than that, he built a city: which supposes a great company of people to inhabit it, (ver. 17.) And here, by the way, we need not wonder there is no mention made of the institution of sacrifices; when the first peopling of the world is only supposed, not related.

Ver. 16. *And Cain went out.*] Not voluntarily, but by the force of the Divine curse.

*From the presence of the Lord.*] There was a Divine glory, called by the Jews the Schechinah, which appeared from the beginning (as I have often said before); the sight of which Cain never after this enjoyed; but was banished from it: and God withdrawing his gracious presence from him (so St. Chrysostom), he was also forsaken by him, and put out of his special protection. If Cain, after this, turned a down-

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right idolater (as many think), it is very likely he introduced the worship of the *sun* (which was the most ancient sort of idolatry), as the best resemblance he could find of the *glory of the Lord:* which was wont to appear in a flaming light. And in aftertimes they worshipped *fire* in the eastern countries; as the best emblem of the sun, when it was absent.

*And dwelt in the land of Nod.*] At last he settled in a country, which had the name of *Nod;* from his wandering up and down, like a vagabond, till he fixed here: where, it seems, he still continued restless; moving from one part of the country to another, till, in conclusion, "he built a city," (for his security, some think) as we read in the verse following.

Some translate it, *in the land of vagabonds.* And R. Solomon fancies the very ground shaked under him, and made people run away from him, saying, "This is the cruel man that killed his brother."

*On the east of Eden.*] He still went eastward from that country, where Adam settled after he was thrust out of paradise. See iii. 24. Which Junius thinks was in that tract of ground where the Nomades afterwards dwelt, bordering upon Susiana. Which is far more probable, than the conceit of the author of the book Cosri, (par. ii. § 14.) who would have Cain's going "from the presence of the Lord" nothing else but his expulsion out of the land of Canaan, where Adam dwelt after he was thrust out of paradise: and consequently, the land of Nod was not far from the land of Canaan. Nothing can be more ungrounded than this; which overthrows, also, all that Moses saith of Eden, and the garden planted there; from whence Adam went out on the *east side,* and therefore not towards Canaan, which was *westward.*

Ver. 17. *And Cain knew his wife.*] There hath been no mention hitherto of any woman in the world but Eve, much less of Cain's having a wife. And therefore it is uncertain whether this were a wife he took before he killed his brother, or after. It is most probable before; because we may well think all the world abhorred the thoughts of marriage, with such an impious murderer, whom God also had accursed. But whether it were before or after, I see no reason to conclude that this wife was his sister: there being women enough in the world beside, before this time, as was said before, (ver. 15.) For even in our country, in the age before us, there sprung from two persons, three hundred and sixty-seven children, within the space of eighty years. And therefore, the world being now (when Cain slew Abel) a hundred and twenty-eight, or a hundred and thirty years old, according to Archbishop Usher, and Jac. Capellus's Chronology, we cannot but conceive there were a great number of people in it, descended from all those sons and daughters which Adam begot, (chap. v. 4.) We are not told how many, but some of the ancient eastern traditions (in Cedrenus) say, he had thirty-three sons and twenty-seven daughters.

It is true, indeed, that at the first Cain could marry none but one of his sisters. Which was then lawful, because absolutely necessary: but prohibited by God, when that necessity ceased. Of which the eastern people were so sensible, that they took care to have it thought, that Cain and Abel did not marry those who were nearest akin to them, but those that were at some distance. For their tradition is, that Eve, at her two first births, brought twins, a son and a daughter; viz. Cain with his sister Azron, and Abel with his sister Awin; as Saidus Patricides, patriarch of Alexandria, reports. Now, such was their caution not to match with those that were nearest in blood, but with those further off, as much as was then possible; Cain was not suffered to marry his twin-sister, nor Abel his: but Adam gave Awin to Cain, and Azron to Abel. I cannot vouch the truth of this story; which I mention only to shew, that mankind have had a sense, that all possible care should be used to avoid marriages with the nearest relations: for though this story was derived, perhaps, from the Jews, yet it was believed by other people. See Mr. Selden, lib. v. De Jure, N. et G. cap. 8. Whence Diodorus Siculus says, lib. i. it was κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀνθρωπων, *the common use of mankind,* that brothers and sisters should not be joined in marriage. And Plato (lib. viii. de Legib.) calls such marriages μηδαμῶς ὅσια καὶ θεομισῆ, *by no means holy, but hateful to God.* For though they were not so in the beginning of things, they became so afterwards: that being natural in one state of things (as Grotius well observes, lib. De Jure, B. et P. cap. 10.) which is unnatural in another state.

*And he built a city.*] Not as soon as he came into this country; but when he had a numerous progeny, able to people it: and consequently in his old age. His end in building it, some think, was to cross the curse of wandering to and fro: others, to defend himself against those whom his guilty conscience made him fear; or, to secure the spoils which, by force and violence, (as Josephus relates, lib. i. Antiq. cap. 3.) he had taken from others. There are those who imagine, that when he attempted to build this city, he often broke off the work, out of a panic fear: such an one as Romulus felt, after he had killed his brother Remus.

*And called the name of the city, after the name of his son.*] Some think he declined his own name, because he knew it to be odious every where: but it is more likely, it was for that reason which moved men in aftertimes to do the same. For it hath been a very ancient usage for great men to call the cities which they built by the name of their sons, rather than their own; out of the great love they bare to their children. Thus Nimrod called Nineveh after the name of his son Ninus: which the psalmist notes as a piece of the vanity of mankind, to call their lands (that is, the houses where they dwelt, as R. Solomon Jarchi interprets it) by their own names, to be a lasting monument of them and of their family.

*Enoch.*] There were an ancient people called by Pliny, Heniochii; by Mela, Eniochi; and by Lucan, Enochii: some of which lived so far eastward, that Sir W. Raleigh fancies they might be the posterity of this Enoch.

Ver. 18. *And unto Enoch was born Irad,* &c.] It is remarkable, that though Moses gives us some account of the descendants of Cain, yet he saith not a word of the years that they lived; and carries their genealogy but a little way. Whereas he deduces the genealogy of Seth down to the flood, and so to his own time, &c. And also relates particularly, (chap. v.) to what age the life of his principal posterity was prolonged. It seems, he looked upon Cain's race as such a reprobate generation, that he would not number them in the book of the living: as St. Cyril speaks.

Ver. 19. *Lamech took unto him two wives.*] By a small transposition of letters, Lamech being the same with



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Melech, which signifies a king, some of the Jews fancy him to have been a great man: for none but such, they say, had two wives in those ancient times; though they hold it was lawful (as Selden shews, lib. v. De Jure N. et G. cap. 6.) for any body that could maintain them to have had more. But it is more likely that Lamech was the first that adventured to transgress the original institution; which was observed even by the Cainites till this time. When, perhaps, his earnest desire of seeing that blessed seed which was promised to Eve, might induce him to take more wives than one: hoping, by multiplying his posterity, some or other of them might prove so happy as to produce that seed. And this he might possibly persuade himself was the more likely, because the right that was in Cain the first-born, he might now conclude was revived in himself: who, being the seventh from Cain, had some reason to imagine the curse laid upon him, of being punished *sevenfold, i. e.* for *seven* generations, was now expired; and his posterity restored to the right of fulfilling the promise.

Ver. 20. *He was the father.*] The Hebrews call him the *father* of any thing, who was the first inventor of it; or a most excellent master in that art. Such was Jabal in the art of making tents, folding flocks, and all other parts of pasturage. Which, though begun by Abel, was not by him brought to perfection; or, if it were, Jabal was the first in the family of Cain that was eminent in the following inventions.

*Of such as dwell in tents.*] Taught men to pitch tents; which were moveable houses, that might easily be carried from place to place, when there was occasion to remove for new pasture. Under this is comprehended all that belongs to the care of cattle in their breeding, feeding, and preserving, as appears by what follows.

*And of such as have cattle.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *and of cattle.* Where the copulative *vau,* which we translate *and,* signifies as much as *with:* and so the words are to be here translated, "such as dwell in tents, with cattle." Thus Bochartus observes it is used, 1 Sam. xiv. 18. "The ark of God was at that time with the children of Israel;" as we, with the ancients, truly translate it. And so it should be translated, Exod. i. 5. "All the souls that came out of Jacob's loins were seventy souls, with Joseph." For Joseph is not to be added (as we seem to understand it) unto the seventy, but made up that number, as appears from Gen. xlvi. 27. So that the sense of this whole verse seems to be, that though men fed cattle before in good pastures, yet Jabal was the first, that, by the invention of tents, made the more desert countries serviceable to them: where, when they had eaten up all the grass in one place, they might in a little time take up their tents, and fix them in another. To this purpose R. Solomon Jarchi. And in these tents, it is likely, he taught them to defend their cattle, as well as themselves, from heat and cold, and all other dangers to which they were exposed in those desert places.

Ver. 21. *Father of such as handle the harp and organ.*] The first inventor of musical instruments, and that taught men to play upon them. What *cinnor* is, (which we translate *harp*) see in Bochartus's Canaan, lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 808. I believe the first word includes in it all *stringed,* the latter all *wind* musical instruments.

It is possible that Apollo, or Linus, or Orpheus (for there are all these various opinions), might be the inventor of the harp among the Greeks: but it was their vanity that made them fancy such instruments had their original in their country.

Ver. 22. *Tubal-Cain.*] The Arabians still call a plate of iron or brass by the name of Tabal, (as Bochartus observes out of Avicenna, and others, lib. iii. Phaleg. cap. 12.) who, as it follows in the text, was

*An instructor of every artificer in brass and iron.*] *i. e.* Found the art of melting metals, and making all sorts of weapons, arms, and other instruments of iron and brass. Many think that Vulcan is the same with Tubal-Cain (their names being not unlike); particularly Gerh. Vossius, De Orig. Idolol. lib. i. cap. 16.

*His sister's name was Naamah.*] Whom Vossius, (Ib. cap. 17.) takes to have been the heathen Minerva, or Venus. Her name signifies beautiful, or fair, one of a sweet aspect: and the Arabians say, she invented colours and painting as Jubal did music. See Elmacinus, p. 8.

Ver. 23. *And Lamech said unto his wives,* &c. *Hear my voice, ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech.*] Something had preceded these words, which was the occasion of them: but it is hard to find what it was. Jacobus Capellus, indeed (in his Historia Sacra et Exotica), hath a conceit that Lamech was now in a vapouring humour, being puffed up with the glory of his son's inventions; to whose music and other arts he endeavoured to add poetry: which he expressed in the following words, that seem to him a thrasonical hymn, wherein he brags what feats he would do. For so he reads the words (with Aben Ezra), not *I have slain* but *I will kill* a man with one blow of my fist, &c. But I can see no warrant for this translation, without a violence to the Hebrew text; and therefore we must seek for another interpretation.

*I have slain a man to my wounding,* &c.] These words would have a plain exposition (which otherwise are difficult), if we could give credit to the Hebrew tradition; which, St. Hierom says, several Christians followed: that Lamech, being informed by a certain youth, as he was hunting, that there was a wild beast lay lurking in a secret place, went thither; and unawares killed Cain, who lay hid there: and then, in a rage at what he had done, fell upon the youth that had occasioned this mistake, and beat him to death. But, as there is no certainty of this, so it doth not agree with the next verse: which seems to suppose Cain to be now alive. Therefore, Lud. De Dieu, following Onkelos, reads the words by way of interrogation; "Have I slain a man? or, so much as a boy?" that you should be afraid of my life? It seems the use of weapons being found out by one of his sons, and grown common, his wives apprehended that somebody or other might make use of them to slay him. But he bids them comfort themselves, for he was not guilty of slaying any body himself; and therefore might reasonably hope nobody would hurt him.

And then the meaning of the next verse is easy.

Ver. 24. *If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and seven fold.*] If God hath guarded Cain so strongly, who was a murderer, as to threaten great and long punishments to those that slay him; he will punish them far more, and pursue them with a longer vengeance, who shall slay me, being a guiltless person.

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There are divers other interpretations, which I shall not mention; because this is most pertinent to the preceding discourse.

Ver. 25. *Bare a son.*] The Jews think he was born a year after Abel was killed.

*And called his name Seth.*] Mothers anciently gave names to their children, as well as the fathers. And Eve gave this son the name of Seth, because she looked upon him as *appointed* (so the word signifies) by God, to be what Cain, she thought, should have been; till God rejected his sacrifice, and he slew Abel: in whose room she believed God had substituted this son, to be the seed from whom the Redeemer of the world should come.

The Arabians say, (particularly Elmacinus, p. 7.) that Seth was the inventor of letters and writing (as Jubal was of music, and Tubal-Cain of arms), which so much surpassed all other inventions, that some (as Cedrenus tells us) called him a god; *i. e.* the highest benefactor to mankind. Which, if it were true, we might think that thence his children were called "the sons of God," (vi. 2.) But it is most likely this mistake arose from Symmachus's translation of the last words of the next verse, which, if we may believe Suidas, was thus: "Then began Seth to be called by the name of God." For which there is no foundation, either there or any where else in Scripture. For though it be said that Moses was made "a god to Pharaoh," yet he is never simply called a god, as Jacobus Capellus well observes. Nor is any king or prince called by that name, particularly, in Scripture; though in general it says of them all, that "they are gods."

Ver. 26. *To him also was born a son.*] When he was a hundred and five years old, as we read, v. 6.

*And he called his name Enos.*] Signifying the weak and miserable condition of mankind; which he seemed, by giving him this name, to deplore.

*Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord.*] This doth not import that men did not *call upon the Lord* (which includes all his worship and service) before this time: but that now (as Jac. Capellus conceives) they were awakened, by the consideration of their infirmity beforementioned, to be more serious and frequent in religious offices: or, rather (as others understand it) they began to hold more public assemblies. For families being now multiplied, to which religion was before confined, they joined together and met in larger societies and communion, for the solemn worship of God by sacrifices, and other religious services. For to *call upon God*, comprehends, as I said, all religion: which consists in acknowledging him to be the Lord of all; in lauding all his glorious perfections; giving him thanks for his benefits; and beseeching the continuance of them.

But it being scarce credible, that public assemblies were not held long before this (it being probable that, even when Cain and Abel sacrificed, their families joined together to worship God), it hath moved some men of note (such as Bertram and Hackspan), to follow our marginal translation; "Then began men (*i. e.* the children of Seth) to call themselves by the name of the Lord:" that is, the servants or worshippers of the Lord; in distinction from the Cainites, and such profane persons as had forsaken him.

And indeed a great number of the Jewish writers, with whom Mr. Selden joins, (in his De Diis Syris, Prolegom. 3.) would have the words expounded thus, to signify that apostacy: "Then was there profanation, by invoking the name of the Lord." For the word *hochal*, which we here translate *began*, signifying *profaned*, in Lev. xix. 12. ("Thou shalt not profane the name of the Lord thy God;") they take Moses's meaning to be, "That the most Holy Name which belongs to the Creator and Possessor of heaven and earth alone, was now impiously given unto creatures:" particularly to the sun. And thus the Arabic interpreter, in Erpenius's edition; "Then began men to apostatize from the worship of God." But a great number of very learned men have opposed themselves to this interpretation; and with much judgment: Moses being here speaking of the pious family of Seth, and not of impious Cain's: and the word *hochal* (as Hackspan observes), with the preposition *le* following in the next word, being constantly used in the sense of *beginnings*, not of *profanation*. And therefore they content themselves with our marginal translation: or else think that God was now first called upon by the name of Jehovah. Or, that *liturgies*, as we call them, or public forms of worship, were now appointed at set hours: or, some other considerable improvements made in religious offices. For the Arabian Christians represent this Enos as an excellent governor: who, while he lived, preserved his family in good order; and when he died, called them all together, and gave them a charge to keep God's commandments, and not associate themselves with the children of Cain. So Elmacinus.

## CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *THIS is the book of the generations of Adam.*] *i. e.* Here follows a catalogue of the posterity of Adam. So the word *book* signifies, Matth. i. 1. an account of those from whom Christ the second Adam came; as here, an account of those who came from the first Adam. Yet not of all, but of the principal persons, by whom, in a right line, the succession was continued down to Noah, &c. As for the collateral lines, which, no doubt, were very many, by the other sons and daughters which the persons here mentioned begot, they are omitted: because no more than I have said, was pertinent to Moses's purpose.

*In the day that God created man.*] This is repeated again, only to imprint on their minds that Adam was not produced, like other men, by generation, but by creation.

*In the likeness of God created he him.*] This also is again mentioned; to remember men how highly God had honoured them, and how shamefully they had requited him.

Ver. 2. *Male and female created he them,* &c.] Of different sexes, to be joined together in holy marriage: as Moses had shewn, chap. ii. 22, 23, &c.

*Called their name Adam.*] The common name to both sexes; like *homo* in Latin, &c.

Ver. 3. *And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years.*] This doth not assure us he had no children but Cain and Abel till now; but only acquaints us with his age, when Seth was born.

*And begat a son in his own likeness, after his image.*] Not so perfect as himself, when he was created; but with those



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imperfections which impaired him, after he had eaten the forbidden fruit: that is, inclined to sin, and subject to death. For *his own likeness and image*, wherein this son was begotten, seems to be opposed to *the likeness and image of God*, wherein Adam was made, (i. 26.) which, though not quite lost, was lamentably defaced.

Maimonides will have this to refer to Seth's wisdom and goodness; he proving truly a man like to his father Adam: whereas the rest before him proved rather beasts. More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 7.

*Called his name Seth.*] He intends to give here an account of those descended from Seth alone, not of his posterity by Cain, (who are only briefly mentioned in the foregoing chapter, verses 17, 18.) because in Seth the posterity of Adam were preserved, when all the children of Cain perished in the deluge.

Ver. 4. *And he begat sons and daughters.*] After the birth of Seth he begat more children (as he had done, it is probable, many before), whose names are not here recorded: because Moses sets down only that race of men, from whom Noah and Abraham (the father of the faithful), and the Messiah were derived.

Ver. 5. *Lived nine hundred and fifty years.*] It is not reasonable to take a measure of the length of the lives of the patriarchs by the shortness of ours. For, as Josephus well observes, (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 4. and out of him, Eusebius, lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 13.) they being men much beloved of God, and newly made by him, with a strong constitution, and excellent temper of body, and using better diet, the vigour of the earth serving at the first for the production of better fruits; all these things, joined with their temperance, constant exercise and labour, a sweet temper of air, their knowledge in the nature of herbs and plants, &c. might well contribute very much, to as long a life as is here mentioned. Which was but necessary, also (and therefore God's providence took special care of them), that the world might be the sooner peopled; knowledge and religion more certainly propagated, by the authority of living teachers; arts and sciences brought to a great perfection, which could not have been effected in a short life, like ours. And therefore Josephus shews, that herein Moses hath the testimony of all the Greeks and Barbarians also, who have wrote about ancient affairs. Of Manethus (for instance) who wrote the Egyptian history; Berosus, who wrote the Chaldean; Mochus, Hestiæus, &c. who wrote the Phœnician; with a great number of Greek writers whom he mentions; who all say, men lived anciently a *thousand* years. None indeed came up to that full sum; but some so near it, that they who were not exactly acquainted with the sacred story, might well speak in that manner.

And this ought not to seem incredible to us in these days, when we consider how long several have lived in the later ages of the world; as Pliny reports in his Natural History, lib. vii. cap. 48. Nay, in times nearer to us, there are instances of this kind, as the Lord Bacon observes, in his Hist. Vitæ et Mortis; and Bartholin. in his Hist. Anatom. Rariorum Cent. v. Hist. 28.

But nothing is more remarkable than that which Gassendus reports in the Life of Nicol. Peireskius, lib. v. That he received a letter from Aleppo, no longer ago than the year 1636, of a man then in Persia, known to several persons worthy to be believed, who was four hundred years old: *Idque ipsis omnino esse exploratum atque indubium:* and the persons that wrote this, were fully assured of the undoubted truth of it.

Such instances indeed are rare; and there is one that thinks men did not generally live to such a great age in the old world: for Maimonides is of opinion, that none attained to so many years as are here mentioned, but only the particular persons expressly named by Moses; all the rest of mankind, in those days, living only the ordinary term which man did in aftertimes: or, in other words, this extraordinary length of days, was the privilege only of these singular individuals; either from their accurate way of living and diet, or God's special favour in reward of their eminent virtue and piety. (More Nev. par. ii. cap. 47.) But Nachmanides (another great Jewish doctor) opposes this with much reason; for, that their eminent virtue was not the cause they alone had this privilege, appears by Enoch, the most holy man of them all, who did not live to the age of four hundred years. And as there is no ground to believe these were the only persons who lived exactly temperate in all things; so it is manifest Moses doth not design to give us an account of those that lived longest, but of those from whom Noah descended; and it is incredible that they alone should be very long-lived, and nobody else, though descended from the same parents.

Ver. 6. *And Seth lived a hundred and five years, and begat Enos.*] We must not think he lived so long before he begat any children: no more than that Adam had none till he was a hundred and thirty years old, when he begat Seth, (ver. 3.) for we know he had Cain and Abel, and, in all likelihood, many others before. Therefore, to explain this and other things that follow, ver. 18. and 28. which seem more strange, (for Jared is said to have lived a hundred sixty-two years before he begat Enoch; and Lamech a hundred eighty-two years before he begat Noah,) we must consider, as was noted ver. 4. that Moses sets down only those persons by whom the line of Noah was drawn from Seth, and Abraham's line from Noah, by their true ancestors; whether they were the eldest of the family or no. Seth, it is likely, had many other children before Enos was born; as Noah, we may be confident, had before he begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet: which was not till he was five hundred years old, (ver. 32.) As Lamech also had several before Noah was born: though Moses doth not mention them; because he was here concerned only to inform us, who was the father of Noah.

*Begat Enos.*] The Arabian Christians, as I observed before, (iv. 26.) make him to have been a man of singular goodness.

Ver. 9. *Begat Cainan.*] The same writers represent him to have been like to his father: and say, he gave his children charge not to mingle with the seed of Cain. So Elmacinus. Yet there is but little difference between his name and that of Cain's; no more than between Irad and Jared, and some other of Sem's posterity and Cain's: which may teach us, says Jac. Capellus, (in his Hist. Sacra et Exot.) "Ne fatale nescio quod omen nominibus propriis effingamus:"—*that we should not fancy there is, we do not know what fatal omen in proper names.* The wickedness of Judas Iscariot did not make the other Judas, called by that name, to think the worse of it. And therefore Jared feared not to

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call his son Enoch, by the very name of Cain's eldest son, (iv. 17.) And Methuselah also gave his son Lamech the name of one of Cain's grandchildren, (iv. 18.)

Ver. 12. *Begat Mahalaleel.*] This name imports as much as a *praiser of God:* which Canaan imposed upon this son of his (as Jacobus Capellus fancies), because he was born after he had lived ten weeks of years (*i. e.* when he was seventy years old), in the beginning of the *sabbatick* year; which was the eighth jubilee from the creation. For, as there were sacrifices and a distinction of clean beasts and unclean, so he conceives there might be a distribution of years by sevens or weeks (as they spake in aftertimes), from the very beginning of the world. But there is no certainty of this: nor of what the forenamed Arabian writers say of this Mahalaleel, that he made his children swear, by the blood of Abel (so Patricides), not to come down from the mountainous country where they dwelt, to converse with the children of Cain.

He is mentioned also by the Mahometans, as Hottinger observes in his Histor. Orient. p. 20.

Ver. 15. *Begat Jared.*] The same Arabian writers make him also a strictly pious man, and an excellent governor: but say, that in his days some of Seth's posterity (about a hundred in number), notwithstanding all his persuasions to the contrary, would go down and converse with the children of Cain; by whom they were corrupted. And thence, they fancy, he was called *Jared* (which signifies *descending*), either because they went down from the Holy Mountain, as they call it, where Seth's posterity dwelt; or piety, in his time, began very much to decline. See Hottinger's Smegma Orient. lib. i. cap. 8. p. 235, &c.

Ver. 18. *Begat Enoch.*] Whom the Arabians call *Edris;* and represent him as a very learned man, as well as a prophet; and especially skilled in astronomy. See Hottinger, Histor. Orient. lib. i. cap. 3. and Smegma Orient. p. 240. The Greeks anciently had the same notion of him, as appears by a discourse of Eupolemus, which Eusebius quotes out of Alexand. Polyhistor. lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. c. 17. where he says, Enoch was the first who taught the knowledge of the stars, and that he himself was taught, δι' Ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ, *by the angels of God;* and was the same person whom the Greeks call *Atlas.* Certain it is, his story was not altogether unknown to the ancient Greeks; as appears in what they say of Ἀννακὸς, or Καννακὸς, which is the same with *Enoch,* whose name in Hebrew is *Chanoch.* For Stephanus, in his book De Urbibus, says, that this Annacus lived above three hundred years, and the oracle told the people, that when he died they should all perish; as they did in the flood of Deucalion: in which he confounds the history of Enoch and Methuselah, as Bochart well observes. (lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 13.)

Ver. 21. *Begat Methuselah.*] Enoch being a prophet (as we learn from St. Jude), and foreseeing the destruction that was coming upon the earth by a deluge, immediately after the death of this son of his, gave him this name of *Methusela,* which imports as much. For the first part of it, *Methu,* evidently carries in it the name of death; being as much as, *he dies:* and *sela* signifies *the sending forth of water,* in Job v. 10. And therefore *Methusela* is as much as, "when he is dead shall ensue an emission or inundation of waters," to the destruction of the whole earth. Which ingenious conjecture of Bochartus, (in his Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 13.) is far more probable than any other account of his name.

Ver. 22. *Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah.*] Of all the rest, Moses only says, they lived after they begat those sons here mentioned; but of this man, that he *walked with God: i. e.* was not only sincerely obedient to God (as we suppose his forefathers to have been), but of an extraordinary sanctity, beyond the rate of other holy men; and held on also in a long course of such singular piety, notwithstanding the wickedness of the age wherein he lived. And the very same character being given of Noah, (vi. 9.) it may incline us to believe, that, as Noah was a preacher of righteousness; so Enoch, being a prophet, was not only exemplary in his life, but also severely reproved the wickedness of that age by his word.

Ver. 24. *And Enoch walked with God.*] Persevered in that course beforementioned, to the end of his days.

*And was not.*] He doth not say that he died (as he doth of the rest in this chapter, both before and after), but that *he was not* any longer among men in this world. For,

*God took him.*] Translated him to another place. Which plainly signifies the different manner of his leaving this world; insomuch, that the apostle saith, "he did not see death," (Heb. xi. 5.) which confutes the conceit of Aben Ezra, and R. Solomon, and others, who would have this word *took* to signify, that he was snatched away by an untimely death: contrary to the opinion of their other better authors, and particularly Manachem; who, in his commentary on this place, saith, "That God took from Enoch his bodily clothes, and gave him spiritual raiment."

But whither he was translated, we are not told. The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, chap. xliv. (according to the Vulgar translation), saith "into paradise." And upon this supposition, the Ethiopic interpreter hath added these words to the text: "God translated him into paradise;" as Ludolphus observes, (lib. iii. Commentar. in Ethiop. Hist. cap. 5. n. 40.) And accordingly we find, in the calendar of that church, a festival upon July 25, called "The Ascension of Enoch into Heaven," (for they were not so foolish as to understand by paradise a place upon earth, but a heavenly mansion,) unto which he was advanced, δι' ἄκραν ἀρετῆς τελείωσιν, (as Eusebius speaks, lib. vii. Præpar. Evang. cap. 8.) *because of his consummate virtue.*

And it is no unreasonable conjecture, that God was graciously pleased to take him unto himself at this time, to support and comfort mankind in their state of mortality (Adam, the father of them all, being dead not above fifty-seven years before), with the hope of a better life, in the other world. For which reason, it is not improbable, that he was translated in some such visible manner, as Elijah afterward was, by a glorious appearance of the Schechinah, from whence some heavenly ministers were sent to carry him up above.

Ver. 25. *Begat Lamech.*] The same name with one of Cain's posterity, (iv. 18.) But as he was of another race, so he was the grandchild and the father of the best men in those days, *viz.* Enoch and Noah.

Ver. 27. *All the days of Methuselah,* &c.] What was

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wanting in the days of his father, God, in some sort, made up in his age: which was extended to the longest term of all other men. He died in the very year of the deluge, according to the import of his name. See ver. 21.

Ver. 29. *He called his name Noah.*] Which signifies *rest,* or *refreshment;* which proceeds from rest and quiet. Because, says he,

*This same shall comfort us, concerning our work and toil of our hands.*] He expected, some think, that he should be the *blessed seed,* promised iii. 15; or, that it should spring immediately from him. But the last words, *toil of our hands,* seem to import some inferior consolation, which he expected from Noah: and the Hebrew interpreters generally expound it thus, "He shall make our labour in tilling the earth more easy and less toilsome to us." Which agrees to what follows:

*Because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed.*] There was a general curse upon it for the sin of Adam; and a particular upon some part of it for the sin of Cain. Now God, he foretels, would take them both off in great measure; and bless the earth to the posterity of this same man: who perfected the art of husbandry, and found out fitter instruments for ploughing the earth than had been known before. When men being chiefly employed in digging and throwing up the earth with their own hands, their labour was more difficult: which now is much abated, because the pains lie more upon beasts than upon men. And, indeed, Noah is called (ix. 20.) *Isch haadamah, a man of the ground* (which we translate *an husbandman*); one that improved agriculture, as other famous men had done pasturage, and found out other arts, (iv. 20, &c.)

In the same place, also, (ix. 20.) we read that Noah planted a vineyard: with respect to which, if he was the first inventor of making wine, he might well be said here to comfort them concerning their work and toil of their hands; wine cheering the heart, and reviving the spirits of men, that are spent with labour.

But if the last words of this verse be expounded, of the Lord's cursing the ground by sending a flood upon it, as Enoch had foretold; then Noah is here called their *comforter,* with respect to his being the restorer of the world, after it had been dispeopled by that inundation. And so Jacobus Capellus, not unreasonably interprets them to have relation to both curses, "à maledictione, quam terræ inflixit, et inflicturus est Deus."—*He shall give men rest from the curse which God hath inflicted, and intends further to inflict upon the earth.* Hist. Sacra et Exot. ad A. M. 1053.

Ver. 32. *And Noah was five hundred years old.*] See ver. 6. where I have said enough, to shew it is not reasonable to think he had no children till this age of his life.

*And Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet.*] Here ends the line of Adam, before the flood. For though these three were married, as appears vii. 13. before the flood came; yet they either had no children, or they did not live: for they carried none with them into the ark.

It doth not follow that Shem was the eldest of these three, because he is here and every where else in this book mentioned first: for I shall shew plainly, in its due place, that Japhet was the eldest. (x. 21.) Scaliger, indeed, would have this a settled rule, that, "Hunc ordinem filii in Scriptura habent, quem illis natura dedit."—*That children are placed in Scripture, according to the order which nature hath given them.* But it is apparent from many instances, that the Scriptures hath regard to their dignity other ways, and not to the order of their birth: as Abraham is mentioned before Nahor and Haran, "merito excellentiæ,"—*with respect to his excellence,* (as St. Austin speaks,) to which God raised him, though he was not the eldest son of Terah. (Gen. xi. 28.) Thus, Jacob is mentioned before Esau, (Mal. i. 1.) and Isaac before Ishmael, (1 Chron. i. 28.) Thus, Shem's eminence, in other respects, placed him before Japhet, to whom he was inferior in the order of nature: as appears even from their genealogy both in Gen. x. and 1 Chron. i. where Shem's posterity are placed below those of both his other brothers.

## CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1. *WHEN men began to multiply.*] To increase exceeding fast; for they were multiplied before, but not so as to fill the earth. Or the word *men* may be limited to the children of Cain, (see ver. 2.) who now began to be very numerous.

*And daughters were born to them.*] In great numbers: for daughters, no doubt, they had before; but now so many more daughters than sons, that they had not matches for all: no, though we should suppose they followed the steps of Lamech (chap. iv. ver. 19.), and took more wives than one.

Ver. 2. *The sons of God.*] There are two famous interpretations of these words, (besides that of some of the ancients, who took them for angels.) Some understand by the *sons of God,* the great men, nobles, rulers, and judges, whether they were of the family of Seth or of Cain: and so, indeed, the word *Elohim* signifies in many places (Exod. xxi. 6. xxii. 28, &c.); and the ancient Greek version, which Philo and St. Austin used, perhaps meant no more, where these words are translated, οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the angels of God,* his great ministers in this world; who, in aftertimes, were mistaken for *angels in heaven.* These great persons were taken with the beauty of the daughters of men, *i. e.* of the meaner sort, (for so sometimes *men* signifies, Psal. xlix. 2, &c.) and took, by force and violence, as many as they pleased; being so potent, as to be able to do any thing with impunity. For they that should have given a good example, and punished vice, were the great promoters of it.

But there are other ancient interpreters, and most of the later, who, by the *sons of God,* understand the posterity of Seth, who were the worshippers of the true God. (iv. ult.)

*They saw the daughters of men.*] Conversed with the daughters of Cain. So Tho. Aquinas himself interprets it, pars i. q. 51. art. 3. ad 6.

*That they were fair.*] Being exceedingly taken with their beauty.

*And they took them wives.*] Made matches with them, and perhaps took more than one a-piece.

*Of all that they chose.*] Whomsoever they liked, (so the word *choose* is used in many places, Psal. xxv. 12, &c.) without regard to any thing else but their beauty. Some of the Hebrews by *daughters* understand *virgins,* which

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they distinguish from *nasim, wives,* or married women; whom they also took and abused as they pleased. But there is no evidence of this. The plain sense is, that they who had hitherto kept themselves (unless it were some few, see ver. 15.) unmingled with the posterity of Cain, according to a solemn charge which their godly forefathers had given them, were now joined to them in marriage, and made one people with them. Which was the greater crime, if we can give any credit to what an Arabic writer saith, (mentioned first by Mr. Selden, in his book De Diis Syris, cap. 3. Prolegom. et de Jure N. et G. lib. v. cap. 8. f. 578.) that the children of Seth had sworn by the blood of Abel, that they would never leave the mountainous country which they inhabited, to go down into the valley where the children of Cain lived. The same author (*viz.* Patricides, with Elmacinus, also,) says, that they were inveigled to break this oath by the beauty of Naamah beforementioned, (iv. 22.) and the music of her brother Jubal. For the Cainites spent their time in feasting, music, dancing, and sports: which allured the children of Seth to come down and marry with them. Whereby all manner of impurity, impiety, idolatry, rapine, and violence, filled the whole earth, and that with impunity, as Eusebius observes, (lib. vii. Præpar. cap. 8.) This Moses here takes notice of, that he might give the reason why the whole posterity of Seth, even those who sprang from that holy man Enoch (except Noah and his family), were overflown with the deluge, as well as the race of Cain: because they had defiled themselves with their cursed affinity; and thereby were corrupted with their wicked manners.

Ver. 3. *And the Lord said.*] Resolved with himself.

*My Spirit.*] Either speaking by his prophets, such as Enoch had been, and Noah was; or working inwardly in all men's hearts.

*Shall not always strive with man.*] Chide and reprove them, and thereby endeavour to bring them to repentance; but proceed to punish them. There are several other interpretations, which may be seen in all commentators: which to me seem more forced than this.

*For that he also is flesh.*] For that besides his wicked actions, he is grown wholly fleshly in his inclinations and affections. He savours nothing but carnal things; and consequently is incurable. Or, as others expound it, even the best of them (the children of Seth) are become fleshly men.

*Yet his days shall be a hundred and twenty years.*] I will not destroy mankind presently; but have patience with them so long, that it may appear I would willingly have saved them.

Ver. 4. *There were giants in the earth.*] Men of vast stature and strength, which tempted them to oppress others by violence: for so several of the ancients translate the Hebrew word *nephilim* by βίαιοι, *violent men,* who carried all before them by main force: tyrants, who filled the world with rapines and murders, and all manner of wickedness, having society with the devil (as Eusebius understands it, lib. vii. Præpar. cap. 8.) in infernal arts, which they introduced. Josephus calls them ὑβριστὰς καὶ παντὸς ὑπερόπτας καλοῦ, *insolent contemners of all the laws of God and man.* Which made Origen look upon them only as impious atheists: but, no doubt, the extraordinary bulk and strength of their body is also intended.

*In those days.*] *i. e.* Before the sons of God married with the daughters of men. For these giants were produced by those who went down and mixed with the posterity of Cain in the days of Jared: as both Elmacinus and Patricides understand it.

*And also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them.*] The word *children* is not in the Hebrew: and it better agrees with what goes before to translate it, "Even they bare giants unto them." Besides those which were before, there was a new race of gigantic persons begot by the sons of God upon the daughters of men.

*The same became mighty men.*] Of great power, as well as strength of body.

*Which were of old.*] This may refer either to what goes before, or to that which follows.

*Men of renown.*] Of great undertakings, and adventurous actions: which got them a great name in ancient time. But they were no less famous for their wickedness, than for their valorous and great exploits; for by their means all mankind were overrun with impiety, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 5. *God saw the wickedness of man, that it was great,* &c.] All sorts of wickedness in a high degree overspread the whole earth.

*And that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart,* &c.] And that there were no hopes of their amendment; their very minds being so set upon wickedness, that they thought of nothing else but how to satisfy their lusts. In the margin it is, "their whole imagination," *i. e.* all the designs and contrivances of all the men of that age, and this continually, day and night, were only rapine, filthiness, and all manner of evil.

Ver. 6. *And God repented,* &c.] God can neither properly repent, nor be grieved: but such expressions signify he resolved to do, as men do; who, when they repent of any thing, endeavour to undo it. And so it here follows:—

Ver. 7. *The Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created,* &c.] Though they be my creatures, I am resolved to have no pity upon them, but to abolish them, and all things else upon the earth. For that sort of punishment, which God intended, would in its own nature sweep all away.

*For it repenteth me that I have made them.*] See ver. 6. This represents how highly God was offended, that he would leave nothing of the old world remaining, but only to preserve the seed of a new one.

Ver. 8. *But Noah found grace,* &c.] This single person God resolved to spare, because (as it follows) he continued untainted in the midst of an universal contagion.

Ver. 9. *These are the generations of Noah.*] An account of his family. Or, as Paulus Fagius (who, upon xxxvii. 2. expounds the word we translate *generations,* to signify *events*), "These are the things which befel Noah and his family." Which way soever we expound this, the next words are inserted by a parenthesis as a character of Noah, who was

*A just man.*] Free from that violence which the rest committed.

*And perfect in his generations.*] Not guilty of any of those other sins which every where abounded.

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*And Noah walked with God.*] Not only did well, but was addicted (as we speak) to it; continuing constant in the way of righteousness.

Ver. 10. *And Noah begat three sons,* &c.] *Vid.* chap. x. ver. 1.

Ver. 11. *The earth also was corrupted before God.*] The Jewish doctors say, that by *corruption* is always understood either *filthiness* (or forbidden mixtures), or else *idolatry.* Some take the first to be here meant; and then the next words, "filled with violence," denote their perverting of justice, taking bribes, and oppressing men by open force. But others think it better by *corruption* to understand *idolatry:* and then this generation is accused of the two highest crimes that can be committed; the one of which is between man and his neighbour, and the other between man and God. The highest degree of the former is, when they that sit in judgment make unrighteous decrees: which R. Solomon thinks is principally meant in these words, "the earth was filled with violence." See Mr. Selden, lib v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 9. latter end. However we understand the words, they point at some special enormous sins, which are only co prehended in general words before.

Ver. 12. *God looked upon the earth,* &c.] No fruits of God's long-suffering appearing, he resolved to visit men for their wickedness; which had rather increased, than been lessened, by his forbearing them one hundred and twenty years: which now, we must suppose, drew near to an end, (ver. 13.) The observation of some of the Hebrew doctors, perhaps, is too curious, which is this: that the name of *Jehovah,* which we translate *Lord,* is used ver. 3. where the first mention is made of this matter; for it betokens the clemency of the Divine Majesty, till the one hundred and twenty years were out, and then Moses uses the word *Elohim,* which is a name of *judgment;* the time of which was come.

*For all flesh* (*i. e.* all men,) *had corrupted his way upon earth.*] Wholly departed from the rule of righteousness; or had made their way of life abominable throughout the whole world.

Ver. 13. *The end of all flesh is come before me.*] I am determined to make an end of (*i. e.* to destroy,) all mankind shortly. So it follows:

*I will destroy them with the earth.*] *i. e.* With all the beasts and the fruits of the earth. Or, *from the earth,* as it is in the margin.

Ver. 14. *Make thee an ark.*] This vessel was not in the form of one of our ships, or boats: for it was not made sharp forward to cut the waves, but broad like a chest; and therefore had a flat bottom, with a cover or a roof. We do not find it had any rudder, being steered by angels.

*Of gopher-wood.*] There are various opinions about *gopher,* which some take for *cedar,* others for *pine,* &c.; but our learned Nic. Fuller, in his Miscellanies, hath observed, that it is nothing else but that which the Greeks call κυπάρισσος, the *cypress-tree.* For, taking away the termination, *cupar* and *gopher* differ very little in their sound. Bochartus hath confirmed this, and shewn that no country abounds so much with this wood as that part of Assyria which was about Babylon: where Arrianus, says Alexander, built a navy of these trees, τούτων γὰρ μόνον τῶν δένδρων εὐπορίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, &c. (lib. vii.) *For there is great plenty of these trees alone in the country of Assyria; but of other fit for making ships there is great scarcity.* Strabo saith the same; (lib. xvi.) from whence Bochart thinks it probable, that Noah and his children lived in this country before the flood; for it is not likely that such a vast bulk as the ark was carried far from the place where it was made: and the mountains of Ararat, which he will have to be the Gordiæan mountains, are upon the borders of Assyria northward; which way the wind blew (if there were any) in all likelihood; the rain coming from the South Sea. (Lib. i. Phaleg. cap. 4.)

*Rooms shalt thou make.*] Little cabins or cells; to sever the beasts from the birds; the clean beasts from the unclean; and to preserve their several sorts of food.

*And shalt pitch it,* &c.] So the Arabic translation expressly, "pitch it with pitch." For the *bitumen,* which was plentiful thereabouts (which others think is here meant), was of the same nature, and served for the same use with pitch: being very glutinous and tenacious, to keep things close together. But not only the chinks were filled with it, but the whole body of the ark seems to have been all over daubed with it.

*Within.*] To give a wholesome scent, some think, among so many beasts.

*And without.*] To make the ark more glib and slippery, to swim in the water more easily.

Ver. 15. *And this is the fashion,* &c.] There are those who take these for geometrical cubits; every one of which contains six of the common. But there is no need of such: for, taking them for common cubits, containing each only one foot and a half, it is demonstrable there might be room enough in the ark for all sorts of beasts and birds, with Noah's family, and their necessary provision. (See ver. 20.)

Ver. 16. *A window shalt thou make to the ark.*] To let in the light into the several apartments: for which, should we conceive, that one great window might be so contrived as to be sufficient; I do not see how that would exclude many little ones, here and there, for greater convenience.

*And in a cubit shalt thou finish it above.*] That is, finish the ark; which had a cover, it is plain, from viii. 13. and was made shelving, that the rain might slide off.

*And the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof.*] But on what side, or whereabouts on the side, is not certain. It is probable on one of the long sides, and in the middle of it. Patricides calls it the eastern side.

*With lower, second, and third stories,* &c.] That Arabian author, and Pirke Elieser (cap. 23.), place Noah and his family in the uppermost story; the birds in the middle; and the beasts in the lowest. But they forgot to leave a place for their provision: and therefore they make a better distribution, who think the beasts were bestowed in the lower story, and that the third served for the birds, with Noah and his family: the second, between them both, being left for the stores that were to be laid in of meat and drink for them all. The creeping things, some think, might well live in the space between the lower story and the bottom of the ark.

Ver. 17. *And behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters,* &c.] *i. e.* They shall unavoidably be all swept away; for

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I myself will bring a deluge upon them: not an ordinary flood, but one of which I will appear to be the author. All nations, it plainly appears, by such records as remain, had heard something of this flood. Lucian in his Dea Syria tells a long story of it, out of the archives of Hierapolis, very like to this of Moses, only puts the name of Deucalion instead of Noah. Plutarch mentions the dove sent out of the ark: and so doth Abydenus, mentioned by Eusebius, (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 12.) speak of birds in general, which being sent out, returned again to the ship, finding no place to rest in but there only. Josephus mentions a great many more, not only Berosus the Chaldean, but Hieronymus Egyptius, who wrote the ancient Phœnician History, Mnaseas, Nicholaus Damascenus, with many others. St. Cyril also (lib. i.) against Julian, quotes a passage out of Alexander Polyhistor, wherein is part of the story; only he calls Noah by the name of Xisuthros (as Abydenus calls him Seisithrus), in the dialect of the Assyrians, as some conjecture. And now it appears that the Americans have had a tradition of it (as credible authors, Acosta, Herrera, and others, inform us), which saith, "The whole race of mankind was destroyed by the deluge, except some few that escaped." They are the words of Augustin Corata, concerning the Peruvian tradition. And Lupus Gomara saith the same from those of Mexico. And, if we can believe Mart. Martinius's History of China, there is the like among the people of that country.

Ver. 18. *And with thee I will establish my covenant.*] I will make good the promise I have made thee, to preserve thee and all that are with thee in the ark. For so the word *covenant* is sometimes used: and it is reasonable to think God made him such a promise; which is plainly enough implied in ver. 8. Or, otherwise, we must understand this of the covenant about the promised seed, (iii. 15.) which, he saith, he will stablish with him; and consequently preserve him from perishing.

*Thou, thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee.* This passage shews the ark was not a hundred years in building, as some have imagined: for none of these sons were born a hundred years before the flood: and we must allow some years for their growth, till they were fit to take wives. Compare v. 32. with vii. 6. And, if we observe how Shem, though he had a wife before the flood, yet had no children, (for Arphaxad, his first child, was not born till two years after the flood, xi. 10.) it will incline us to think, that Noah received the command for building the ark not long before the flood came.

Ver. 19. *Two of every sort.*] *i. e.* Of unclean beasts, as it is explained, vii. 2.

*They shall be male and female.*] To preserve the species. Lucian, in his book of the Syrian Goddess, where he describes the flood, saith, all creatures went into the ark, εἰς ζεύγεα, *by pairs.*

Ver. 20. *Of fowls after their kind,* &c.] In such numbers as is directed afterward, (vii. 8.) Which seems to some to be so very great, there being many sorts of living creatures, that they could not possibly be crowded into the ark; together with food sufficient for them. But such persons never distinctly considered such things as these: First, That all those which could live in the water are excepted: and so can several creatures besides fishes. Secondly, That of the species of beasts, including also serpents, there are not certainly known and described above a hundred and fifty (as Mr. Ray hath observed), and the number of birds about five hundred. Thirdly, That there are but a few species of very vast creatures, such as elephants, horses, &c. And, fourthly, That birds generally are of so small a bulk that they take up but a little room. And, fifthly, That, if we suppose creeping insects ought to be included, they take up less, though very numerous. And, lastly, That less provision would serve them all, when they were shut up close, and did not spend themselves by motion; and besides, were in a continual confused agitation, which palled their appetites. From all which, and many more considerations, it is easy to demonstrate, there was more than room enough for all sorts of creatures that God commanded to be brought into the ark; and for their food, during the time they stayed in it.

*Two of every sort shall come unto thee,* &c.] In the foregoing verse he had said, "Two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark." Which he might think impossible; for by what means should he get them altogether? Therefore here it is explained in these words, "they shall come unto thee;" by the care of God, who made them and moved them to it. R. Eliezer (chap. 23. of his Pirke) is commonly censured for saying, "The angels that govern every species of creatures brought them thither." But (setting aside the opinion of angels peculiarly presiding over every kind of creature), I see no incongruity in affirming that God, by the ministry of his angels, brought them to the ark: but it is rather agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, which represent the Divine Majesty as employing their service in all affairs here below.

Ver. 21. *Take unto thee of all food that is eaten,* &c.] Either by man or beast: food suitable to every creature. Among which, though there be many that feed on flesh; yet other food, as several histories testify, will go down with them, when they are accustomed to it. See Philostratus, lib. v. cap. 15. Tzetzes Chil. v. Hist. 9. Sulpit. Severus, De Monacho Thebaid. Dial. i. cap. 7.

Ver. 22. *Thus did Noah, according to all that God commanded him,* &c.] *i. e.* He made the ark of such dimensions, and laid up provisions for all creatures, as he was directed. This he did when the hundred and twenty years drew towards an end. See ver. 18.

## CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *COME thou and all thy house into the ark.*] When the time of God's patience was expired, he required him to enter into the ark which he had prepared; and unto which all sorts of creatures were gathered.

*For I have seen thee,* &c.] I have observed thee sincerely obedient, when all the rest of the world were impious.

Ver. 2. *Of every clean beast,* &c.] The distinction of beasts, *clean* and *unclean,* being made by the law of Moses, hath given some a colour to say he wrote this book after they came out of Egypt and received the law: which made him speak in that style. But it may be answered to this, that though, with respect to men's food, the distinction of clean and unclean creatures was not before the law; yet some were accounted fit for sacrifice, and others not fit



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from the beginning. And then clean beasts, in this place, are such as are not rapacious; which were not to be offered unto God. In short, the rite of sacrificing being before the flood, this difference of beasts was also before it. The only question is, How men came to make this difference? Some imagined, that they considered the nature of beasts, and by common reason determined that ravenous creatures were unfit for sacrifice: but it is more likely that they had directions from God for this, as they had for sacrificing. Which though they be not recorded, yet, I think, are rather to be supposed, than imagine men were left in such matters to their own discretion. Abarbinel, indeed, here says, that "Noah out of his profound wisdom discerned clean from unclean:" and if he had stopped here, and not added, that "he discerned the difference from their natures," he had said the truth. For he being a prophet, may be thought to have had instructions from above about such matters; though others, who first were taught to sacrifice, had them before him.

*By sevens.*] Seven couple, it is most probable, that they might have sufficient for sacrifice when they came out of the ark; and, if need were, for food, if other provision did not hold out: at least for food, after the flood, when God enlarged their former grant, ix. 3.

Ver. 4. *For yet seven days,* &c.] So much time he gave him for the disposing himself, and all things else in the ark.

Ver. 5. *And Noah did according unto all that the Lord commanded him.*] He had said the same before, (vi. 22.) with respect to the preparation of the ark and provision of food: and now repeats here again, with respect to his entering into it himself, with all other creatures. For so it follows, ver. 7, 8, &c.

Ver. 6. *Noah was six hundred years old,* &c.] Current, as we speak, not complete, as appears by comparing this with ix. 28, 29. where he is said to have lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and in all nine hundred and fifty; whereas it should have been nine hundred fifty-one, if he had been full six hundred years old when the flood began.

Ver. 10. *And it came to pass after seven days,* &c.] As he had said, ver. 4.

Ver. 11. *In the second month.*] Of the year, not of the six hundredth year of Noah's life: *i. e.* in October; for anciently the year began in September: which was changed, among the Israelites, in memory of their coming out of Egypt, into March, Exod. xii. 2.

*The seventeenth day of the month.*] Which was the beginning of our November.

*All the fountains of the great deep were broken up,* &c.] Here are two causes assigned of the deluge: first, The breaking up the fountains of the great deep: and, secondly, *The opening of the windows of heaven.* By the *great deep* is meant, those waters that are contained in vast quantities within the bowels of the earth. Which, being pressed upward, by the falling down of the earth, or some other cause unknown to us, gushed out violently at several parts of the earth, where they either found or made a vent. For that is meant by *breaking up the fountains* of the great deep: the great holes, or rather gaps, that were made in the earth; at which those subterraneous waters burst out. This, joined with the continual rains for forty days together, might well make such a flood as is here described. For the rain came down, not in ordinary showers, but in floods; which Moses calls opening the *windows* or *flood-gates* of heaven: and the LXX. translate *cataracts.* Which they can best understand who have seen those fallings of waters in the Indies, called *spouts:* where clouds do not break into drops, but fall, with a terrible violence, in a torrent. In short, it is evident from this history, that the waters did once cover the earth (we know not how deep), so that nothing of the earth could be seen, till God separated them, and raised some into clouds, and made the rest fall into channels, which were made for them, and commanded dry land to appear. (Gen. i. 2. 7. 10.) Therefore, it is no wonder if these waters were raised up again, by some means or other, to cover the earth as before: especially when the waters above the firmament, came down to join with those below, as they did at the beginning.

This some wise heathen looked upon as a possible thing. For Seneca, treating of that *fatal day* (as he calls it, lib. iii. Nat. Quest. cap. 27.) when the *deluge shall come* (for he fancied it still future), questions how *it* may come to pass. Whether by the force of the ocean overflowing the earth; or by perpetual rains without intermission; or by the swelling of rivers, and the opening of new fountains; or, there shall not be one cause alone of so great a mischief; but all these things concur, *uno agmine ad exitium humani generis,* in one troop to the destruction of mankind. Which last resolution, he thinks, is the truth, both there and in the last chapter of that book, where he hath these remarkable words: "Where hath not nature disposed moisture, to attack us, on all sides, when it pleases?" *Immanes sunt in abdito lacus,* &c. "There are huge lakes which we do not see; much of the sea that lies hidden; many rivers that slide in secret. So that there may be causes of a deluge on all sides, when some waters flow in under the earth; others flow round about it, which being long pent up overwhelm it; and rivers join with rivers, pools with pools, &c. And as our bodies sometimes dissolve into sweat, so the earth shall melt, and, without the help of other causes, shall find in itself what will drown it, &c. There being on a sudden, every where, openly and secretly, from above and from beneath, an eruption of waters." Which words are written as if they had been directed to make a commentary upon Moses.

Ver. 12. *And the rain was upon the earth forty days,* &c.] It continued raining so long without any intermission.

Ver. 13. *In the self-same day,* &c.] In that very day, when the rain began, did Noah and his family, &c. finish their going into the ark. Which could not be done in a day or two; but required a good deal of time: and now he had completed it; the very last creature being there bestowed. For, it is likely, he put in all other things first; and then went in himself, with his wife, and children, and their wives: who were no sooner entered, but the waters brake in upon the earth from beneath; and came down pouring from above.

Ver. 16. *The Lord shut him in.*] Or, shut the door after him: closed it so fast, that the waters could not enter, though it was not pitched, as the rest of the ark. How this was done, we need not inquire. It is likely by an angelical power; which, I supposed before, conducted the several creatures into the ark.

Ver. 17. *And the flood was forty days upon the earth,* &c.]

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After forty days' rain the waters were so high that they bare up the ark, so that it did not touch the earth.

Ver. 18. *And the waters prevailed.*] By more rain, which fell after the forty days, the inundation grew strong and mighty (as the Hebrew word signifies); so strong, that the waters bore down houses and trees, as some expound it.

*And were increased greatly.*] He said before, (ver. 17.) they were *increased*, but now, that they were *greatly* increased. Which must be by more rain still falling on the earth; though not in such uninterrupted showers, as during the forty days.

*And the ark went upon the face of the waters.*] Moved, from place to place, as the waves drove it.

Ver. 19. *And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth.*] This is a higher expression than before; signifying their rising still to a greater pitch by continued rains.

*And all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered.*] There were those anciently, and they have their successors now, who imagined the flood was not universal, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν, *but only there where men then dwelt;* as the author of the Questions, Ad Orthodoxos, tells us, Q. 34. But they are confuted by these words, and by other passages, which say all flesh died. For the truth is, the world was then fully peopled as it is now; and not only inhabited in some parts of it; as may be easily demonstrated, if men would but consider, that, in the space of one thousand six hundred fifty-six years, when men lived so long as they then did, their increase could not but be six times more than hath been in the space of five thousand years, since men's lives are shortened as we now see them. Therefore it is a strange weakness to fancy, that only Palestine, Syria, or Mesopotamia, or some such country, was drowned by the flood; no more of the earth being then inhabited: for those countries could not have held the fortieth part of the inhabitants, which were produced between the creation and the flood; no, all the earth was not more than sufficient to contain them; as many have clearly proved.

Plato says, there were in his days, Παλαιοὶ λόγοι, *ancient traditions*, which affirmed there had been sundry destructions of mankind by floods, as well as other ways: in which, βραχύ τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λείπεισθαι γένος, *a small parcel of mankind were left.* And particularly he saith concerning floods, that they were so great, that only σμικρὰ ζώπυρα, some very little sparks of mankind were saved, and those upon the tops of mountains: and the like he saith of beasts, that σπάνια ταῦτα, very few of them were left to support the life of mankind. (Lib. iii. De Legib. p. 677. Edit. Seran.) But this appears to have been an imperfect tradition; the higher mountains having been covered with the waters, as well as the low countries, and that all the earth over: which need not seem strange, if we consider what was said before upon ver. 11. And withal observe, that the diameter of the earth being seven thousand miles, and consequently, from the superficies to the centre, no less than three thousand five hundred miles, it is not incredible, (as Sir W. Raleigh discourses, lib. i. cap. 7. §. 6.) that there was water enough in the *great deep*, which, being forced up from thence, might overflow the loftiest mountains: especially, when water came pouring down, also, from above so fast, that no words can express it. For there is no mountain, above thirty miles high, upright; which thirty miles being found in the depths of the earth, one hundred and sixteen times; why should we think it incredible that the waters in the earth (three thousand five hundred miles deep) might be well able to cover the space of thirty miles in height? It would help men's unbelief, if they would likewise consider the vast inundations which are made yearly in Egypt, only from the rains that fall in Ethiopia: and the like overflowings yearly, in America, of the great river Oronooko; whereby many islands and plains, at other times inhabited, are laid twenty foot under water, between May and September.

Ver. 20. *Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail,* &c.] Moses doth not here plainly say that the waters prevailed *fifteen* cubits above the highest mountains; though I do not see but there might be water enough heaped up, by the forementioned means, to cover them so high; and the whole verse be thus interpreted, "The waters prevailed fifteen cubits upwards, after the mountains were covered." Otherwise, by the *high hills* in the verse before, we must understand only such single hills as are in several countries; and by *mountains* in this verse, those long ridges of hills (such as Caucasus and Taurus, &c.) which stretch themselves many hundreds of miles through a great part of the earth. See viii. 5.

Ver. 24. *And the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days.*] These words seem to me to import, that whatsoever short intermissions there might be, yet the rain continued a *hundred and fifty* days. Otherwise, it is hard to explain how the waters increased more and more, as it is said ver. 17, 18, 19. Besides, had the rain ended, as we commonly suppose, at *forty* days' end, the waters could not have prevailed a *hundred and fifty* days, but would have sunk much before that time; by reason of the declivity of the earth. And yet they were so far from falling, that (as Mr. Ray hath observed, in his pious and learned discourse of the Dissolution of the World), the tops of mountains were not seen till the beginning of the *tenth* month; that is, till *two hundred and seventy* days were passed.

## CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1. *AND God remembered Noah,* &c.] Took compassion upon him, and heard his prayers, which we may well suppose he made for himself and for all creatures that were with him. Thus the word *remember* is used, xix. 29. xxx. 22. The Hebrew doctors here again took notice of the word *Elohim,* (see vi. 12.) which is the name for *judges;* and observe, that even God's justice was turned to mercy. Justice itself was satisfied, as Sol. Jarchi expresses it.

*And God made a wind to pass over the earth,* &c.] Some gather from hence, that, during the fall of the rain, there was no storm or violent wind at all; but the rain fell downright. And consequently, the ark was not driven far from the place where it was built: it having no masts, or sails, but moving as a hulk or body of a ship, without a rudder, upon a calm sea. Philo, indeed, (in his book De Abrahamo) gives a quite different description of the deluge; representing the incessant showers to have been accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning, storms and



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tempests. But there is not a word in this story to countenance it.

This wind, it is very probable, was the *north wind*, which is very drying, and drives away rain, (Prov. xxv. 23.) which came, perhaps, out of the *south*, as I said upon iv. 14. Thus Ovid represents it in the flood of Deucalion, where he saith Jupiter,

"Nubila disjecit, nimbisque Aquilone remotis," &c.

*And the waters assuaged.*] This drying wind, and the sun, which now began to shine with great power, made the waters fall. For, if the second month, when the flood began, was part of our October and November; then the flood abated (after a hundred and fifty days) in the beginning of May, when the summer came on apace.

Ver. 2. *The fountains also of the deep.*] There was no farther eruption, or boiling up of the water, out of the bowels of the earth.

*And the rain from heaven was restrained.*] So that the rains ceased at the end of a hundred and fifty days.

Ver. 3. *And the waters returned from off the earth continually*, &c.] The waters, rolling to and fro by the wind, fell by little and little: and, after the end of the hundred and fifty days, began to decrease. So the Vulgar Latin well translates the latter end of this verse, *were abated; i. e.* began sensibly to decrease.

Ver. 4. *And the ark rested in the seventh month*, &c.] Of the year, not of the flood.

*Upon the mountains of Ararat.*] *i. e.* Upon one of the mountains, as xix. 29: "God overthrew the cities in which Lot dwelt;" *i. e.* in one of which he dwelt. Judg. xii. 7. "Jephthah was buried in the cities of Gilead;" *i. e.* in one of the cities. For there was no one mountain called by this name of *Ararat:* but it belonged to a long ridge of mountains, like the Alps or Pyrenean, which are names appertaining not to one but to all. And Sir W. Raleigh, I think, truly judges that all the long ridges of mountains, which run through Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, &c. *i. e.* from Cilicia to Paraponisus, are called by Moses *Ararat*, as by Pliny they are called *Taurus*. And that author thinks the ark settled in some of the eastern parts of Taurus, because Noah planted himself in the east after the flood (and it is likely did not travel far from the place where the ark rested), as appears, he thinks, from Gen. xi. 2. where we read his posterity, when they began to spread, went westward, and built Babel. The common opinion is, that the ark rested in some of the mountains of Armenia, as the Vulgar Latin translates the word *Ararat*; *i. e.* saith St. Jerome, upon the highest part of Taurus. But Epiphanius (who was before him) saith, upon the Gordiæan mountains; and so Jonathan, and Onkelos, and the Nubiensian geographer, and many others mentioned by Bochartus: who is of this opinion, as having the most authority. Many of which say, that some relics of the ark were remaining upon these mountains: which (as Theodoret observes upon Isa. xiv. 13.) were accounted the highest in the whole world. Vid. Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 3. and lib. iv. cap. 38.

There were such remainders of this history among the ancient Scythians, that, in their dispute with the Egyptians about their antiquity, they argue it partly from hence; that if the earth had ever been drowned, their country must needs be first inhabited again, because it was first cleared from the water; being the highest of all other countries in the world.

Thus their argument runs in Justin, lib. ii. cap. 1. where he hath given us a brief relation of it (if we had Trogus, whom he epitomizes, it is likely we should have understood their tradition more perfectly), in this manner: "If all countries were anciently drowned in the deep, *profecto editissimam quamque partem*, we must needs grant the highest parts of the earth were first uncovered of the waters that ran down from them: and the sooner any part was dry, the sooner were animals there generated. Now Scythia is so much raised above all other countries, that all the rivers which rise there run down into the Mœotis, and so into the Pontic and Egyptian sea," &c.

Ver. 5. *And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month.*] For the summer's heat must needs very much dry them up when there was no rain.

*In the tenth month were the tops of the mountains seen.*] This shews the mountain on which the ark rested was the highest, at least in those parts: because it settled there above two months before the tops of other mountains were seen. And, perhaps, the ark, by its weight, might settle there, while the top of that mountain was covered with water: which, it is possible, might not appear much before the rest.

Ver. 6. *At the end of forty days.*] Forty days after the tops of the mountains appeared; *i. e.* on the eleventh day of the eleventh month, which was about the end of our July.

Ver. 7. *He sent forth a raven.*] For the same end, no doubt, that the dove was sent forth; to make discovery whether the earth were dry: for, if it were, the smell of the dead carcasses, he knew, would allure it to fly far from the ark: which it did not, but only hovered about it, as it follows in the next words.

*Went forth to and fro.*] In the Hebrew more plainly, "going forth and returning." That is, it often went from the ark, and as often returned to it. For after many flights, finding nothing but water, it still betook itself unto the ark: either entering into it, or sitting upon it; till at last the waters being dried up, it returned no more; that is, fifty days after its first going forth, (ver. 13.) All which time it spent in going out and coming back. Bochart, indeed, approves of the Greek version; which makes the raven "not to have returned:" for which he gives some specious reasons, (lib. ii. cap. 12. p. 2. Hierozoic.) and hath such of the Hebrews to countenance him as R. Eliezer, who saith (Pirke, cap. 23.) that "the raven found a carcass of a man upon a mountain, and so would return no more."

But the next words (which in the Greek and Hebrew are both alike) confute this translation.

*Until the waters were dried up from the earth.*] Which make this plain and easy sense, in connexion with the foregoing (as they run in the Hebrew), that while the earth continued covered with water, the raven often flew from the ark, but, finding no convenient place to rest in, returned thither again, till the ground was dry. Whereas, according to the Greek, we must suppose the raven to have returned to the ark, when the waters were dried up from the

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ground: which is very absurd. For, if it had sometime sat upon a carcass floating in the waters before they were dried up, or upon the top of some mountain which already appeared, what should make it return when all the waters were gone every where, and not rather while they remained upon the ground?

Ver. 8. *Also he sent forth a dove.*] As a proper creature to make further discoveries: being of a strong flight, loving to feed upon the ground, and pick up seeds; and constantly returning to its rest from the remotest places. These two birds (the raven and the dove) some imagine were sent forth upon one and the same day, or but a day between; as Bochartus conjectures. But this doth not agree with ver. 10. where it is said, "Noah stayed yet other seven days," and then sent out the dove again: which relates to seven days preceding; which seem to have passed between the sending out of the raven and of the dove.

Ver. 9. *The dove found no rest,* &c.] For though the tops of the mountains appeared, yet they continued muddy, as some conceive; or, they were so far off, that the dove could not easily reach them.

Ver. 10. *And he stayed yet other seven days.*] It appears by this, that on the seventh day Noah expected a blessing, rather than on another day: it being the day devoted from the beginning to religious services. Which he having, it is likely, performed, thereupon sent out the dove upon this day, as he had done before, with hope of good tidings.

Ver. 11. *And, lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf* (or *branch* the word signifies) *plucked off.*] Bochart thinks the dove brought this out of Assyria, which abounds with olive trees, and lay south of Ararat; the wind then blowing towards that country from the north. (See Hierozoic, lib. i. cap. 6. p. 2.) where he shews, out of many authors, that not only olive trees, but some other also, will live and be green under water. All the difficulty is, how the dove could break off a branch (as the Vulgar translates it) from the tree. But it is easily solved, if we allow, as I have said before, that now it was summer time; which brought new shoots out of the trees that were easily cropped.

*So he knew the waters were abated.*] The tops of mountains were seen before, (ver. 5.) but now he understood the waters had left the lower grounds. Yet not so left them that the dove would stay; the earth, it is likely, remaining very chill.

Ver. 12. *And he stayed yet other seven days.*] See ver. 10. The observation there being confirmed by what is repeated here.

*Returned not again to him any more.*] There wanting neither food, nor a nest wherein to repose itself. By which Noah understood the earth was not only dry, and fit to be inhabited; but that it was not quite spoiled by the flood, but would afford food for all creatures.

Ver. 13. *Noah removed the covering of the ark.*] Some of the boards on the top. For he could see further by looking out there, than if he looked out at the door, or the window, which gave him a prospect but one way.

*The face of the ground was dry.*] Quite freed from water, but yet so soft and muddy that it was not fit to be inhabited: as appears by his staying still almost two months more before he thought fit to go out. So the following verse tells us.

Ver. 14. *In the second month,* &c.] If their months were such as ours, twelve of which make three hundred sixty-five days, then Noah stayed in the ark a whole year and ten days, as appears by comparing this verse with vii. 11. But if they were lunar months, which is most probable, then he was in the ark just one of our years: going out on the three hundred and sixty-fifth day after his entrance into it.

*Was the earth dried.*] Perfectly dried, so that no moisture remained; and grass, it is likely, was sprung up for the cattle.

It need not seem a wonder, that Moses gives so punctual and particular an account of this whole matter, and of all that follows; for he lived within eight hundred years of the flood: and therefore might very well know what had been done within that period, and easily tell how the world was peopled by the posterity of Noah. Which could not but be fresh in memory, when men lived so long; that not much above three generations had passed from the flood to Moses. For Shem, who saw the flood, was contemporary with Abraham; as he was with Jacob; whose great-grandchild was the father of Moses.

Ver. 16. *Go forth out of the ark.*] Though he saw the earth was fit to be inhabited; yet he waited for God's order to go out of the ark, as he had it for his entering into it.

*Thou and thy wife,* &c.] I do not think the observation of some of the Jews is absurd; who, by comparing this verse with vii. 13. make this collection: that while they were in the ark, the men did not cohabit with their wives; it being a time of great affliction: and therefore they kept asunder in separate apartments. So R. Eliezer in his Pirke, cap. 23. where R. Levitus thus gathers it: When they went into the ark, it is said, (vii. 13.) "Noah and his sons entered," and then "Noah's wife, and his sons' wives:" Behold, saith he, here the men are put together, and the women together: But when they come out, it is here said, "Go forth, thou and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives, with thee;" lo, here they are coupled together, as before they were separated. And so we find them again, (ver. 18.) where it is said, "Noah went forth, and his wife," &c.

Ver. 17. *Bring forth every living creature,* &c. *that they may breed,* &c.] One would think, by this, that no creature bred in the ark, no more than men: but now are sent forth to breed and multiply in the earth.

Ver. 20. *And Noah built an altar to the Lord.*] We never read of any built before this time: though we may reasonably conclude there was an altar upon which Cain and Abel offered; in the place appointed for Divine worship.

*Offered burnt-offerings.*] He restores the ancient rite of Divine service; which his sons and their posterity followed. Some think these *burnt-offerings* had something in them of the nature of a propitiatory sacrifice, as well as eucharistical, which they certainly were, for their deliverance from the flood. Their reason is taken from what follows.

Ver. 21. *The Lord smelled a sweet savour.*] That is, as Munster understands it, he ceased from his anger and was appeased. So the Syriac also, and Josephus. (Lib. i. Antiq. cap. 4.) But it may signify no more, but that his

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thankfulness was as grateful to God as sweet odours are to us.

*And the Lord said in his heart.*] He determined, or resolved in himself. The Vulgar understands this, as if the Lord spake comfortably to Noah, (which in the Hebrew phrase is, "speaking to one's heart") and said,

*I will not again curse the ground any more.*] *i. e.* After this manner, with a deluge.

*For the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.*] Such a proclivity there is in men to evil, that if I should scourge them thus, as often as they deserve, there would be no end of deluges. But the words may have a quite different sense, being connected with what went before in this manner; "I will not curse the ground any more for man's sake, though he be so very evilly disposed," &c.

Those words, "from his youth," signify a long radicated corruption, as appears from many places; Isa. xlvii. 12. 15. Jerem. iii. 25. Ezek. xxiii. 8, &c. Sol Jarchi extends it so far as to signify, "from his mother's womb."

Ver. 22. *While the earth remaineth.*] While men shall inhabit the earth.

*Seed time and harvest,* &c.] There shall not be such a year as this last has been: in which there was neither sowing nor reaping, nor any distinctions of seasons, till the rain was done.

*Day and night, shall not cease.*] One would think, by this expression, that the day did not much differ from night, while the heavens were covered with thick clouds, which fell in dismal floods of rain.

## CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. *AND God blessed Noah and his sons,* &c.] The Divine Majesty appeared now to Noah and his sons; to assure them of his favour and protection, and to renew the blessing bestowed upon Adam (as after a new creation), saying, "Increase and multiply."

Ver. 2. *The fear of you,* &c.] He seems also to confirm to them the dominion which God gave to Adam, at first, over all creatures, (i. 26.)

Ver. 3. *Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you,* &c.] Here the first grant made to mankind concerning food is enlarged, as St. Basil observes, ἡ πρώτη νομοθεσία τῶν καρπῶν ἀπόλαυσιν συνεχώρησε. The first legislation granted to them the use of fruits; but now of all living creatures; which they are as freely permitted to eat of, as formerly of all the fruits of the garden. For God seeing men to be ἀφειδεῖς, *contumacious,* as Greg. Nyss. expresses it, tom. i. p. 157. ἐπὶ παντῶν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν συνεχώρησε, *he conceded to them the enjoyments of all things.* This is the general sense of the Jews, and of the Christian fathers, and of the first reformers of religion. They that would have this only a renewal of such an old charter, are of later standing; and can shew us no charter, but are led by some reasonings of their own, not by the Scriptures: unless we will admit such a criticism upon Gen. i. 30. as seems to me very forced. And they would have this also understood only of clean creatures: but I do not find any ground for the distinction of clean and unclean creatures with respect to *food,* but only to *sacrifice,* as was said before.

The reason why God now granted the liberty to eat flesh, Abarbinel thinks, was because otherwise there would not have been food enough for Noah and his sons: the fruits of the earth, which before were abundant, being all destroyed; so that for the present there was not sufficient for their sustenance. Others think the reason of it was, because the fruits of the earth were not now so nutritive as they had been, before the salt water of the sea very much spoiled the soil.

Ver. 4. *But flesh with the life thereof,* &c.] Here is one exception to the foregoing large grant, that the blood of beasts should not be eaten: just as, at the first, one fruit in the midst of the garden was excepted, when all the rest were allowed. The Hebrew doctors generally understand this to be a prohibition to cut off any limb of a living creature, and to eat it while the life, that is, the blood, was in it: *Dum adhuc vivit, et palpitat, seu tremit,* as a modern interpreter truly represents their sense: which is followed by many Christians. See Mercer, Musculus, especially Mr. Selden, lib. vii. cap. 1. de Jure N. et G.: who thinks, as Maimonides doth, that there were some people in the old world so fierce and barbarous, that they eat raw flesh, while it was yet warm from the beast out of whose body it was cut: and he makes this to have been a part of their idolatrous worship. (See More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 48.) But, supposing this to be true, there were so few of these people, we may well think (for he himself saith, it was the custom of the gentile kings to do thus), that there needed not to have been a precept given to all mankind to avoid that, unto which human nature is of itself averse.

St. Chrysostom there expounds this, of not eating "things strangled:" and L. de Dieu, of not eating "that which died of itself:" for *nephesh* in Scripture signifies, sometimes, a *dead carcass.* But it is manifest it was not lawful for all people to eat such things; for God himself orders the Israelites to give that which died of itself to a stranger, or to sell it to an alien. (Deut. xiv. 21.) And therefore the simplest sense seems to be, that they should not eat the blood of any creature: which was a positive precept, like that of not eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And the reason of it, perhaps, was, that God, intending in aftertimes to reserve the blood for the expiation of sin, required this early abstinence from it, that they might be the better prepared to submit to that law, and understand the reason of it: which was, that it was the life of the *beast* which God accepted instead of *their* life, when they had forfeited it by their sins.

And there is another plain reason given of this prohibition immediately after it; that they might be the more fearful of shedding the blood one of another, when it was not lawful so much as to taste the blood of a beast.

Ver. 5. *And surely.*] Or rather *for surely,* as the LXX. the Vulgar Latin, and a great number of learned men expound the particle *vau* as a *causal,* not as a *copulative,* in this place. So that the sense is this: Therefore I command you to abstain from the blood of living creatures, that you may be the farther off from shedding the blood of men: for that is so precious in my account, that I will take care he be severely punished, by whom it is shed; yea, the very beast shall die that kills a man. So it follows:

*At the hand of every beast will I require it.*] Not as if beasts were to blame if they killed a man (for they are capable neither of vice nor virtue); but this was ordained with respect to men, for whose use beasts were created.

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For, first, such owners as were not careful to prevent such mischiefs were hereby punished: and, secondly, others were admonished by their example to be cautious: and, thirdly, God hereby instructed them that murder was a most grievous crime, whose punishment extended even to beasts: and, lastly, the lives of men were hereby much secured by the killing such beasts, as might otherwise have done the like mischief hereafter. See Bochart in his Hierozoic, par. i. lib. i. cap. 40.

*At the hand of every man's brother;* &c.] And therefore much more will I require it at the hand of every man. Whom he calls *brother*, to shew that murder is the more heinous upon this account; because we are all *brethren*. Or the meaning may be (as some will have it), that though he be as nearly related as a brother he shall not go unpunished.

Ver. 6. *Whoso sheds man's blood.*] He repeats it over again, to enact this law more strongly. Or, as the Hebrews understand it, he spake before of the punishment he would inflict himself upon the murderer; and now of the care we should take to punish it.

*By man shall his blood be shed.*] That is, by the magistrate or judges. For God had kept the punishment of murder in his own hand till now; as we may gather from the story of Cain, whom he banished, but suffered nobody to kill him: but here gives authority to judges to call every body to an account for it, and put them to death. They that would see more of the sense of the Jews about these and the foregoing words, may read Mr. Selden, de Jure N. et G. lib. i. cap. 5. and lib. iv. cap. 1. and de Synedriis, lib. i. cap. 5.

I will only add, that they rightly conclude, that as courts of judicature were hereby authorized; so what was thus ordained against murder, by a parity of reason, was to be executed upon other great offenders; there being some things which are no less dear to us than life; as virginal chastity, and matrimonial fidelity, &c.

*For in the image of God made he man.*] Notwithstanding the sin of man, there remained so much of the image of God in him as entitled him to his peculiar protection.

Ver. 7. *And ye, be ye fruitful,* &c.] You need doubt therefore of the blessing I now bestowed upon you, (ver. 1.) for you see what care I take of the preservation as well as the propagation of mankind.

Ver. 9. *I will establish my covenant with you.*] Because beasts cannot covenant, most understand by that word simply a *promise*, as Jer. xxxiii. 25. But there is no need of this explication; the covenant being made directly with Noah, including all other creatures who were to have the benefit of it.

Ver. 10. *From all that go out of the ark, to every beast of the earth.*] That is, it shall extend not only to those which now go out of the ark, but to all their breed in future ages.

Ver. 11. *And I will establish my covenant with you,* &c.] Doubt not of it; for I tell you again, I will faithfully keep this solemn promise.

*Any more be a flood to destroy the earth.*] That is, the whole earth; for particular inundations there have been often.

Ver. 12. *And the Lord said, This is the token of the covenant,* &c.] I do not only give you my word; but a token or sign that I will keep it.

Ver. 13. *I do set my bow in the clouds,* &c.] Most think this doth not signify there never had been a rainbow before the flood; for since there was both sun and clouds, it is likely, say they, there was a rainbow also: only now it was appointed for a *sign*, which it was not before. But as this opinion hath nothing in Scripture to enforce it, so grounds in nature there are none to warrant it; unless we will assert this manifest untruth, that every disposition of the air, or every cloud, is fitly disposed to produce a rainbow. They are the words of that great divine, Dr. Jackson, (book i. upon the Creed, chap. 16.) who adds, that if other natural causes, with their motions and dispositions, depend upon the final (as Scripture philosophy teaches us), they, who acknowledge the Scripture, have no reason to think that either the clouds or the air had that peculiar disposition before the flood, which is required to the production of the rainbow: when this wonderful effect had no such use or end, as it hath had ever since, for it was appointed by God, to be a witness of his covenant with the new world; a messenger to secure mankind from destruction by deluges. Now, if it had appeared before the flood, the sight of it after the flood would have been but a poor comfort to Noah and his timorous posterity: whose fear, lest the like inundation might happen again, was greater than could be taken away by a common or usual sign. The ancient poets had a better philosophy (though they knew not the original of it), when they feigned Iris to be the daughter, or (as we would now speak) the mother of wonderment (Θαύμαντος ἔκγονον), the messenger of the great god Jupiter, and his goddess Juno: whom Homer (as he observes) represents as sent with a peremptory command to Neptune not to aid the Grecians; by the swelling, we may suppose, of waters, which much annoyed the Trojans.

*My bow.*] It is called *his*, not only because he is the Author of all things, which have natural causes, as there are of this: but because *he* appointed it to a special end, as a signification and assurance of his mercy to mankind.

Ver. 14. *When I bring a cloud over the earth.*] *i. e.* When there are great signs of rain, which come out of the clouds.

*That the bow shall be seen in the cloud.*] Not always, but at certain times; often enough to put men in mind of this promise, and stir up their belief of it. For it doth, as it were, say, I will not drown the earth again, though the clouds have thickened as if they threatened it. Common philosophy teaches us, that the rainbow is a natural sign there will not be much rain after it appears; but that the clouds begin to disperse: for it is never made in a thick cloud, but in a thin: so that if it appear after showers, which come from thick clouds, it is a token that now they grow thin. But the God of nature chose this to be a sign, that he would never let them thicken again to such a degree to bring a deluge upon the earth. And, indeed, the admirable form or composition of this "glorious circle (as the son of Sirach calls it, Ecclus. xliii. 12.) bent by the hands of the Most High," doth naturally excite one to look beyond the material and efficient cause of it to the final, as the forenamed author speaks. And now that we have Moses's commentary upon it, we may see, in the mixed colours of the rainbow, these two things; the destruction of the old world by *water*, and the future consumption of the present world by *fire*; whose flaming brightness is predominant in the waterish humour.

Ver. 15. *And I will remember my covenant,* &c.] Look upon it as a token of my faithfulness to my word.

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Ver 16. *I will look upon it that I may remember,* &c.] This is spoken after the manner of men; the more to confirm their belief that God would not go back with his word.

Ver. 17. *And God said, This is the token,* &c.] As the promise is repeated twice, to express its certainty, (ver. 9. 11.) so is the token of it as oft repeated, for the same reason, (ver. 12. and here ver. 17.)

Ver. 18. *And the sons of Noah,* &c.] They are here again named, with respect to what follows: but not in their order, as shall be proved in its proper place, (x. 21.) for Japhet was the eldest.

*And Ham is the father of Canaan.*] This son of Ham is here alone mentioned, because he was concerned in the following wicked fact of his father: and his posterity were those wicked people, whose country God gave to the Israelites.

Ver. 19. *And of them was the whole earth overspread.*] By this it appears, that, though Noah lived above three hundred years after he came out of the ark, yet he begat no more children; or, if he did, none of them lived to have any posterity.

Ver. 20. *Began to be an husbandman.*] To improve the art of husbandry, which was understood before, but he much advanced it: there being nothing, in old time, which the greatest men thought more worthy their study; as we see by the Romans themselves, till they were corrupted by the luxury which their conquests brought in among them.

*And he planted a vineyard.*] There were vines here and there before the flood; but Noah seems to have been the first that made a *vineyard,* and put them in order: and the first, perhaps, that invented wine-presses, to press out the juice of the grapes, and make wine. If he was not the inventor of these two (planting of vineyards and making wine), yet we may well allow him to be the improver of them, as he was of husbandry.

Ver. 21. *And he drank of the wine, and was drunken.*] Being unacquainted with the strength of the liquor (as several of the fathers, as well as of the Jewish doctors think), or else being old and unable to bear its strength, as Epiphanius understands it: (see Hæres. lxiii. n. 3.) For it is manifest from what follows, that this happened a great while after the flood; Ham having a son, nay, more than one, for Canaan was not his first-born.

*And he was uncovered in his tent.*] The heat of the weather, or of the wine, perhaps, made him throw off the clothes: or he was negligent, being not himself.

Ver. 22. *And Ham, the father of Canaan,* &c.] There are some circumstances, which follow, that make the opinion of the Hebrew doctors not improbable; that Canaan first saw Noah in this indecent posture, and made sport with it to his father: who was so far from reproving him, as he ought to have done, that he also did the same.

*And told his two brethren without.*] In the street, publicly before the people, he proclaimed his father's shame, and mocked at it. For it is hard to think that God cursed him merely for his irreverence, but there was something of derision joined with it, and perhaps of profaneness and irreligion; in laughing (we may conceive) at the promise of the Messiah, which, it is likely, he heard his father often speak of, but now thought him incapable to beget. For Ham is generally thought to have been an impious man; and some take him to have been the first inventor of idols after the flood; nay, of magic, which he learned of the wicked Cainites before the flood. Thus Gaspar Schottus, lib. i. de Magia, cap. 3. prolegom. Where he endeavours to shew he was the same with him whom the Persians call Zoroaster.

Ver. 23. *And Shem and Japhet took a garment,* &c.] A great argument of their piety and dutiful affection to their father; which God, therefore, greatly rewarded.

Ver. 24. *And knew what his younger son had done.*] Finding himself covered with clothes that were not his own, he inquired, it is likely, how it came about: and was informed how he had been abused by one of his sons, and honoured by the other.

*His younger son.*] Some make this an argument that Canaan was the first that made himself merry with his grandfather: and is here called his *younger,* or *little* son (nothing being more common than to call those the sons of another who were his grandchildren, as cousin-germans are called brothers), for Ham was neither *little,* nor his *younger* son; but the middle-most, as he is always placed. Nor doth it seem at all pertinent to the matter to mention the order of his birth; but very fit, if he spake of his grandson, to distinguish him from the rest. And what follows is a farther proof of it.

Ver. 25. *Cursed be Canaan,* &c.] If what I said before, (ver. 22. 24.) be allowed, it makes it easy to give an account why Canaan is cursed rather than Ham; because he was first guilty. Ham, indeed, was punished in him: but he had other sons, on whom the punishment did not fall, but only on this. For which I can find no reason so probable as that beforenamed. Which, if it be not allowed, we must have recourse to a harsh interpretation; and, by Canaan, understand Canaan's father, as some do.

*A servant of servants.*] That is, the basest and vilest of servants. See the next verse.

Ver. 26. *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem.*] The Lord was the God of Shem, after a peculiar manner, just as he was the God of Abraham, because of the gracious covenant made with him: for God settled his church in the family of Shem; and Christ was born of his posterity; and he himself, in all likelihood, kept up the worship of the true God, and opposed idolatry. In short, to be the *God of Shem,* was to bestow all manner of blessings upon him; which Noah here prophecies to him, by blessing the Lord for them: whom he acknowledges to be the Author of them, out of his special grace and favour towards him. For he was the younger brother of Japhet, as I shall shew, x. 21. Thus Jacob interprets this phrase, xxix. 19, 20.

*And Canaan shall be his servant.*] This was fulfilled eight hundred years after, when the Israelites (who were descended from Shem) took possession of the land of Canaan; subduing thirty of their kings; killing most of their inhabitants; laying heavy tributes upon the remainder; and using the Gideonites (who saved themselves by a wile), though not as servants to them, yet as mere drudges for the service of the tabernacle. Whose name David is thought to have changed into *Nethinim* (Ezra viii. 20.); people who had voluntarily surrendered themselves (as they did to Joshua when he had discovered their fraud),

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to do what he would with them. Solomon also made all the remainders of the people of Canaan subject to servile labours, when all the Israelites were free, as is plainly signified, 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8, 9. And see Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2. Thus, as the blessing promised to Abraham was not fulfilled in his own person, but in his posterity, many generations after his death; so this curse upon Cham did not take place till the same time: the execution of God's curse upon the one being his conferring of a blessing upon the other.

Ver. 27. *God shall enlarge Japheth.*] *i. e.* His habitation; for God gave him, for his possession, all the isles of the sea westward, and those countries near to them, as Spain, Italy, Greece, Asia the Less, &c. as Bochart hath observed in his Phaleg. lib. i. cap. i. Who further notes, that, in the Hebrew word for *enlarge*, there is a plain allusion to Japheth's name; as there are to many others in Scripture; Noah, (ver. 29.) Judah, Dan, Gad, &c. (xlix. 8. 16. 19.) They that translate this word *persuade* (as it is in the margin), did not consider, that it is commonly taken in a bad sense, when it is so used, for *deceiving* and *seducing;* and that it governs, as grammarians speak, an accusative case, and not a dative (as it doth here), when it signifies to allure or persuade. In short, this is a promise of a very large portion to Japheth's posterity in the division of the earth: which was but necessary; for that part of the world which bends to the north being assigned to him, vast regions were requisite for such a numerous offspring as were likely to come from him: the fruitfulness of people being wonderfully great in cold climates. And, accordingly, besides all Europe, and the Lesser Asia, there fell to the share of his posterity, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and the vast regions towards the north, which anciently the Scythians, now the Tartars, inhabit: from whom the people of the New World (as we call it) seem to be derived; the Scythians going thither by the Streights of Anian. Of which more upon x. 32.

Moses hath not told us, what were the names of any of their wives; but the Greeks have given to Japetus's wife the name of Κλυμήνη (as Hesiod calls her), because she was the mother of so many famous nations. So Vossius, lib. i. De Orig. Idolol. cap. 18. And Campanella's observation in this verse is, That all empires descended from the sons of Japheth, (L. de Monarchia Hispan. cap. 4.) Which may be true of the great empires, but the Egyptians seem to have been the first considerable princes, and Nimrod was of the race of Ham.

*And he shall dwell in the tents of Shem.*] *i. e.* His territories shall be so dilated, that, in future times, he shall possess some of his brother's countries: which is also prophesied of, Numb. xxiv. 24. where it is said, they of Cittim "shall afflict the children of Assur and Eber;" *i. e.* afflict the Assyrians and the Hebrews, who were of the posterity of Shem. And so both the Greeks and the Romans did, who invaded and conquered that part of Asia which belonged to Shem. The Chaldee paraphrast gives a spiritual interpretation of this passage, which is very apt, That the gentiles should come into the church, which was in the family of Shem. And it is very remarkable, (which is observed by our Mr. Mede, book i. discourse 48.) that all the offsprings of Japheth are at this day Christians, Magog only excepted (*i. e.* the Turks), whom God seems to have reserved, as he did some of the Canaanites in the land of Israel, to prove and punish us withal. Our learned N. Fuller gives a quite different interpretation from all these, making God the subject of this speech, not Japheth; and thus translates it; "God shall dwell in the tents of Shem;" among them shall be the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty. But this doth not agree with what follows.

*And Canaan shall be his servant.*] The Greeks and Romans, descended from Japheht, conquered Canaan: and whatsoever relics there were of them any where, (for instance, at Tyre, built by the Sidonians; at Thebes, by Cadmus; at Carthage, by Dido;) they were all cut off by the Greeks or Romans. It is observed by Campanella, that "none are descended from Cham, but slaves, and tyrants, who are indeed slaves;" (cap. 4. De Mon. Hispan.) But Mr. Mede's observation is more pertinent: (in the forenamed discourse, p. 358.) There hath never yet been a son of Cham, that hath shaken a sceptre over the head of Japheth. Shem hath subdued Japheth, and Japheth subdued Shem: but Cham never subdued either. Which made Hannibal, a child of Canaan, cry out with amazement of soul, "Agnosco fatum Carthaginis," *I acknowledge the fate of Carthage.* (Livy, lib. xxvii. *in fine.*)

Ver. 28. *And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years.*] Which was of great advantage for the certain propagation of the knowledge of those things before related, and of those that follow in the next chapter: for he died not above two-and-thirty years before Abraham was born.

## CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. *NOW these are the generations of the sons of Noah,* &c.] As he had often before mentioned the three sons of Noah, so now he mentions them again, being to give an account of their children, by whom the earth was peopled after the flood. And he reckons them in the same order he had always done, (vi. 10. vii. 13. ix. 18.) first Shem, then Ham, and last of all Japheth. But it is observable, that, in the next verse, he gives an account first of the sons of Japheth, who was, indeed, the eldest. There is great use of this genealogy, as Maimonides shews, (par. iii. More Nev. cap. 50.) because the doctrine of the creation of the world, which is the foundation of the law (*i. e.* of religion), would not have been so easily believed, if Moses had not given an account of the succession of mankind, from the first man to the flood; and from the flood to his own time: shewing from whom all nations were derived, and how they came to be dispersed.

Shem is named first of Noah's sons, because the blessed seed was to spring out of his family; in which the true religion was preserved: which was soon lost in the posterity of the other two; among whom their names remained in great honour. For,

Ham was the heathen Jupiter, who was called Hammon in Egypt; which, it will appear, was part of Ham's portion, and is called the Land of Ham, as every one knows, in many places of the Psalms. And, accordingly, the same country is called by Plutarch, Χημία.

Japheth also seems to have been the same with Japetus, whom the Greeks own to have been their father. Nor do they know any name of greater antiquity: which made



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them give it to decrepit persons (as many, particularly Bochart, have observed); and it became a proverb in that country, "older than Japetus" Whom their poets feign to have attempted war against Jupiter; because of the dissensions which the unlikeness of their manners begat between them. Which seems to be nothing but the story in chapter ix. of this book, ver. 22. For Ham, as I said, is the heathen Jupiter.

Ver. 2. *The sons of Japheth.*] Were seven; the eldest of which, Gomer, had three sons; and the fourth, Javan, had four: whose names we have in the following verses.

*Gomer.*] It is hard, at this distance, to find what country was peopled by his posterity; but Bochartus, in his Phaleg. hath made such probable conjectures, about this and all that follow, from other Scriptures, and from neighbouring places, and the relics of their names in ancient geographers, and such-like things, that they carry a great appearance of truth in them. Our famous Camden (in his account of the first inhabitants of Britain), thinks that the Cimbri and Cimmerii descended from this Gomer, who gave them their name; and that the old Britons came from him, because they call themselves Kumero, Cymro, and Kumeri; which seems to denote them the posterity of Gomer. But this, as also the notion of Ludov. Capellus in his Chron. Sacra, p. 104. (who, if this of Mr. Camden be not accepted, propounds another, of the Comari and Chomari, a people in Scythia, mentioned by Ptolemy, within the mountain Imaus, near Bactriana), is confuted by what we read in Ezekiel, who makes Gomer to have been a neighbour of Torgamah. (Ezek. xxxviii. 6.) And Torgamah was a nation that usually went to the marts of Tyre, (xxvii. 14.) and consequently were not seated in the furthermost part of the north; but, as will appear afterward, not very far from Tyre. And in some countries thereabouts we must seek for Gomer: who, it is likely, gave Phrygia its denomination. For a part of it was called Κατακεκαυμένη by Diodorus and Hesychius, because it looked as if it were burnt. Such was all the country about Cayster, Mæander, and the city Philadelphia. Now this is the very signification of Gomer. For in the Hebrew Gomer is to *consume;* and so the Chaldee and Syriac frequently use it; whence Gumra, or Gumro, is a *coal.* And Phrygia is of the same signification (for φρύγειν in Greek is to *torrify*), which, being the name of part of the country, in time became the name of the whole.

*Magog.*] The second son of Japheth, was in all likelihood the father of the Scythians; which is the opinion of Josephus, Theodoret, St. Jerome, and others. For all that is said in Scripture about Magog exactly agrees to them; as Bochartus hath shewn at large, out of Ezekiel. lib. iii. Phaleg. cap. 13.

*Madai.*] From him the country of Media took its name; where he and his children settled: and it is the farthermost country eastward, where any of the posterity of Japheth inhabited. What is the name of this country, at present, is not easy to tell; the ancient name and limits of countries so remote, being quite worn out of memory. But it is no improbable conjecture of Bochartus, (lib. iii. cap. 14.) that the ancient Sarmatæ took their name from this man, Sear, or Sar-Madai, being, in Chaldee, as much as the relics of Madai or the Medes. Dr. Jackson, I think, hath well observed, (book i. chap. 16.) that Scythia, or the north part of Asia Minor, and other parts adjacent, were inhabited by the sons of Japheth, before they came into Greece (where the next son settled), or the other parts of Europe.

*Javan.*] Planted himself in Greece; under which word is comprehended, not only Achaia and the rest of the countries thereabout; but even Macedonia, and the nations neighbouring to it, towards the west: the sea that washes them, being called the Ionian Sea. And, indeed, the Hebrew word יון taking away the vowels, may be either read Javan or Ion. From whence the Iones; whom Homer calls Jaones, which is near to Javan; which a Persian, in Aristophanes's Acharnenses, pronounces Jaonau: as Grotius observes, Annot. in lib. i. de V. R. C. Hence Daniel calls Alexander, who came out of Macedonia, the King of Javan, (viii. 21.) And the Chaldee paraphrase hath here, instead of Javan, Macedonia. See Bochart. lib. iii. cap. 3.

*Tubal and Meshech.*] These two are constantly joined together by Ezekiel in many places, (xxvii. 13. xxxii. 26, &c.) Which is a sign these two brothers planted themselves not far from one another. And no conjecture seems so probable as that of Bochartus, who takes these to be the people whom the Greeks call Moschi and Tibareni: who are as constantly joined together in Herodotus, as Meschech and Tubal are in Ezekiel, and none need wonder that Tubal was changed into Tuber, and then into Tiber: for nothing was more common, among the Greeks, than to change the letter L. into R. as Βελιὰρ for Belial, and Φιχὼρ for Phicol, &c. The Moschi inhabited the mountains called Moschici, N. E. of Cappadocia, and all the mountains (as Bochart thinks) from the river Phasis to the Pontus-Cappadocicus. The Tibareni were in the middle between the Trapezuntii and the inhabitants of Armenia the Less. So Strabo describes them, who was born not far from these countries, and had reason to know them. Nor is this a new opinion of Bochart's, that the Tibareni came from Tubal: for Epiphanius, in his Ancorats, mentions among the descendants of Japheth, Τιβαρινοὺς, together with the Chalybes and Mossynæci; whom our Broughton follows.

*Tiras.*] Or Thiras, the youngest of the sons of Japheth, possessed Thrace and Mysia, and the rest of Europe towards the north. For Θρᾶξ is Thiras or Thras, by the change of the letter Samech into Xi: which in the Greek alphabet (received from the Phœnicians) answers to the letter Samech; so that some of the Hebrews write Thracia with an S, Thrasia: and a Thracian woman is called by the Greeks themselves Θρᾷσσα and Θρεῖσσα: which comes very near to Thiras. And that great man Bochartus says a great deal more to confirm this; which was the opinion, he shews, of many of the ancients. (Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 2.) And in late times, of Ludovicus Capellus; who adds, that possibly Tros and Troas were derived from this Thiras.

Ver. 3. *And the sons of Gomer.*] Now follows an account of those that descended from the eldest son of Japheth. Ashkenaz was the eldest son of Gomer, whose posterity settled in Bithynia (where we find the footsteps of his name, in the Sinus Ascanius, and Ascanius Lacus, and Amnis), and in Troas, and the Lesser Phrygia: in which is a country and a city called Ascania and Ascaniæ-

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Insulæ. Into which country the offspring of Ashkenaz brought colonies from Gomer, or the Greater Phrygia: and extended themselves to the sea. Which being called by the people upon the coast Ascenaz, was pronounced by the Greeks Ἄξενος. Which being an odious name in their language, signifying *inhospitable*, they changed it into the contrary, and called it Εὔξεινος, the Euxine Sea. See more in the forenamed author, (lib. iii. cap. 9.) Ludovicus Capellus happened upon the same conjecture. Riphath, or Diphath, as it is written in 1 Chron. i. 6. whose posterity Josephus thinks to have inhabited Paphlagonia: which is a country near to Phrygia, upon the Euxine Sea: and there are remainers of the name in several places, both ways written with Resh, or with Daleth: as Bochart shews. (lib. iii. cap. 10.) Mela places the Riphaces in this country, as Grotius observes, Annot. in lib. i. de V. R. C.

*Togarmah.*] His posterity, it is manifest, settled northward of Judea, by that place in Ezekiel (xxxviii. 6.) where the Greek scholiast saith, some hereby understand the Cappadocians and Galatians. And, indeed, Cappadocia lies near to Gomer or Phrygia, with whom Togarmah is wont to be joined: and in respect of Judea, it lies northward; and was most famous for excellent horses; which the prophet saith came from Togarmah. (Ezek. xxvii. 14.) The Greek interpreters constantly write it Torgama, or Thorgama; from whence the name of the Trogmi, or Trocmi, may well be thought to be derived: who, Strabo saith, (lib. xii.) lived near Pontus and Cappadocia: and it appears by Ptolemy, they possessed some cities in Cappadocia itself. This people are called by Stephanus, Trocmeni, and in the council of Chalcedon, Trocmades, or Trogmades: for their bishop is often mentioned, Ἐπίσκοπος Τροκμάδων. See Bochart in the same book, cap. 11.

Ver. 4. *And the sons of Javan.*] Having told us what sons Gomer had, he informs us who had descended from Javan: who had four sons, that gave names to four provinces.

*Elishah.*] His first-born inhabited Peloponnesus: in which there was an ample country, called by the ancients Elis: and one part of it called by Homer, Alisium. I omit the other arguments whereby Bochartus proves this to be the part of the earth where Elishah's posterity settled, not far from their father Javan. Nay, Ludovicus Capellus (p. 105. Chron. Sacra,) thinks the Αἰολεῖς, Æoles, and the country Æolia had its name from thence

*Tarshish*] (or Tarsis) Neither peopled Cilicia, where we meet with a like name, nor the coast about Carthage, as some of the ancients thought; but, as Eusebius, and from him our Broughton, and lately Bochart, have observed, from him came the Iberi in Spain. Θαρσεῖς ἐξ οὗ Ἴβηρες. Which name of Iberi came, as Bochart thinks, from the Phœnicians, who called the bounds and utmost limits of any thing Ebrim or Ibrim; a word often used in the Syriac version of the Psalms and the New Testament. From whence, it is not unlikely, the Spaniards were called by this name of Iberi, because they were thought to possess the utmost ends of the earth westward. However, we may well think Tarshish to be Spain, or that part of it which was most frequented by the Phœnicians, viz. about Gades and Tartessus, as Bochartus, I think, hath proved by evident arguments, fetched chiefly from what Ezekiel says of Tarsis, (xxvii. 12.) and comparing it with this country. (Lib. iii. Phaleg. cap. 7.)

*Kittim.*] The same author hath proved by solid arguments, and by good authority, that from him came the people who inhabited Italy: in which there were anciently many footsteps of this name. For there was in Latium itself a city called Κετία, as Halicarnasseus tells us: which was one of those great and populous cities taken by Coriolanus, as Plutarch, in his life, tells us. There was a river called Κητὸς about Cumæ, mentioned by Aristotle, as turning plants into stones. And the very name of Latines answers to Chittim: for most say it comes *à latendo*, being formed to express this ancient Scripture name. For Chetema, in Arabic (which is a branch of the Hebrew tongue) is *to hide:* and Chetim is *hidden*, and *lament*. And so, no doubt, it was anciently used in Hebrew: for what better sense can we make of those words of Jeremy, ii. 22. "thy iniquity, נכתם, is hidden or laid up with me?" according to an usual expression in Scripture, (Deut. xxxii. 34. Job xxi. 9. Hos. xiii. 12.) where there are words of the like import with this. That famous man Bochart saith a great deal more, to assert this, (lib. iii. cap. 5.)

*Dodanim.*] He is called Rhodanim, in 1 Chron. i. 7. by whom the Greek interpreters understand the people of Rhodes (and so do several of the ancients), but the name of that island is much later than Moses's time: and therefore it is better to understand hereby, that country now called France; which was peopled by the posterity of this son of Javan: who, when they came to this coast, gave name, as Bochart conjectures, to the great river Rhodanus; where it is likely they first seated themselves, and called the adjacent coast Rhodanusia: which had anciently in it a city of the same name, mentioned by Stephanus; and said to be seated in Μασσαλία, *in tractu Massiliensi*, where now stands Marseilles. (See Bochart, lib. iii. cap. 6.) These Dodanites are never mentioned in any other places of Scripture, which makes it the more difficult where to find them; but this account seems more probable than that of our learned Mede, who places them in Epirus (where there was a city called Dodona), and part of Peloponnesus: all which, and several countries thereabout, seem to be comprehended under the name of Javan.

Ver. 5. *By these were the isles of the gentiles divided.*] By the word isles we commonly understand countries compassed round about by the sea. But there were not such islands enough to contain the sons of Japheth (though these were part of their portion), and therefore we must seek for another sense of this word. Which the Hebrews use (as Mr. Mede hath observed), to signify "all those countries divided from them by the sea;" or, such as they used not to go to, but by sea. (See book i. disc. 47.) Many places testify this, (Isai. xi. 10, 11. xl. 15. Jer. ii. 10, &c.) Now, if Moses wrote this book in Egypt, as he thinks it probable, they commonly went from thence to Phrygia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, by sea, as well as to Greece, Italy, &c. To Media, indeed, he thinks, they did not use to go by sea, and therefore makes this an objection against Madia being the father of the Medes: for their country cannot be called an isle. But the far greater part of the regions, peopled by the sons of Japheth, being such



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as, he confesses, the Hebrews call isles, Moses might well say, the isles of the gentiles were parted among them, though Media be comprehended, which was not such an isle. But there is no need of all this, if we take the word we translate *isle*, for a region, country, or province. And so it plainly signifies, Job xxii. 30. Isai. xx. 6. where, in the margin, we translate it *country*. And then the word Goim, which we render Gentiles, signifies a multitude of people: as it doth often in Scripture: particularly Gen. xvii. 4. 16. And so we translate it, *nations*, in the last words of this verse; and in the last clause of this chapter; "by these were the [Goim] nations divided in the earth." Which may serve to explain this phrase here; which we may thus interpret, "by these (or among these) were divided the regions of the people or nations (descended from Japheth) in their lands;" in the several countries which they possessed.

*Divided.*] It appears by the following words (according to his language, family, and nation), this great division of the earth was made orderly, and not by a confused irregular dispersion, wherein every one went whither he listed, and seated himself where he thought good. This, Mr. Mede thinks, is also suggested in the very word we translate *divided;* which signifies not a scattered, but a distinct partition.

*Every one after his tongue,* or *language.*] The same is said (ver. 20. and ver. 31.) of the posterity of Cham and Shem. Which signifies they did not all speak the same language, but doth not prove that any one of the forementioned people had a language peculiar to themselves, distinct from the rest, and not understood by them. As, when Ahasuerus is said to have caused letters to be written to a hundred and twenty-seven provinces, according to their language and their writing, (Esth. viii. 9.) it doth not prove there were so many several sorts of writing, and so many several languages in his empire; but only that to each of them was directed a letter, in that language which they spake.

*After their families, in their nations.*] The particle *in* denotes, as Mr. Mede observes, *families* to be subordinate to *nations*, as parts to a whole. Families are parts of a nation, and a nation is an offspring containing many families. So here was a twofold order in this division. First, they were ranged according to their nations; and then, every nation was ranked by his families. So that every nation had his lot by himself; and in every nation, the families belonging to it had their portion by themselves. The number of nations descended from Japheth were seven, according to the number of his sons, who were all founders of several nations. But the number of families is not here entirely set down: for Moses names only the families of Gomer and Javan: whose children, perhaps, are rather to be looked upon as founders of nations; and therefore mentioned by Moses, when the posterity of the rest are omitted.

Ver. 6. *And the sons of Ham.*] Having given an account of the sons and grandsons of Japheth, the eldest son of Noah, he next proceeds to the sons of Ham, the second son of Noah, which were four: and gives an account also of every one of their sons, and of some of their grandsons.

*Cush*] Gave name to a country very often mentioned in Scripture; which most of the ancients take for Ethiopia, and so we commonly translate the word *Cush.* But if by Ethiopia they meant that country south of Egypt, and not an eastern country (which may be a question), Jonathan is rather to be followed, who here paraphrases it Arabia. For Cush is the same with Chusan (only this latter is a diminutive), which is made the same with Midian, (Habak. iii. 7.) And so Moses's wife is called a Chushite (we render it Ethiopian), for she was a Midianite, (Exod. ii. 16. 21.) and therefore was of Arabia, not of Ethiopia: and so we should translate it, (Numb. xii. 2.) an *Arabian woman.* And there is a demonstration of it in Ezek. xxix. 10. that Cush cannot be Ethiopia; for, when God saith he will make Egypt desolate, "from the tower of Syene to the border of Cush," if we should understand by Cush the country of Ethiopia, it would be as if he had said, "from Ethiopia to Ethiopia." For every one knows Syene was the border of Egypt towards Ethiopia: and therefore here being two opposite borders, it is manifest that Cush, which is the opposite term to Syene, cannot be Ethiopia, but Arabia: which bounded that part of Egypt, which is most remote from Ethiopia. A great number of other arguments, out of the Scriptures, evince this: which Bochartus hath collected, (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 2.) and Philip. Beroaldus asserted the same thing before him.

*Mizraim.*] The father of them who inhabited Egypt, whose metropolis [Alcairo] the Arabians at this day call Meser; and the first month among the ancient Egyptians was called Mesori: and Cedrenus calls the country itself Mestra, as Grotius observes in his Annot. in lib. i. de V. R. C. and Lud. Capellus, in his Chronol. Sacra, p. 109. And this word *Mizraim* being of the dual number (which shews it to be the name of the country rather than of a person), denotes two Egypts, as Bochart observes. For so there were, the higher and the lower. All that country was called the higher, where Nile runs in one stream; the lower was that, where it is divided into many: which the Greeks call Delta, from its triangular form.

*Phut.*] All Africa was divided between Mizraim and Phut, as Bochartus observes. For all Egypt, and several other parts of Africa, as far as the lake Tritonides (which divides Africa into two almost equal parts), fell to Mizraim. The rest, beyond that lake, to the Atlantic Ocean, was the portion of Phut. Of which name there are some footsteps, in the city Putea, which Ptolemy, (lib. iii. cap. 1.) calls Φούτης; and the river called Phut, mentioned by Pliny, as Grotius notes; and a country, which St. Jerome, in his time, says, was called Regio Phutensis: which lies not far from Fez. Another name of Africa is Lub, which we often meet withal in Scripture: whence the name of Lybia. Concerning which, and a great many other proofs that Phut was planted in Africa, see the famous Bochartus, (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 33.)

*Canaan.*] The youngest son of Ham, every one knows, gave name to that country, which God gave afterwards to the Israelites. Which the Phœnicians, who descended from the Canaanites, called Χνᾶ, by a contraction of the word *Canaan*, as many have observed out of Eusebius, (lib. i. Præpar. cap. 10.) who quotes Sanchoniathon and Philo-Biblius for it. It is so certain that the Phœnicians had their original from the Canaanites, that the LXX. use their names promiscuously. For example, Shual is called,

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(Gen. xlvi. 10.) the son of a Canaanitish woman: whom in Exod. vi. 15. they call the son of a Phœnician woman. And so in the New Testament, the woman whom St. Matthew calls a *woman of Canaan*, (xv. 22.) St. Mark calls a *Syrophœnician*, (vii. 26.) We never, indeed, find the Phœnicians called Canaanites by the Greeks: for their posterity, being ashamed (as we may suppose) of that name, because of the curse pronounced upon Canaan, chose to be called rather Syrians, or Assyrians, or Sidonians, or Phœnicians. For Syria, which was a common name to a great many people round about, was at first proper to them; from the metropolis of Phœnicia, which was Tyre, in Hebrew, *Sor* or *Sur;* from whence Surim, and thence the Greek Σύροι. They that would see more of this, may read the forenamed author, (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 34.)

Ver. 7. In this verse Moses acquaints us, what people descended from the eldest son of Ham; viz. Cush, who had five sons: and the fourth of them had two.

*Seba.*] There were four nations, that had the name of Seba, or Shebah, as Bochart observes, (lib. ii. cap. 25.) Three of them are mentioned here in this chapter. The first of them, this son of Cush, is written with Samech, all the rest with Schin; viz. the grandson of Cush, who was the son of Raamah or Rhegma, in the end of this verse. The third was the son of Joktan, the son of Shem, (ver. 28.) And the fourth was a grandchild of Abraham, by his son Jokshan, (xxv. 3.) They that descended from the three first of these, were a people given to trade; from the fourth came a people addicted to robbery. The first, the second, and the fourth, were seated near the Persian Sea; the third near the Arabian; whence Pliny saith the Sabeans stretched themselves to both seas, (lib. v. cap. 28.) For all these four people were comprehended under the name of Sabeans, though very different one from another. But it may be doubted, whether the Sabeans, who descended from Jokshan the grandchild of Abraham, did live near the Persian Sea. And I shall shew upon xxv. 3. that Bochart himself thought otherwise, upon further consideration.

And as for this Seba, he was the father of a people in Arabia called Jemamites, as Alcamus, an Arabian writer, tells us: whose words are, "A certain man called Saba gathered together the tribes of the Jemamites:" *i. e.* He was the founder of the people called by that name, from a famous queen of that country called Jemama. See Bochartus, lib. iv. cap. 8. where he shews where they were situated: and that they are the Sabeans who are said by Agathercides to have been a very tall proper people, mentioned Isa. xlv. 14.

*Havilah.*] Or *Chavilah.* There were two Havilahs also: one the son of Cush here mentioned; another the son of Joktan, (ver. 29.) From this Havilah seem to have come the people called Chaulothæi by Eratosthenes: who were seated in Arabia Felix (as Strabo tells us) between the Nabatæi and the Agræi, *i. e.* the Hagerens. By Pliny they are called Chavelæi (which comes nearest to the Hebrew name), who were seated in that part of the country which lay towards Babylon: as appears by this, that, in the Scripture, the wilderness of Shur (nigh Egypt) and Havilah are opposed, as the most remote opposite bounds of Arabia. Thus the Ishmaelites are said to have dwelt "from Havilah to Shur," (Gen. xxv. 18.) that is, before Egypt, *e regione Egypti*, "over against Egypt," as Bochart translates it. That is, Havilah bounded them on the north-east; and Shur on the south-west: which Shur was near to Egypt. And so Saul is said to have smitten the "Amalekites from Havilah to Shur," &c. (1 Sam. xv. 7.) where we translate the last words, "over against Egypt."

*Sabta.*] Or *Sabtha*, (whom the ancients call *Sabatha*, or *Sabathes*) seems to have been settled in that part of Arabia Felix called Leanites, upon the Persian Sea; where there was a city, not far distant from the sea, called by Ptolemy Σαφθά: from whence they sent colonies over the Sea into Persia, as Bochart shews by several arguments, (lib. iv. cap. 10.) For there is an island on that coast called Sophtha; and a people called Messabatæ, or Messabathæ, upon the confines of Media; from the Chaldean word *Mesa* (which signifies middle) and *Sabatha;* as if one would say, the *Mediterranean Sabtæ.*

*Raamah*] Or, as the ancients pronounce his name, *Rhegma*, was situated in the same Arabia, upon the Persian Sea. Where there is a city mentioned by Ptolemy's tables *Rhegama;* in the Greek text expressly, Ῥέγμα, *Rhegma.* And so Stephanus mentions both Ῥῆγμα πόλις and κόλπος Ῥῆγμα, about the Persian Gulf.

*Sabtecha*] Or *Sabthecha*, as some read it, was the youngest son of Cush, except Nimrod, who is mentioned by himself. It is hard to find the place of his habitation: but the rest of the sons of Cush being seated about the Persian Sea (except Nimrod, who, as Moses tells us, went to Babylon), Bochartus thinks it reasonable to seek for him in that part of Caramania, where there was a city called Samydace, and a river Samydachus: which, he thinks may have come from Sabetecha, by the change of the letter B into M. Which was very frequent in Arabia, and the neighbouring countries. For Merodach is also called Berodach, in the Book of the Kings: and in the Chaldee paraphrase, Basan is called Bathnan and Mathnan: and Abana (the famous river of Damascus), is expounded Amana: and Mecca and Beccha, are the same city among the Arabians. In like manner, Sabtecha, or Sabithace, might be changed into Samydace. Now, into Caramania there was a short cut over the streights of the Persian Gulf out of Arabia. I see nothing any where more probable than this conjecture of that very learned man. (Lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 4.)

*And the sons of Ramah, Sheba and Dedan.*] He gives an account of none of Cush's other sons' posterity, but only of this: whose two sons were seated near him and one another. For the younger of them, Dedan, seems to have left his name in a city now called Dadan, hard by Rhegma, upon the same shore, eastward. And from this Dadan the country now hath its name: of which Ezekiel speaks, (xxvii. 15.) as Bochart shews plainly, (lib. iv. cap. 6.) And Sheba (or, as others read it, *Seba* or *Saba*), his elder brother, was seated in the same country not far from Dedan, where Pomponius mentions a people called *Sabæi:* and Arrianus speaks of a great mountain not far off, called *Sabo*, from this *Saba:* whose posterity, easily passing over the streights beforementioned into Caramania, might possibly give name to a city there, which Ptolemy calls *Sabis:* and Pliny mentions a river of the same name: and Dionys. Periegetes speaks of a people called *Sabæ.* Of whom the Scripture seems to speak, in those places where Sheba and Seba are joined together: (Ps. lxxii. 10.) "The kings of

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Sheba (*i. e.* of this country) and Seba shall offer gifts." And sometimes Sheba and Raamah (for Rhegma) are joined; (Ezek. xxvii. 22.) where the prophet speaks of this *Sheba*, the son, or Rhegma; who brought those precious commodities there mentioned out of Arabia: they lying very commodiously for traffic upon the Persian Gulf. And these are the people also mentioned, ver. 23. of that chapter, with sundry other nations; who lived upon Tigris and Euphrates, which run into the Persian Sea; and therefore it is reasonable to think that Sheba's posterity lived near the same sea.

Ver. 8. *And Cush begat Nimrod.*] Besides all the forementioned, he also begat this son; whom Moses distinguishes from the rest, and mentions him alone by himself, because he was the most eminent among his brethren, though born the last; a mighty commander, as Moses here describes him. Thus in the title of Psal. xviii. it is said, David was delivered out of the hand of all his enemies, and out of the hand of Saul: who is particularly mentioned by himself because he was his chief enemy. Sir W. Raleigh thinks he was begotten by Cush when his other children were become fathers; and so, being younger than his grandsons, he is named after an account is given of every one of them.

*Nimrod.*] The author of the Chronicon Alexandr. thinks he was the same with Ninus: but Vossius rather takes him for him whom the Greek writers call Belus, that is *Lord:* And that Ninus was his son, so called from the very thing itself, *Nin* in Hebrew signifying a *son*, (lib. i. de Idolol. cap. 24.) The same Chronicon saith, that Nimrod taught the Assyrians to worship the fire: and both Elmacinus and Patricides affirm the same. (See Hotting. Smegma Orient. lib. i. cap. 8. p. 272.) Which, if it be true, I doubt not was as an emblem of the Divine Majesty; which used to appear in a glorious flame. Ur, a city of Chaldea, seems to have had its name from the fire which was there worshipped: and that Ur also, from whence Abraham came, the Hebrews fancy had the same original; for their fable is, that Abraham was thrown into the fire, because he would not worship it; and by the power of God delivered, as St. Jerome tells us in his Questions upon Genesis.

*He began to be a mighty one in the earth.*] He was the first great warrior and conqueror; so *Gibbor* is to be understood; not for a giant, or man of great stature, but for a potent person: and, as some will have it, a more severe governor than they had been, who only exercised paternal authority. For he was the first that put down the government of eldership, or paternity (as Sir Walter Raleigh speaks), and laid the foundation of sovereign rule.

Ver. 9. *He was a mighty hunter.*] Or rather, *mighty in hunting*: for the word *tzid* doth not signify a *hunter*, but *hunting*. Which shews by what means he came to be so great a monarch. He hardened himself to labour by this exercise (which was very toilsome), and drew together a great company of robust young men to attend him in this sport: who were hereby also fitted to pursue men, as they had done wild beasts. For this was looked upon, in all ages, as the rudiment of warfare, (as Bochart shews out of a great many authors, lib. iv. cap. 12.) all the heroes of old, such as Nestor, Theseus, Castor, Pollux, Ulysses, Diomedes, Achilles, Æneas, &c. being all bred up to hunting, as Xenophon informs us. And it was not without some such reason, that noble families carry in their coats of arms (as ensigns of their valorous achievements) lions, bears, tigers, &c. from their killing such-like fierce creatures. For it must be farther noted, that, in this age of Nimrod, the exercise of hunting might well be the more highly esteemed, and win him the hearts of mankind; because he delivered them, by this means, from those wild beasts, whereby they were much infested, and very dangerously exposed, while they were but few, and lived scattered up and down, in the open air, or in tents but weakly defended. The destroying of wild beasts (and, perhaps, of thieves whom he hunted also) was a great service in those times, and made many join with him in greater designs which he had at last; to subdue men, and make himself master of the people who were his neighbours, in Babylon, Susiana, and Assyria. The memory of this hunting of his, was preserved by the Assyrians (who made Nimrod the same with Orion), who joined the dog and the hare (the first creature perhaps that was hunted) with his constellation. This, Mr. Selden observes in his Titles of Honour, (part i. cap. 1.) where he farther notes, that he is to this day called, by the Arabians, *Algebar*, the mighty man, or the giant: from the Hebrew *Gibbor* here in the text.

*Before the Lord.*] *i. e.* To the highest degree. For so "a great city to God," is a very great city, (Jonah iii. 3.) and a child very beautiful is called ἀστεῖος Θεῷ, *fair to*, or *before God*, (Acts vii. 20.) Or the meaning may be, he was *truly so*, not only in common opinion. For that is said to be *before God*, which really is: because God cannot be deceived with false appearances.

*Wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty*, &c.] *i. e.* Thence came the common proverb: which Moses alleges as a proof of the truth of what he delivered. Nothing being more usual, in his days, than for men to say when they would express how exceeding great any man was, "He is like Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord." Thus common sayings are quoted in other places, nothing being more notorious than such proverbial speeches, (Numb. xxi. 27. 1 Sam. x. 12.)

It is not improbable that Nimrod is the same with him whom the Greeks call Bacchus; whose conquests in the east, as far as India, are nothing else but the expeditions of Nimrod and his successors. The very name of Bacchus imports this, which was made out of *Bar-Chus*, the son of Cush, as Dammasek (i. e. Damascus) was out of Darmasek. Many other arguments for this are collected by Bochartus, (lib. i. Phaleg. cap. 2.)

Ver. 10. *The beginning of his kingdom was Babel.*] (See xi. 5. 8.) Which, according to the gentile writers, was built by Belus, (the same with Nimrod, who was called Belus, as I noted before, from Baal, because of his dominion and large empire, over which he was an absolute lord.) They that say, his son Ninus (or, as Philo-Byblius, his son Babylon) was the builder, may be thus reconciled with the forementioned opinion, that Belus began it, and his son much augmented it. See Voss. lib. i. De Idol. cap. 24. and lib. vii. cap. 9. There are those that say it was built by Semiramis; but as they have it only from Ctesias, who is not to be relied on against Berosus and Abydenus, who wrote the history of that country out of the ancient records, and say Belus built it; so, if it be true, we must understand it of her rebuilding it, after it was decayed, or

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adding greater splendour to it. And this also must be understood not of the wife of Ninus, for it is a question whether he had any wife of that name: or, if he had, she was different from her whom the Greeks so much magnify, who lived almost two thousand years after the son of Belus, as Salmasius observes (Exercit. in Solin. p. 1228.) out of Philo-Byblius.

*And Erec*, &c.] Having built Babel, which he made the chief city of his kingdom, he proceeded to build three cities more in the same country. Which they that think he won by conquest, imagine also that he made Babel the head city, because he won it first; and then the other. And all this, say some, before the dispersion we read of in the next chapter: which others think happened after the dispersion. Erec seems to have been the city which Ptolemy calls Arecca, and Ammianus, Arccha; which lay in the country of Susiana upon the river Tigris. Whence the Areccæi Campi in Tibullus, as Salmasius observes in his Exercit. in Solinum, p. 1194. From whence, Huetius thinks the country below it was called Iroque; mentioned by Alferganus, and other Arabian writers.

*Accad.*] It is a hard matter to give any account of this city; but the LXX. calling it Archad, from the Chaldee idiom, which is wont to change the *Daghes*, which doubles a letter, into R, (as Darmasek for Dammasek, i. e. Damascus; and, by the same reason, *Archad* for *Acchad)* the footsteps of this name may be thought to remain in *Argad*, a river of Sittacene in Persia. For nothing is more common, than to change *ch* into *g*.

*Chalne.*] It is sometimes called Chalno, (Isai. x. 9.) and Channe, (Ezek. xxvii. 23.) From whence the country called Chalanitis (mentioned by Pliny and Strabo, Polybius, and Dionys. Periegetes) may well be thought to have taken its name: whose chief city was called Chalne, or Chalone, (which is the same) and afterwards changed by Pacorus, king of Persia, into Ctesiphon.

Ver. 11. *Out of that land went forth Ashur.*] This translation is not so likely as that in the margin, "He went out into Assyria." For Moses is speaking of what Nimrod the son of Cush did, and not of the sons of Shem, among whom Ashur was one. Nor is it agreeable to the order of history to tell us here what Ashur did, before there be any mention of his birth, which follows, (ver. 22.) Besides, it was not peculiar to Ashur, the son of Shem, that he went out of the land of Shinar: for so did almost all men who were dispersed from thence. Add to this, that Assyria is called "the land of Nimrod," by Micah: (v. 6.) "They shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod with their lances;" or, "in the entrance thereof," as we translate it. Therefore it is very reasonable to take Ashur here, not for the name of a man, but of a place, as it is frequently: and expound the word Ashur, as if it were Leashur into Ashur; as Beth in 2 Sam. vi. 10. is put for Lebeth; other examples there are of this, (2 Sam. x. 2. 1 Chron. xix. 2.) By "going forth" into Ashur, Bochart thinks, is meant Nimrod's making war there: for so the Hebrew phrase "go forth" imports, in 2 Sam. xi. 1. Psalm lx. 12. Isai. xlii. Zac. xiv. 3. So Nimrod went forth into Assyria, which belonged to the children of Shem: but was usurped, he thinks, by the son of Cush, who had no right to it, but what he got by his sword. If this be true, Mr. Mede's observation which I mentioned upon ver. 27. of the foregoing chapter, [That the posterity of Cham never subdued either those of Japheth or Shem,] must be understood of such large conquests as they two made over one another, and over him.

*And builded Nineveh.*] Which Nimrod so called from his son Ninus: the very word *Nineveh* being as much as *Ninus's habitation*, נין נוה. Thus Cain built a city, and called it not by his own but his son's name, (iv. 17.) This was the chief city of Assyria, and flourished in great glory till it was utterly razed by the Medes, and never again rebuilt. It stood on the east side of Tigris.

*Rehoboth.*] There was a city of this name upon Euphrates, which was famous for the birth of Saul, one of the kings of Edom, (Gen. xxxvi. 37.) which the Arabians call *Rahabath-Melic*, i. e. *Rahabath of the Kings*, a little below Cercusium, at the mouth of the river Chaboras. But this being too far distant from Nineveh (to which this and the two following cities were neighbours), Bochart's conjecture is not unreasonable, that this is the city which Ptolemy calls Birtha, on the west of Tigris, at the mouth of the river Lycus. For in the Chaldee tongue, Streets are called Birtha; and that is the signification of Rehoboth, as the margin of our Bible will inform the reader.

*Calah*, or *Calach.*] Seems to have been the chief city of the country called Calachene; about the fountain of the river Lycus: which Strabo often mentions.

Ver. 12. *And Resen*, &c.] The forenamed great man conjectures this to have been the city which Xenophon calls Larissa, situate upon the Tigris: which Moses might well call *a great city*. For so Xenophon says it was, and describes the height of the walls to have been a hundred foot, the breadth five-and-twenty, and the compass of it eight miles about. The Greeks found it in ruins, and uninhabited, when they came into those parts; being destroyed by the Persians, when they spoiled the Medes of their empire. And it is possible, as Bochart goes on, the Greeks asking whose city that was, and the Assyrians answering *Leresen*, i. e. *Resen's*, (adding, as is usual, *le*, the note of the genitive case) they might thence call it *Larissa*. Such a mistake, he shews, there is in the Vulgar translation of the Bible, which takes this particle *le* for part of the name. For in 1 Chron. v. 26. where it is said the king of Assyria carried the Israelites to *Halah*, the Vulgar says unto *Lahelah*. Whereas it is certain, from 2 Kings xvii. 6. that it should be unto *Halah*, or *Helah*. However, it is reasonable to think that these words, *this is a great city*, belong to Resen, not to Nineveh: whose greatness, as well as Babylon's, was very well known; and therefore these words seem to be added to denote Resen to be a great deal bigger than the two beforenamed, Rehoboth and Calah. See Bochart, lib. iv. cap. 23.

They that think Nimrod settled his kingdom in Babel before the dispersion, by confusion of their languages, imagine that he made this expedition into Assyria (where he built Nineveh, and the rest of the cities here mentioned), after they were forced to leave off their vain-glorious building at Babel, and to disperse themselves into other countries.

Ver. 13. *And Mizraim* (the second son of Cham) *begat Ludim.*] By whom we are to understand the Ethiopians, as Bochart hath proved by many arguments (which I shall not mention), and therefore understands by these words, that

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the Ethiopians were a colony of the Egyptians, (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 26.) For it appears by Diodorus that they were near of kin; having many things common to both nations; which he reckons up, and are sufficient to persuade those who consider them, that they had the same original: the only difference among them being this—which of them was of greatest antiquity. The Egyptians fancied they were the first of all men; and the Ethiopians pretended that they, living more southerly, had a stronger sun; which contributed more efficaciously to natural generation; and that Egypt was a country thrown up by the mud which Nilus left, and so got out of the sea. But Moses hath determined this controversy in these words, and by the rest of his history; which shews, that the first men after the flood came from the mountains of Armenia, which is in the north; and consequently they went to the southerly countries, by degrees, through Assyria, Babylon, Syria, and Egypt, into Ethiopia. And their discourse is ridiculous about the original of Egypt, unto which we see nothing added by the Nile, in many ages.

*Anamim.*] Our Broughton takes these to be the Numidians, among whom he finds Anubis. Others take them for the Anaitæ in Ethiopia. But these Anamims being derived from Mizraim, we are rather to seek them about Egypt: and the opinion of Bochartus is probable, that they are the Nomades, who lived about Ammon and Nasamonitis; and called Anamii from Anam, which signifies a *sheep* among the ancient Egyptians, as it doth among the Arabians. For the Nomades fed sheep, as Herodotus tells us, and lived upon them (whereas they abstained from eating cows or swine); and their garments also, as he tells us, were of sheep-skins.

*Lehabim.*] These are thought to be the Lybians; but that being a name which belongs to the greatest part of Africa, it cannot be well thought that so great a portion fell to this son of Mizraim, or that so many people were descended from him. Therefore Bochart, with great reason, thinks the Lehabæi were not all the Lybians; but those whom Ptolemy, Pliny, and others, call Lybiægyptii; because they lived next to Egypt on the west of Thebais, in a sandy, adust soil, burnt by excessive heat; from whence he thinks they had the name of Lehabim. For *lehaba* signifies both a flame and heat: as in Joel i. 19. "The flame (*lehaba* in the Hebrew, or scorching heat) hath burnt all the trees of the field."

*Naphtuhim.*] These seem to be the people of Nephthuah; and what that is we may learn from Plutarch: who, in his book De Iside et Osiride, says, the Egyptians call the country and the mountains that lie upon the sea Nephthun; which may incline us to think that the Naphtuhim were those people that lived upon the shore of the Mediterranean in Marmarica: for the people upon the Red Sea belonged to Arabia, not to Egypt. It is not improbable that from hence came the name of Neptune, who originally was a Lybian god; and known to none but that people.

There was a city called Nepata by Pliny, which Grotius thinks may explain this name: but it was in Ethiopia; and Moses is speaking of the sons of Mizraim.

Ver. 14. *And Pathrusim.*] Who were the inhabitants, it is likely, of Patros: which was a part of Egypt; though represented sometime in Scripture as a country distinct from it: just as Thebais is, in some authors, said to be, whereas it was the Upper Egypt. Bochart hath brought a great many arguments to prove this: particularly from Ezekiel xxix. 14. which shews clearly that Pathros belongs to Egypt: for the prophet foretelling that God would bring again the captivity of Egypt, he saith he would "cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation," or nativity: that is, into Thebais, which Nebuchadnezzar had principally afflicted, carrying most of the inhabitants of Thebes into captivity. This seems a more probable account of the Pathrusim than theirs, who take them to be the Pharusi (as Grotius doth), or Phautusii; who were a people of Ethiopia.

*Casluhim,* or *Casluchim.*] These were the Colchi, who, though they lived far from Egypt, from whence they are said here to descend, yet there are a great many arguments that they had their original from that country. For several ancient authors say so; as Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Ammianus: all of great credit. And there are many reasons whereby Herodotus proves it (as Bochart shews in his admirable work, often mentioned, lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 31.) they agreeing in so many things, especially in their manners and language, that one can scarce have any doubt of it. These people were seated at the east end of the Euxine Sea.

*Out of whom came Philistim.*] They were the offspring of the people of Colchis, as will appear in what follows.

*And Caphtorim.*] These were a people near to Colchis, as appears from hence; that the Philistim, who are said here to come from Casluchim, in other places are said to have come from Caphtor, Jer. xlvii. 4. Amos ix. 7. And Moses himself relates how the Avims, nigh to Gaza (a famous city of the Philistim), were driven out by the Caphtorim, Deut. ii. 23. All the ancients therefore are in the right, who take the Caphtorim for the Cappadocians: yet, not all the inhabitants of that country (part of which was possessed by other people, as was said before), but that part of Cappadocia which was next to Colchis, viz. about Trapezund, where Colchis ended. For there we find the city called Side, and the country Sidene, mentioned by Strabo. Now Side in Greek (as Bochart ingeniously observes), signifies the same with Caphtor in Hebrew, viz. *Malum punicum:* and therefore, in all likelihood, the same country was called by the Hebrews Caphtor, and by the Greeks Sidene.

What invited the Caphtorim out of Egypt into this country is hard to tell, at this distance of time. But Strabo thinks it was the fame of the gold wherewith this country abounded. And as this drew them thither, so perhaps the coldness of the country, very much different from that wherein they were born; or else their neighbours the Scythians, and Mesech and Tubal, (viz. the Moschi and Tibareni) who dwelt near them, and might be troublesome to them, made them think of returning back again. And in their way through Palestine they fell upon the Avim, whom they dispossessed of their country, and settled there (Deut. ii. 23.) by the name of Philistim.

Ver. 15. *And Canaan.*] Now follows an account of the posterity of Ham's youngest son.

*Sidon.*] Was his first-born: who was the founder of the famous city called by his name, *Sidon:* which Trogus saith was so called from *plenty of fish* on that coast. And so the present name of it, *Said,* signifies *fishing* or *fishery:* as the town in Galilee called Bethsaida, is as much as the *place of fishing:* for that sea upon which it lies, the Hebrews say,

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abounded with fish. However, the Sidonians came from this son of Canaan; and some of them (if he did not found it himself), called the city by this name, in memory of him. It was far more ancient and famous than Tyre: for we read of it in the books of Moses, and Joshua, and the Judges: but nothing of Tyre till the days of David. Nor doth Homer mention Tyre; though he speaks of Sidon and the Sidonians in many places.

*Heth.*] His second son, was the father of the Hittites, or the children of Heth, often mentioned in Scripture; who dwelt about Hebron and Beersheba, in the south of the land of Canaan. They were a very warlike people, and struck a terror into their neighbours: from whence the word *Hittha* seems to be derived, which signifies *fright* and *sudden consternation;* such as came upon the Syrians, when they thought the kings of the Hittites were coming against them, (2 Kings vii. 6.) This was the country of the Anakims: for from Arba, who was a Hittite, descended Anak; and from him those three giants, Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, and the rest of the Anakims, (Numb. xiii. 22, 23. Josh. xv. 13, 14.)

Ver. 16. *The Jebusite.*] This people, who were situated near to the former, descended from Jebus, the third son of Canaan: and were a very warlike people also: for they kept Jerusalem and the fortress of Zion to the times of David, notwithstanding all the power of the Benjamites. And when David besieged it, they mocked at his attempt, (2 Sam. v. 8.)

*And the Emorite.*] They came from Emor, the fourth son of Canaan, and are commonly called Amorites; who possessed the mountainous parts of Judea: and many of them passed over Jordan, and, making war upon the Moabites and Ammonites, seized upon Bashan and Heshbon, and all the country between the rivers of Jabbok and Arnon, (Numb. xiii. 29. Josh. v. 1.) in memory of which victory some Canaanite poet made a triumphing song, which Moses hath recorded, (Numb. xxi. 27.) What a mighty people these were we learn from Amos ii. 9.

*Gergasite.*] There was a remnant of this people about Gerasa, or Gadara, beyond Jordan, in our Saviour's time, (Matth. viii. 28. Mark v. 1. Luke viii. 26.) And they were called, perhaps, by this name from the fat clayey soil of the country where they lived; for *garges* in Hebrew is *white clay.*

Ver. 17. *And the Hivite,* or *Hevite.*] They lived in and about Mount Hermon, as we read Josh. xi. 3. which being toward the east of the land of Canaan, they are called Kadmonites, *i.e. orientals* or *easterlings,* (Gen. xv. 19.) The Gibeonites and Sichemites were colonies from them, (Josh. xi. 19. Gen. xxxiv. 2.) who dwelt more westward: the former of them neighbours to Jerusalem; and the latter to Samaria.

*Arkite.*] This people, Bochart thinks, inhabited Mount Libanus, where Ptolemy and Josephus mentioned a city called Arca, or Arce: in which, he thinks, was the temple Veneris Architidos, worshipped by the Phœnicians, as Macrobius tells us, lib. i. Saturn. cap. 27. Pliny also mentions Arca among the cities of the Decapolitan Syria, and saith it was one of those which had a royal jurisdiction, under the name of a tetrarchy, as Salmasius observes in his Exerc. in Solin. p. 576.

*Sinite.*] St. Jerome saith, that not far from Arca there was a city called Sin; where we may suppose these people to have dwelt. But Bochart rather by the Sinites understands the Peleusiots, whose city was called Sin; which is of the very same signification with Pelusium.

Ver. 18. *And the Arvadite.*] These people are the same with the Aradii, who possessed the island called Aradus upon the coast of Phœnicia, and part of the neighbouring continent: where a place called Antaradus, opposite to the island, was seated. Strabo and others speak of this island, and mention another of the same name in the Persian Gulf, (as Salmasius observes upon Solinus, p. 1023.) whose inhabitants said, they were a colony from this island I now speak of, and had the same religious rites with these Aradians; who were very skilful in navigation, and therefore joined by Ezekiel with Zidon, xxvii. 8. where he makes them also a warlike people, ver. 11.

*Zemarite.*] They who make these the same with the Samaritans, do not observe that these names are written quite differently in the Hebrew; and that the Samaritans, so much spoken of in Scripture, had their names from Somron. And therefore Bochart thinks these are the Samarites mentioned by St. Jerome, who says, they inhabited the noble city of Edessa in Cœlosyria (it should be the city of Emesa, or Emisa, which was in that country, but Edessa in Mesopotamia, beyond Euphrates), and so both the Chaldee paraphrases have here for Zemarite, Emisæi. But I do not see why we should not rather think this son of Canaan (Zemarus), from whom the Zemarites came, was the founder of the city of Zemaraim (Josh. xviii. 22.) which fell to the lot of the tribe of Benjamin.

*Hamathite.*] These were the posterity of the last son of Canaan; from whom the city and country of Hamah took its name: of which name there were two; one called by the Greeks Antiochia, the other Epiphania: the former called the Great, (Amos vi. 2.) to distinguish it from this, which St. Jerome says, in his time, was called Epiphania, and by the Arabians (in the Nubian geographer) Hama. This is the city which is meant when we so often read that the bounds of Judea were to the "entrance of Hamath," northward, (Numb. xiii. 21. xxxiv. 8. and other places.) For it is certain they did not reach to Antiochia, but came near to Epiphania.

*Afterwards were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad.*] In process of time they enlarged their bounds: for they possessed all the country which lies from Idumæa and Palestine to the mouth of Orontes: which they held for seven hundred years, or thereabout. Moses, indeed, confines the land of Canaan in narrower bounds toward the north (as hath been said), but we must consider, that he describes only that part of Canaan which God gave to the Israelites for their portion. Now, there being eleven nations who had their original (as appears from this and the foregoing verses) from so many sons of Canaan; we do not find that the first and the five last were devoted by God to destruction, as the rest were. For we read nothing of the Zidonians, Arkites, Sinites, Aradites, Zemarites, and Hamathites, among those nations upon whom the sentence of excision was pronounced by God, and their country bestowed upon the Israelites. But we read of two others, not here mentioned, who made up the seven nations, whom God ordered to be cut off; viz. the Perizzites, and those who were peculiarly called Canaanites, who sprang from some of the forenamed eleven families;



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but we do not know from which. We shall meet with it in the 15th chapter of this book.

Ver. 19. *And the border of the Canaanites*, &c.] Here Moses describes the bounds of that country, which was given by God to the Jews.

*From Sidon.*] *i. e.* The country of Sidon, which extended itself from the city so called, towards the east, as far as Jordan, or near it. This, therefore, may be looked upon as the northern bounds of the promised land.

*As thou comest to Gerar unto Gaza*, &c.] These, and all the rest, belong to the southern bounds: for these two were cities near to the Philistines. We often read of Gaza; and Gerar was famous for Abraham's and Isaac's sojourning there, (Gen. xx. 1. xxvi. 1.) and for the overthrow of the Cushites, (2 Chron. xiv. 13.)

*Sodom and Gomorrah*, &c.] These four cities are famous for their destruction, by fire and brimstone from heaven.

*Even unto Lashah.*] Or *Lasa*, which St. Jerome takes for Callirrhoe, as doth Jonathan also: a place famous for hot waters, which run into the Dead Sea. But Bochartus (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 37.) doubts of this, because Callirrhoe was not in the southern part of Judea, as Lashah was: he propounds it therefore to consideration, whether it may not be a city of the Arabs called Lusa: which Ptolemy places in the middle way, between the Dead Sea and the Red.

Ver. 20. *These are the sons of Ham, after their families*, &c.] This is sufficiently explained by what was said upon ver. 5. where Moses concludes his account of the sons of Japheth. Only it may be observed, in general, that these four sons of Ham, and their children, had all Africa for their portion (Mizraim having Egypt, and Phut the rest), and no small part of Asia, which fell to the share of Cush and Canaan.

Ver. 21. *Unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber.*] That is, of the Hebrew nation, whom Moses would have to know from what an illustrious original they sprung; and therefore breaks off the thread of his genealogy, to give a short touch of it. I can give no reason so likely as this, why he calls Shem the father of Eber's children, rather than of any other descended from him. He having told them before, that Ham was the father of Canaan, (ix. 22.) whom God cursed, and at the same time blessed Shem; he now tells them that this blessed man was the father from whom their nation was descended; that they might comfort themselves in their noble stock, and believe Canaan should be subdued by them.

*The brother of Japheth the elder.*] Scaliger translates these words, "Shem the *elder brother* of Japheth:" but the *he* which is prefixed to *gadol*, i. e. *greater*, plainly directs us to refer the word *greater*, or *elder*, to him who was last spoken of, viz. Japheth: who may be plainly proved to have been the eldest son of Noah, from this observation; that Noah was five hundred years old, before any of his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, were born, (v. 32.) When he was six hundred years old, he entered into the ark with them, (vii. 11.) And when he came out, two years after the flood, Shem begat Arphaxad, being then a hundred years old, (xi. 10.) and consequently Noah was six hundred and two. From whence it follows, that Shem was born when Noah was five hundred and two years old: and therefore Japheth must be two years older than he; for Noah began to have children when he was five hundred. But God preferred Shem before him; giving hereby an early demonstration (of which there were many instances afterward), that he would not be confined to the order of nature in the disposal of his favours; which he frequently bestowed upon the younger children: as he did upon Jacob, and in after-times upon David, who was the youngest and meanest of all his father's children.

*Even unto him were children born.*] Perhaps he was the last of his brethren that married; and then Moses shews, in the following verses, had five sons: the progeny of two of which are mentioned, but the rest passed over in silence.

Ver. 22. *Elam.*] Was his first-born; from whom came the Elamites, mentioned Acts ii. 9. whose metropolis was the famous city of Elymais. They lay between the Medes and Mesopotamians (as Bochart shews, lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 2.) and were a very warlike and fierce people, as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel testify. The Susians were a neighbouring people, but different from them; and therefore, when Daniel says Sushan was in the province of Elam, he takes Elam in a large sense; as Pliny and Ptolemy also do, who mention Elamites at the mouth of the river Eulæus (Ulai in Daniel), which was below Susiania. See Salmasius Exerc. in Solin. p. 1193, 1194. And thus Josephus may be allowed to say, the Elamites were Περσῶν ἀρχηγέται, *the founders of the Persians;* who were a distinct people from them, though often comprehended under this name of Elam.

*Ashur.*] From whom came the people called at first Assyres, and afterward Assyrians: which was a name as large as their empire, comprehending even Syria itself; which, in several authors, is the same with Assyria. But, in proper speaking, it was only that country, whose head was Nineveh, called sometimes Adiabene, and Aturia or Assyria.

*Arphaxad.*] Many, following Josephus, make him the father of the Chaldees. But I find no good reason for it; and it seems more probable that the Chaldees (in Hebrew, *Chasdim*) came from Chesed, one of Abraham's brother's sons, (Gen. xxii. 22.) which St. Jerome positively affirms. Therefore it is more reasonable to think Arphaxad gave name to that country which Ptolemy calls Arraphachitis, which was a part of Assyria.

*Lud.*] Seems to have given name to the country of Lydia, which lay about Mæander; and included in it Mysia and Caria, which lay on the south side of that river. Which, having the most windings and turnings in it of any river in the world (for it returns sometimes towards its fountain), the Phœnicians call this country, and another, viz. Ethiopia, that lay upon the Nile (which, next to Mæander, is the most crooked of all rivers), by the name of *Lud*, which, in their language, signified *bending* or *crooked*. See Bochart. lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 12.

*Aram.*] From whom sprung the Syrians, whose name anciently was Aramæi, the children of Aram. A name not unknown to the ancient Grecians; for Homer mentions the Ἄριμοι in his second book of Iliads; and so doth Hesiod; and Strabo also saith, that many understood by the Arimi, the Syrians. And the Syrians, at this day, call themselves Aramæans. But Syria being so large a name, that ancient authors extend it to all those countries that

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lay between Tyre and Babylon, we must not take all the people of them to have been the posterity of Aram. For it is evident some of them descended from Canaan, others from Ashur, others from Arphaxad. Therefore, those are to be thought to have come from him, to whom the name of Aram is prefixed or subjoined, as Aram-Naharajim, and Padan-Aram (*i. e.* the Mesopotamians), Aram-Soba (the people of Palmyra and the neighbouring cities), Aram-Damasek (situated between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, whose chief city was Damascus), and, perhaps, Aram-Maacha, and Aram-Bethrehob, which were places beyond Jordan, one of which fell to the share of Manasseh, the other of Asser.

Ver. 23. *And the children of Aram*, &c.] The four persons that follow in this verse are called the *sons of Shem*, (1 Chron. i. 17.) Nothing being more ordinary in Scripture, than to call those the *sons* of any person, who were his *grandsons*, (xxix. 5, &c.)

*Uz.*] Or *Utz*, the first-born of Aram, is generally said to have been the builder of Damascus: the valley belonging to which is, by the Arabians, at this day called Gaut, and Gauta, which differs from Utz in the letters, but not in the pronunciation: it being common to pronounce the letter *ajin* by our *G*, as in the words Gaza and Gomorrah. Accordingly, the Arabic paraphrast for Utz hath here Algauta. There were two other Uz's besides this, one the son of Nahor (Abraham's brother), Gen. xxii. 21. whose country was Ausitis in Arabia Deserta: the other was of the posterity of Edom, (Gen. xxxvi. 28.)

*Hull.*] Or *Chul.* Grotius observes out of Ptolemy, that there was a city in Syria called Chollæ, which, he thinks, might be founded by this second son of Aram. But Bochart more probably conjectures that his posterity possessed the country called Cholobetene, which was a part of Armenia. For the Armenians, and Arabians, and Syrians were much alike, as Strabo saith, in their shape of body, speech, and manner of life. And there are divers cities, which Ptolemy places in this country, that begin with *Hol* or *Chol;* as Cholus, Choluata, Cholana: and Cholobetene (the name of the country), which in their language is Cholbeth, signifies as much as the *house* or *seat of Chol.*

*Gether.*] It is hard to give any account of the country where his posterity settled, unless they gave the river Getri its name, which the Greeks call Κεντρίτης; which runs between the Carduchi and the Armenians, as Xenophon tells us. This is Bochart's conjecture, which is a little nearer than that of Grotius, (Annot. in lib. i. de V. R. C.) who explains this by the city Gindarus in Ptolemy, and the people called by Pliny, Gindareni, in Cœlo-Syria. But after all, it may seem as probable that Gadara, the chief city of Peræa, which Ptolemy places in the Decapolis of Cœlo-Syria, had its name and original from this Gether.

*Mash.*] Who is called *Mesech*, in 1 Chron. i. 17. seated himself, as Bochart thinks, in Mesopotamia, about the mountain Masius (which is Grotius's conjecture also), from whence there flowed a river which Xenophon calls Masca. The inhabitants of which mountain, Stephanus calls Masiæni; and perhaps the Moscheni, whom Pliny speaks of, between Adiabene and Armenia the Greater, were descended from this Mash, or Mesech.

Ver. 24. *And Arphaxad begat Salah.*] Having given an account of the posterity of Shem's youngest son, he now tells us what people descended from his third son.

*Salah.*] In Hebrew *Shelah.* His father being born but two years after the flood, (xi. 10.) seems to have given this name to his son, to preserve the memory of that dreadful punishment; that his posterity might not incur the like by their sins. For *Sela* signifies the letting forth of waters, (Job v. 10.) He is thought to have been the father of the Susiani: the chief city of their country, next to Susa, being called Sela, as we find in Ammian. Marcellinus: either because he was the founder of it, or in memory of him.

*And Salah begat Eber.*] The father of those from whom came the Hebrew nation, (as was said before, ver. 21.) Abraham being descended from him in the sixth generation. All other derivations of the name of Hebrew have great objections lie against them; but this hath none that I can see, and is most agreeable to the grammar of that language, in which all such names ending in *jod* (as עברי doth) are noted to come either from a place, or country, or people, or author: therefore, since there is no country or place from which the name of Hebrew can be derived, it is most reasonable to deduce it from the author of this people, *Heber.* And it is authorized by that speech of Balaam, (Numb. xxiv. 24.) Where, as by Ashur is meant the Assyrians, so by Heber, in all reason, we are to understand the Hebrews.

Ver. 25. *Peleg.*] Either he, or some of his posterity in memory of him, it is not unlikely, gave name to a town, upon Euphrates, called Phalga, not far from the place where the river Chaborus runs into it: upon which Charrah stood, built by Charan, the brother of Abraham.

*For in his days was the earth divided.*] The great dispersion, which we read of in the following chapter, fell out just when he was born; which made his father call him by this name, signifying *division* and *separation.* Which it appears, by the account given of his ancestors, (xi. from ver. 10 to 16.) happened in the hundred and first year after the flood. In that year, the tower of Babel and their language were confounded; upon which necessarily followed the separation here mentioned. The age that preceded, from the deluge to this division, is called, by the ancient poets, the Golden Age, (as Bochart observes, lib. i. Phaleg. cap. 9.) because the earth not being divided, they enjoyed all things in common. And Noah (whom they called Saturn) governing them, not as kings do their subjects, but as parents their children, not so much with fear and dread, as with love and reverence to his fatherly authority; it made the world so happy as it hath not been since.

*Joktan*, or *Jektan.*] The brother of Peleg, had a numerous offspring of thirteen sons; all seated in the inmost parts of Arabia Felix. So the Arabians, it is certain, derive their own original: who in this may as well be credited as the Europeans, who derive themselves from Japetus or Japheth, and the Africans from Cham or Hammon. They call him Cahtan (as our Mr. Pocock, as well as others, observes), by which name the Arabic paraphrast, upon this place, explains that of Jektan. And this Cahtan they say expressly was the son of Eber, the son of Salah,



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&c. From whence the name of Catanitæ, a people in Arabia Felix, mentioned by Ptolemy; and a city, in the territory of Mecha, still retains the very name of Jektan, being called Baisath-Jektan, *i. e. the seat or habitation of Jektan*, in the Arabian geographer. See Mr. Pocock's notes upon Abul-Farajus concerning the original of the Arabians, p. 38, 39.

Ver. 26. *Almodad.*] The eldest son of Joktan seems to have given name to the people whom Ptolemy calls Ἀλλονμαιῶται, in the middle of Arabia Felix, near the original of the river Lar, which runs into the Persian Gulf. The Greeks, who knew little of this people, who lived a great way from the sea, might easily mispronounce their name, calling them *Allumæotæ*, instead of *Almodæi*.

*Sheleph*, or *Saleph.*] Was, it is likely, the father of the Salapeni. For such a people there were, mentioned by Ptolemy, who calls them Σαλαπήνοι: who were remote from the rest, about the neck of Arabia, not far from the spring of the river Betius.

*Hatzermaveth.*] Though the Arabians write this name with the very same letters, yet it sounds among them thus, *Hadramuth*, or *Cadramuht:* which the Greeks pronounce divers ways, because of the ambiguous sound of the two letters, *tzadi* and *cheth;* for sometimes he is called Asarmoth, sometimes (without an A) Sarmoth, and Armoth, and Atermoth, as Bochartus hath observed; who thinks the country called Chatramitis or Atramitis, Chatramotis or Atrimotis, to have been peopled by the children of this Hadramuth, as the Arabians pronounce this name Hatazmaveth. Ἀδραμύτα, Salmasius shews, is the name of a city or place, and Ἀδραμῖται, of a people or nation. (Exercit. in Solin. p. 489.) And the same people, he observes, (p. 490.) are called by Artemidorus, Ἀτραμωτῖται, whose country was that part of Arabia which abounded with frankincense, myrrh, cassia, and cinnamon, as Theophrastus tells us. And Strabo calls them (as he there notes) Χατραμωτῖται, and Uranius in Stephanus, Χατραμῶται; so differently was this hard word pronounced: who were so famous, that Eustathius Antioch. Eusebius, and others, make this Hatzermaveth the father of the Arabians, and Epiphanius derives their language from him; which they (as was said before) derive from Jektan himself; looking upon the dialect of Chadramites as barbarous. See Bochartus, lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 16. where he observes, that *Hatzermaveth* in Hebrew signifies the *entrance of death*, and *Hadhramauth* in Arabic the *region of death*. Because the air of that country was very thick and foggy (and consequently unwholesome), as Arrianus relates, who saith, that the frankincense and myrrh were therefore gathered only by the king's slaves, and by condemned persons.

*Jerah*, or *Jerach.*] From whom came the people called Jerachæi, who lived near the Red Sea; called by Agatharcides, and others, Ἀλιλαῖοι, *Alilæi:* which is the very same in Arabic with the other in Hebrew. For *Hilal* is the *moon* in that language, as *Jerach* is in Hebrew. And the Nubiensian geographer mentions a people about Mecha, who, at this day, are called Bene-hilal, *the children of Jerach*, as the Hebrews would have expressed it. It seems they are come more towards the east, when anciently they dwelt in the south. Ptolemy mentions also an island, upon the coast of the Alilæi, which he calls Ἱεράκων νῆσος: but it doth not signify the *Isle of Hawks* (as the Greeks fancied, who imagined all these old words to come from their tongue), but of the *Jerachæi*.

Ver. 27. *Hadoram.*] He seems to have fixed his seat in the utmost corner of Arabia towards the east, where there was a people whom Pliny calls Drimati: a name easily made from Hadoramus. And the extreme promontory of that country is called by the Greeks *Corodamon*, by transposing the letters *D* and *R* from *Hadoramus*. I can find nothing more likely than this conjecture of that great man Bochartus, who hath outdone all that went before him in this argument, (lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 20.)

*Uzal.*] Abraham Zachut, as he also observes, says, the Jews (who in his time dwelt there) called the chief city of Aljeman by the name of Uzal. Now the kingdom of Aljeman, or Jeman, is the south part of Arabia Felix: as the very name of *Jeman* imports, which signifies both the *right hand* and the *south*.

*Diklah.*] Both in the Chaldee and Syriac languages *Dicla* signifies a *palm*, or a *grove of palms;* which led Bochartus to conclude, that the Minæi, a people of Arabia Felix, whose country abounds with such trees, were the posterity of this Diklah. Both Pliny and Strabo mention them: And this is far more probable than the conjecture of Ludovicus Capellus, that the country of Dangala, in Ethiopia, near Egypt, might have its name from this man: for that is too remote from the rest of this man's posterity: and so is Δικελλεῖον mentioned, as he observes, by Herodotus, (Chronolog. Sacra, p. 108.)

Ver. 28. *And Obal.*] Which, in the Arabic pronunciation is *Aubal*, as *cocab*, a *star* in Hebrew, is in Arabic *caucab*, &c. The posterity of this Aubal, or Obal, Bochart thinks, passed over the streights of the Sinus Arabicus, out of Arabia Felix, into Arabia Troglodytica; where we meet with this name, in the Sinus Abalites (which others call Aulites), and in a great trading town called by Arrianus Ἀναλείτης; and in a people who lived in that Sinus, called by Ptolemy, Ἀναλῖται, and Ἀδουλῖται; I believe it should be Ἀβουλῖται, from this Obal.

*Abimael.*] Which the Arabians pronounce *Abimal; i. e. the father of Mali*, or the *Malitæ;* a people in Arabia next to the Minæi before mentioned. Theophrastus saith, Mali is the metropolis of a country in Arabia the Spicy: from whence the people called Malitæ, whom Ptolemy calls Manitæ, by an usual change of the letter *L* into *N*, as Nabonidus is the same with Labonidus, &c. And it is probable that Mali is the contraction of Abimali: nothing being more common than in compound names to omit the first part. As Sittim (Numb. xxv. 1.) for Abel-Sittim (xxx. 49.) Hermon very often for Baal-Hermon, (Judg. iii. 3.) Nimrim for Beth-Nimrim, and Salem for Jerusalem.

*Sheba.*] From whom came the Sabeans, who sometimes comprehend a great many people, but here are to be taken strictly for those upon the Red Sea, between the Minæi and the Catabanes: whose metropolis, which stood upon a high mountain full of trees, is called by ancient authors Saba and Sabai, Sabo and Sabas, as Salmasius shews out of Stephanus, Agatharcides, and others; who say that this city was πολὺ κάλλιστον, *much the fairest* of all in Arabia. (Exerc. in Solin. p. 491, 492, &c.) In later times this name was changed into Mariaba, the ancient name being lost, as the same Salmasius there observes, p. 497, and

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1118. Which Pliny saith signifies as much as "dominos omnium," *the lords of all:* for from Rabba, to rule, comes Marab, which signifies in their language (as Bochart observes) the seat of those that rule: that is, the royal city, where their kings lived. The Nubiensian geographer saith, the Queen of Sheba came from hence to hear the wisdom of Solomon.

Ver. 29. *And Ophir.*] Which the Arabians pronounce Auphir, signifying *abundance:* gold being found there in such plenty, that they exchanged it for brass and iron, giving a double or triple proportion of gold for them. Bochart thinks he gave the name of Οὐφρῆ to an island in the Red Sea, mentioned by Eupolemus in Eusebius: and observes that there were two Ophirs, one belonging to India, whither Solomon's ships went once in three years (which he takes for Taprobana, now Zeilan), and the other belonging to Arabia, where the posterity of this Ophir, here mentioned, settled. Whose country he takes to have been near to the Sabeans, their brethren; which Stephanus and Ptolemy call Cassanitis. The same in sense with Ophir; for Chosan is a treasure, which the Arabians write Chazan, from which comes the word Gaza, for abundance of riches.

*Havilah,* or *Chavilah.*] See ver. 7. where we had this name before, among the sons of Cush; from whom the Havilah here spoken of is very different: giving name, it is probable, to the country which the Nubiensian geographer calls Chaulan: and says it was a part of Arabia Felix, nigh also to the Sabeans; which he accurately describes. See Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 28.

*Jobab.*] The father of the Jobabites, near to the Sachalites, as Ptolemy expressly says, if, instead of Jobaritæ in him, we should read Jobabitæ, as Bochartus corrects the passage, with great reason. And thinks also the reason of this name to be plain: for Jebab in Arabic signifies a desert: and there are many such in the country of the Jobabites, above the Sinus of Sachalites.

Ver. 30. *And their dwelling was from Mesha,* &c.] This conclusion confirms what hath been said, that all the thirteen sons of Joktan were seated in Arabia Felix, except Obal, who went, it is likely, after Moses's time, over into Abalites; the passage being short across that streight beforementioned, (ver. 28.) which was not above four or five miles broad. For Arabia Felix lies between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Now Mesa, or Musa, or Muza, was a famous port town in the Red Sea, which the Egyptians and Ethiopians frequented in their way to the country of the Sapharites, in the east; from whom they brought myrrh, frankincense, and such-like things. Ptolemy's Tables plainly shew this, that from Musa the Sapharitæ lay directly eastward; and Saphar was the metropolis of the country, at the foot of the mountain Climax: which, anciently, it is likely, was called Saphar, from the city at the bottom of it. And thus we are to understand Moses when he says here, that Sepher was a mountain of the east; not eastward from Judea, but from Mesha, which was in the west. See Bochart, (lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 30.) where he observes, that the Arabic paraphrast (of the Paris edition) takes Mesha to be Meccha, and instead of "from Mesha to Sephar," saith "from Meccha to Medina." Which is nearer truth than their opinion, who place the children of Joktan about Copetes, upon the coast of India. But he shews that some of the children of Cush settled between Meccha and Medina: and it sufficiently appears that Joktan's children dwelt in the inmost part of Arabia Felix, and are the genuine Arabians.

Ver. 31. This is explained, ver. 5.

Ver. 32. *By these were the nations divided after the flood.*] They and their descendants shared the whole earth among them, as it is said expressly, (ix. 18.) "Of them was the whole earth overspread." But, according to the foregoing account, we find only three parts of the earth, Europe, Asia, and Africa, possessed by the three sons of Noah and their children. Which has made some so bold as to say, there were other people in America, who were not drowned by the flood. And one of their reasons why it was not peopled from any of the other three parts of the earth is, that we can give no account how lions, bears, wolves, foxes, and such-like creatures, should get thither: for none, sure, would carry them by shipping, though men themselves might, by that means, pass over into those regions. But this difficulty is not so great as they make it. For it is manifest, that, though the continent of America was found full of such beasts, when the Spaniards first came thither, yet none of the islands, though very large, which lay remote from the land, had any lions, tigers, or such-like creatures in them. Which is a demonstration, that these creatures were not originally from that part of the earth; for then the islands would have been furnished with them as well as the continent; just as they are with all sorts of vegetables: and consequently, the continent itself was stored with these creatures from some other part of the earth. Which might be done by some neck of land not yet discovered; which joins some part of Europe, or Asia, to the continent of America. Or, if there be no such neck of land now extant, yet there may have been such a bridge (as we may call it) between the northern parts of Asia, or Europe, and some northern part of America; or between the south-east part of China, or the Philippine islands, and the southern continent of that other part of this world, though now broken off (as many suppose England to have been from France) by the violence of the sea, or by earthquakes; which have made great alterations in the earth. And truly, he that observes (as that great man the Lord Chief Justice Hales speaks, in his book of the Origin of Mankind, §. ii. chap. 7.) the infinite number of islands, lying between the continent of China and Nova Guinea, the most contiguous to each other; hath probable reasons to believe, that these were all formerly one continent, joining China and Nova Guinea together, though now, by the irruption of the sea, crumbled into many small islands.

## CHAP. XI.

Ver. 1. *AND all the earth.*] *i.e.* The inhabitants of the earth; as (1 Kings x. 24.) "all the earth" is explained; (2 Chron. ix. 23.) all the kings of the earth.

*Were of one language.*] In the Hebrew, *of one lip;* which is one instrument of speech comprehending the rest. Their mouth formed the same words. So it follows:

*And of one speech.*] Or *word,* as the Hebrew hath it. Some distinguish these two so subtilly, as to say, they had not only the same language, but the same manner of

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pronunciation; which is often very different in the same language. The heathens themselves acknowledge there was but one language anciently, (see Josephus, and out of him Eusebius, lib. ix. Præp. Evang. cap. 14, 15.) which, in all likelihood, was the same that had been from the beginning, which Adam himself spake. For Methuselah, the grandfather of Noah, lived some time with him, and spake, we may well suppose, the same language that he did. And we cannot but think the same of Noah, who propagated it among his posterity till this time. But whether this was the Hebrew or no, we cannot be certain. The Chaldee paraphrasts, and the Hebrew writers, generally say it was; and most Christian writers have been of their opinion: insomuch that R. Gedaliah, upon these words, saith, "the wise men among the Christians have searched what was the first tongue; and all the world confesses that from Adam to the flood they spake the holy language." Which it is not to be thought we have now entire and pure; but that a considerable part of it still remains in the Bible. As may be proved by no contemptible arguments; particularly this, that Shem, the son of Noah, was for some time cotemporary with Abraham, who descended from him; and in whose family continued the same language, which they both spake, unto Moses's days.

They that have fancied there were more languages than one, at this time, grounded their mistake upon those words, (Gen. x. 5. 20. 31.) where the sons of Noah are said to have had the earth divided among them according to their tongues. Not considering that he speaks of this very division, of which he is going to give an account; and briefly mentioned there, (ver. 25.) For the thirteen sons of Joktan, immediately after mentioned (who had their share in the division), were not in being when their uncle Peleg was born; as the most learned primate Usher hath demonstrated in his Annals, (A. M. 1757.)

Ver. 2. *As they journeyed from the east.*] He doth not speak of all the posterity of Noah, who, after the flood, planted in the east; much less Noah himself: but of a great colony of them, who, when the east was much peopled, chose to go westward. By the east, most understand Armenia, where they suppose the ark rested, and Noah with his sons planted. But this hath great difficulty in it; for the mountains of Armenia lay north of Shinar, or Assyria, and not east. Which Bochart solves in this manner: Assyria being divided into two parts, one on this side, the other on the further side of Tigris, they called all that part beyond Tigris the east country, though a great part of it towards Armenia was really northward; and that part on this side they called west, though some of it lay to the south, (lib. i. Phaleg. cap. 7.) But there is no need of the help of this solution; the mountains of Ararat running a long way eastward: from which, when Noah and his sons descended, they settled, it is likely, in countries which were very much eastward of Assyria.

*They found a plain.*] They continued to dwell in the mountainous countries of the east, where the ark rested, till they grew very numerous and wanted room; and then descended into the plain, and some of them went westwardly into the land of Shinar, that pleasant plain (as Mr. Mede fancies) where God, at the beginning, had placed the first father of mankind, Adam.

*Shinar.*] By this name we are to understand, not only that part of Assyria where Babylon stood, but all that country which bordered upon Tigris unto the mountains of Armenia; from whence Noah and his sons are supposed to have descended when the earth was dry, and not to have gone far from thence, at first, till they were multiplied; and then some of them came into this country, which Noah had inhabited before the flood. Thus Bochart, in the place before named. But there is no certainty the ark rested in Armenia; it might be further eastward, upon some other part of that long ridge of mountains called Ararat: from whence they descended when the earth was dry, and dwelt in the lower grounds, which were warmer and more fruitful than the mountains.

But that from the east mankind were propagated, is apparent from the increase of arts and sciences; which, as Dr. Jackson observes, (book i. chap. 16.) were in some measure perfected there (in times as ancient as any profane history can point us unto), and thence derived, as from a centre, to more remote parts of the world. The ripeness of literature, civil discipline, and arts, among the eastern people, before they did so much as bud forth in Greece or Italy (I may add Egypt either), is a demonstration, that these were the stock, and the other but slips or branches transplanted from thence. Nay, the state and grandeur of those eastern countries, before Greece or Italy, or any other western people, grew into the fashion of a kingdom, shews, that the eastern people were the heirs of the world, and other nations but as colonies from them.

Ver. 3. *They said one to another.*] *i. e.* Consulted together.

*Go to.*] And stirred up one another to lay all their hands to this work.

*Let us make brick.*] In that low and fat soil there was no stone, as intimated in the next words, "and they had brick for stone." Nobody doubts but this is a true translation of the Hebrew word *labenah:* for Herodotus, and Justin, and many others, describe the walls of Babylon as made of such materials. What *chemar* is (which was the cement to join the bricks together), doth not so plainly appear. We translate it *slime;* following herein a great many of the Hebrews; particularly Kimchi, who says it is mortar, made of sand and lime. But there is much reason to think it was that which the ancients called Ἄσφαλτος, a kind of pitch (as Kimchi himself acknowledges some understand it), which is described by authors as a very glewy thing, and therefore used by Noah, by God's direction, about the ark. There was great plenty of it in Assyria, as Theodoret here observes, from some fountains which vomited it up with the water. And so Strabo and Dion affirm, that it was very fit for this purpose; and Herodotus says expressly, that the walls of Babylon were cemented with it, and so do many others, both Greek and Roman authors, mentioned by Bochartus, (lib. i. Phaleg. cap. 13.) And it is very observable, that Arrianus saith, (lib. vii.) The temple of Belus, in the midst of the city of Babylon, of a vast bigness, was made of brick, cemented with asphaltus.

Ver. 4. *And they said, Go to now.*] At the first, perhaps, they spake only of building themselves houses; but now they laid their heads together, and consulted to make a huge monument of their greatness.

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*A city and a tower.*] Some fancy one thing to be expressed in two words: "a city and a tower," being a city with turrets. But both this verse and the next express them so severally, that we ought to think them to have been distinct. Yet, that the tower was part of the city, is plain by verse 8. where it is said, "they left off to build the city," making no mention of the tower: which was contained in the city, as a part of it; and may well be thought to have been the Acropolis (as the Greeks speak), a strong place in the highest part of the city; such as we call a citadel. For the Scripture by a tower, means some fortress to keep out an enemy, which was wont to be built in the midst of the city, that it might command every part of it.

Some fancy the temple of Belus, beforementioned, was afterward built where this tower stood; and was nothing else but the tower perfected for another use. Or, rather, a temple was built round about the tower, which stood in the midst of it, as Herodotus describes it, (lib. i.) Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πύργος στερεός, &c. *in the midst of the temple was a strong tower,* &c.

*Whose top may reach up unto heaven.*] *i. e.* To the clouds. As much as to say, an exceeding high tower. For the same is said of the walls of the cities of Canaan, (Deut. i. 28. ix. 1.) and therefore can mean no more here. And is an usual phrase in Scripture; as, when the Psalmist says, they that sail upon the sea are sometime lifted up to heaven, (cvii. 25.) which is a language that other authors speak; for Homer mentions a fir-tree which was οὐρανομήκης, *extended to heaven, i. e.* very tall. Which I note to shew the senseless spite of Julian the apostate, who endeavoured to discredit this sacred story, by the poetical fiction of the giants warring with heaven: as if there were no more truth in the one than in the other. But St. Cyril, in his fourth book against him, truly observes, that, in Scripture, this phrase, εἰς οὐρανὸν, *to heaven,* is put ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕψους, for that which is highly elevated, as this tower was. Which being half a quarter of a mile in breadth and length, had another tower stood upon it; and a third upon that, and so on, μέχρι οὗ ὄκτω πύργων (as Herodotus speaks), *till there were eight towers in all:* which made it of a vast height.

*Let us make us a name,* &c.] Here he plainly acquaints us with their intention in building this city and tower: which was to be a perpetual monument of their fame; to spread it far and wide, while they were alive; and that their names might live in this monument when they were dead: all posterity saying, such and such persons were the founders of the first and mother city of the world. So David is said to have got himself a name, (2 Sam. viii. 13.) *i. e.* extended his fame by his great achievements. And God is said to do the same, (Isai. lxiii. 12. 14.) Therefore there was no occasion for assigning other reasons for the building of this tower, when Moses gives one so clearly. That which hath been commonly fancied is, that they might secure themselves against another inundation: from which they were secured by the Divine promise (if they would believe it), together with the addition of a sign to it, (ix. 12.) And, if they did not believe it, why did they come down from the mountains into the plain country to build this tower; which might more rationally have been erected upon the top of the highest mountains, if their meaning had been, by this means, to preserve themselves from future floods? If there were any other meaning besides that mentioned by Moses, I should think that most probable which I find in Dr. Jackson, (book i. on the Creed, chap. 16.) That it might be "a refuge whereunto they might resort, and continue their combination:" something of which seems to be intimated in the next words. There is a conjecture also made by a most worthy friend of mine, a good while ago, Dr. Tenison, now bishop of Lincoln, in his book of Idolatry (which is not inconsistent with these), that this tower was consecrated by the builders of it to the sun, as the cause of drying up the waters of the deluge, (or rather, as the most illustrious and nearest resemblance of the Schechinah, as I noted on chap. iv.) and that it was intended as an altar whereon to sacrifice to it. But it is propounded only as a conjecture: which those Jews seem also to have had in their minds, who, by the word Shem, *(name)* understand God: as if their meaning were, "let us make us a god;" and raise him a temple. And perhaps future times did convert it to that use.

*Lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.*] Here they speak as if they feared a dispersion; but it is hard to tell from what cause, unless it were this, that Noah having projected a division of the earth among his posterity, (for it was a deliberate business, as I noted upon x. 5.) these people had no mind to submit unto it; and therefore built this fortress to defend themselves in their resolution of not yielding to his design. Thus the most learned Usher, (ad A. M. 1757.) But what they dreaded they brought upon themselves by their own vain attempt to avoid it: and now there is no memory preserved of the names of those that conspired in this attempt. Thus what Solomon saith, was long before verified, (Prov. x. 24.) "The fear of the wicked shall come upon him." But this evil by God's providence was attended with a great good: for by this dispersion the whole earth was peopled, and the foundation laid of several great nations and kingdoms.

Ver. 5. *And the Lord came down to see,* &c.] This is an accommodation to our conceptions, and means no more, but that by the effects he made it appear, that he observed their motions and knew their intentions.

*Which the children of men builded.*] It is generally agreed that *children of men* in Scripture, is opposed to *children of God;* as bad men and infidels are to the good and the faithful. Which gives us to understand, that neither Noah, nor Shem, nor Arphaxad, Salah, or Heber, were engaged in this work; but some of the worser sort of people, who degenerated from the piety of their ancestors. It is probable some of the race of Ham; who, it is likely, carried much of the spirit of Cain with him into the ark: otherwise he could not have behaved himself so vilely towards his father after they came out of it. For that terrible judgment, it seems, had not reformed him; and then it is no wonder if he grew more wicked after it was over. Josephus and others take Nimrod (his grandchild) to have been the ἀρχηγέτης, as his word is, ringleader of this crew, who combined in this design. But I take it to be more probable that he came and settled here after the dispersion. For there being not much above a hundred years between the flood and this time, it is not likely such a great kingdom could be erected in that space, as we read of, (Gen. x. 10.) And therefore he grew

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so great after this dispersion, when he came out of Arabia, or some neighbouring country, and settled here in Babel; which was called by this name, upon occasion of the confusion of languages, and had it not before. Which is an argument that what we read, (x. 10, 11.) must be understood to have happened after this time. But, if all this be true, that some of Cham's race began this design, which other bad people were too much disposed to follow, and that they who retained the true religion (from whom Abraham descended) were not of the number, it is credible that they escaped the punishment here mentioned (in the next verses), retaining still their ancient seat, and the ancient language also; which continued in the family of Heber, and was called Hebrew.

Ver. 6. *And the Lord said,* &c.] This verse only expresses a resolution to spoil their project, and the necessity of so doing.

Ver. 7. *Let us.*] The rabbins fancy this is spoken to the angels. But it is beyond the angelical power to alter men's minds so in a moment, that they shall not be able to understand what they did before. Therefore God spake to himself: and this phrase suggests to us more persons than one in the godhead. In short, none but He, who taught men at first to speak, could, in an instant, make that variety of speech which is described in the next words. Novatianus therefore anciently took it, that this was spoken by God to his Son.

*Confound their language.*] The word *confound* is to be marked; for God did not make every one speak a new different language, but they had such a confused remembrance of the original language which they spake before, as made them speak it very differently: so that by the various inflexions, and terminations, and pronunciations of divers dialects, they could no more understand one another, than they who understand Latin can understand those who speak French, Italian, or Spanish; though these languages arise out of it.

And yet it is not to be thought, there were as many several dialects as there were men, so that none of them understood another; for this would not merely have dispersed mankind, but destroyed them. It being impossible to live without society, or to have society without understanding one another; for if the father could not have understood the son, nor the husband his wife, there could have been no comfort in living together. Therefore it is likely that every family had its peculiar dialect; or rather the same common dialect (or way of speaking) was given to those families whom God would have to make one colony in the following dispersion. Unto which dispersion they were constrained by their not being able to have such familiarity as they had before with every body; but only with those who understood their particular speech.

Into how many languages they were divided, none can determine. The Hebrews fancy into seventy, which opinion hath much prevailed, being grounded upon the foregoing chapter; where the descendants from the sons of Noah were just so many. The Greek fathers made them seventy-two, because the Greek version adds two more (Elisa among the sons of Japheth, and Cainan among the sons of Shem), and the Latin fathers follow them. But this is a very weak foundation; it being apparent that many of the sons of Canaan used the very same language in their country, and so did Javan and Elishah in Greece: and in other places, so many concurred in the use of the same speech, that scarce thirty remains of the seventy to be distinct, as Bochart hath observed. See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 9. sect. iii.

Ver. 8. *So the Lord scattered them.*] Broke their combination by making them speak several languages, which cut off the common bond of one society. For, as the unity of one common language (to use the words of Mr. Mede, p. 362.) had knit all mankind into one community; so God in his wisdom saw that plurality of languages was the best means to force them into a plurality of societies.

*Abroad from thence.*] Into all the regions of the north, south, and west; the east being inhabited before by Noah, and such of his offspring as abode with him. Which is not to be understood as if they were immediately scattered into the remotest places from Babel, but first into the neighbouring countries, and by degrees into those which were further off, according as their families increased.

How long this dispersion happened after the flood, cannot be certainly determined; but we can demonstrate it was not much above one hundred years. For Peleg (in whose days this came to pass, x. 25.) was born but a hundred and one years after; as was observed before upon that place. Now some think this division was made just at his birth; which St. Austin takes to have been the reason why his father called him Peleg, "Quia tunc ei natus est, quando per linguas terra divisa est;" *Because he was then born to him, when the earth was divided by their languages.* But the text doth not make this out, for it only says *in his days* the earth was divided. And the thirteen sons of Joktan (Peleg's brother) who had their share in this division, being not then born, we must conclude, that if this division began at Peleg's birth, it was not finished till some years after. Elmacinus says in the fortieth year of Peleg's age; the Hebrews generally say at his death. See Hottinger's Smegma Orient. p. 62. and 166.

*And they left off to build the tower.*] I see no reason to believe that God overturned it by a terrible tempest, as Epiphanius expresses it, Τὸν πύργον ἀνέμων βολῇ ἀνέστρεψεν. Which is the opinion of Josephus, (lib. i. cap. 5. Antiq.) and Abydenus, mentioned by Eusebius, (lib. ix. cap. 4. Præpar. Evang.) and divers others of the ancients; nor is there any ground for what others say, (particularly Benjamin Tudel. in his Itinerary, p. 77.) that it was burnt by fire from heaven. For Moses doth not intimate that it was either burnt or overturned; but only that they desisted from their enterprise: which naturally ceased, when they could no longer join to carry on the building. Which may rather lead us to think, that the city and tower stood long after this; and that Bochart's conjecture is not unreasonable, that it was the very tower which was afterwards consecrated to Belus, described by Herodotus, (lib. i.) For it is evident, that though this city and country lay waste for some time, men being frighted by the confusion of their languages from living there; yet Nimrod, a bold man, came and made this the seat of his empire: and it is very probable, carried on that work which was broke off by the dispersion. For it is not said, (Gen. x. 10.) that he built Babel, (as he did Nineveh, and other cities, ver. 11.) but only that it was "the beginning of his kingdom," the head city, where he made his residence.

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Ver. 9. *Therefore is the name of it called Babel.*] Which signifies in Hebrew *confusion;* so frivolous is their conceit who make it to have been called by this name, from Babylon, the son of Belus. All the difficulty is to know who called it by this name. Some think the children of Heber, in whose family the original language continued; but it may be as rationally conceived, that, in the confusion of languages, all retained some of the ancient words, and particularly this, by which they all commonly called this place.

*Confound the language of all the earth.*] That is, the language of all those people who were in this western colony; not the language of Noah, and his plantation more easterly, who kept, as I said, the primitive language.

*Scatter them abroad upon the face,* &c.] This dispersion was so ordered, that each family and each nation dwelt by itself; which could not well be done, as Mr. Mede observes, but by directing an orderly division; either by casting of lots, or choosing according to their birthright, after portions of the earth were set out according to the number of their nations and families. For otherwise, some would not have been content to go so far north as Magog did; and others suffered to enjoy more pleasant countries.

Ver. 10. *These are the generations of Shem.*] It appears from the foregoing chapter, that these here mentioned were not all the persons who descended from him; but these were the ancestors of Abram, whom Moses derives by these from Shem.

Ver. 11. *Lived, after he begat Arphaxad, five hundred years.*] So that, as he had seen Methuselah and Lamech before the flood, he might also see, not only Abram, but his son Isaac, who by this account was one-and-twenty years old when Shem died.

Ver. 14. *Begat Eber.*] Who was the father of those from whom came the Hebrew nation; Abram being descended from him in the sixth generation. And that nation being called Eber, (Numb. xxiv. 24.) and "the children of Eber," (Gen. x. 21.) it is not reasonable, as I observed before, to seek for any other derivation of the name of Hebrews.

Ver. 16. *Peleg,* or *Phaleg.*] It is not unlikely that either he, or some of his posterity in memory of him, gave name to a town upon Euphrates called Phalga; not far from the place where Chaborus runs into it, upon which Harah (or Charrah) stood, built by Haran, Abram's brother.

Ver. 18. *Reu.*] (or *Ragau,* as some pronounce the Hebrew word) gave name to a field near Assyria, (Judith i. 5.) or, as Tobit saith, in Media; where Strabo mentions a city called Raga, and so doth Stephanus, Ῥάγα πόλις ἐν Μηδίᾳ. In the hundred and thirtieth year of his life, if we may believe Elmacinus, (p. 29.) Nimrod began to reign in Babylon; and in his days also, he says, the Egyptian kingdom began. Which need not seem strange, though scarce two hundred years were passed since the flood, when we consider the vast increase of people in these ages, from a few planters, within such a compass of time; and likewise the extraordinary fruitfulness which God after the flood bestowed upon them for the peopling of the earth. For he says twice to Noah and his sons, immediately after they came out of the ark, "Increase and multiply, (xi. 1. 7.) and replenish the earth." From this antiquity of the Egyptian kingdom, it is, that the later Pharaohs called themselves "the sons of ancient kings," (Isa. xix. 11.)

In Reu's time also, both the Egyptians and Babylonians now began to make images and worship them, if Patricides may be credited. See Hotting. Smegma Orient. cap. 8. n. 16.

Ver. 20. *Begat Serug.*] From whom (Bochartus thinks) some of his descendants might call the city Sarug: which the Arabian geographer says was near to Charræ, or Haran. He first began to celebrate every year the memory of famous men, after they were dead, and commanded them to be honoured as benefactors, if we may believe Suidas, in the word Σέρυχ, and Damascen, and a long roll of other authors mentioned by Jacobus Gousius, (par. i. cap. 2. De Victimis Humanis.)

Ver. 22. *Begat Nahor.*] The same writers say, that idolatry increasing much in his days, there was a great earthquake (the first that had been observed) which overturned their temples, and broke their images in Arabia.

Ver. 24. *Terah.*] Whom they make to have been an idolatrous priest; but to have repented and been converted to the worship of the true God. See ver. 31.

Ver. 26. *And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.*] *i. e.* He was *seventy* years old before he had any children, and then had three sons one after another; who are not set down in the order wherein they were born. For Abram's being first named doth not prove him to have been the eldest son of Terah, no more than Shem's being first named among Noah's three sons, proves him to have been the first-born, (ix. 18.) For there are good reasons to prove that Abram was born sixty years after Haran, who was the eldest son; having two daughters married to his two brothers, Nahor and Abram; who seems to be the youngest, though named first, both here and in the next verse, because of his pre-eminence. See ver. 32.

Ver. 28. *Haran died before his father,* &c.] In his own country (as it here follows), out of which he did not go, as the rest of his family did.

*In Ur of the Chaldees.*] That part of Mesopotamia which was next to Assyria, is called the *land of the Chaldees.* For Ur, as Abarbinel observes, was in Mesopotamia; lying in the way from Tigris to Nisibis. And therefore St. Stephen makes Mesopotamia and the land of the Chaldees the very same, (Acts vii. 2. 4.) Eupolemus, indeed, as Bochart notes, places this Ur, from whence Abram came, (ver. 31.) in Babylon; but Ammianus speaks of an Ur in Mesopotamia, situated as beforementioned; which we have reason to think was the place from whence Abraham came, because from thence to Canaan the way lay straight through Charran (or Haran), but it did not do so if he came from Babylon. And no good account can be given why he should go about through Mesopotamia and Charran, when there was a shorter way through Arabia, if he came from Babylon.

Ver. 29. *The father of Iscah.*] *i. e.* Of Sarai, whom Abram married; she being his eldest brother's daughter, sister to Lot. For Haran had three children, Lot, (ver. 27.) and Milchah, whom Nahor married, and Sarah, whom Abram married. That is, Haran dying, the two remaining brethren married his two daughters. For if we should understand any body else by Iscah but Sarah, there is no account whence she descended; which Moses sure would not have omitted, because it very much concerned his nation to know from whom they came, both by the father's and the mother's side. It is no wonder she should have



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two names; one, perhaps, before they came out of Chaldea, and another after.

Ver. 31. *Went forth from Ur of the Chaldees.*] See what was said ver. 26, unto which I have nothing to add but this, that this country was so famous for superstition, that the Chaldeans, in Daniel's time, were reckoned as a distinct sort of diviners from magicians, astrologers, and soothsayers, or sorcerers, (Dan. ii. 2. 10. iv. 7. v. 11.) And it is likely, from some such sort of men, Terah and his family learned the worship of idols, (Josh. xxiv. 2.) But though he had been an idolater, yet it may be probably concluded from his leaving Ur of the Chaldees, with an intention to go to Canaan (as it is here said), that now he was become a worshipper of the true God. For what should move him to it, but obedience to the Divine direction which Abram received (as we read in the next chapter), to which he would not have agreed, if he had not believed in God; as Lot, it is plain, did, whom he took along with him? That word is much to be remarked, which makes him the principal agent in their removal; Abram himself being governed by his motion: for Moses says, "He took Abram, and Lot, the son of Haran," &c. And though Nahor did not now go along with his father to Haran (being left behind, perhaps to look after some concerns), yet afterwards he followed him, with all his family; as appears from chap. xxvii. 43. and the following chapter. And he also forsook idolatry; for Rebekah his grandchild was married to Isaac, and his great-grandchildren, Rachel and Leah, nay, their father Laban, seem to have been worshippers of the true God (though with a mixture of some superstition), for he makes mention of Jehovah upon several occasions, (Gen. xxiv. 31. 50, 51.)

*And they came unto Haran.*] It is possible that Terah going from Ur to Canaan, and staying in this place called the city Χάῤῥαι, *Charræ*, after the name of his son Haran (or Charan), who died a little before, (ver. 28.) For both the Greek and Roman writers call a city, famous for the death of Crassus, by the name of Charræ; situate on a river of the same name. It is likely from Abram's brother were derived both the name of the river and of the city, which the Arabians to this day call Charan, or Charran.

*And dwelt there.*] It is plain he intended to go to Canaan, and not to settle here; but being arrested with the sickness of which he died, could go no further.

Ver. 32. *And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years.*] Moses doth not sum up the years of any man's life mentioned in this chapter, (as he doth in chap. v.) but only of Terah's. Which he doth on purpose that we may know when this new period of time began, (of Abram's leaving his own country, and thereby becoming the father of the faithful), which we are not to count from the time when Terah began to have children, (ver. 26.) but from the time of his death; immediately after which Abram went on towards Canaan. See Usser. Chronol. cap. 3. and cap. 7.

From this also we learn when Abram was born. For, if seventy-five years (which was Abram's age when his father died, and he went from Haran, xii. 4.) be subducted from two hundred and five, it is manifest that he was born when his father was a hundred and thirty years old: that is, threescore years after his brother Haran, as I said on ver. 26.

## CHAP. XII.

MANY ancient authors speak of Abram, as Josephus observes, and out of him Eusebius, who names others also, (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 16, 17, &c.) All that I shall note is, that one great design of Moses being to lead the Jews to understand the genealogy of this noble ancestor of theirs, he hastens to it; relating other matters briefly, but spending many pages about him. For he comprises, for instance, the history of the world from the creation to the flood, containing one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years, in the compass of six chapters; but bestows on the history of Abram nineteen chapters, though it contain no longer space of time than a hundred and seventy-five years.

Ver. 1. *Now the Lord had said unto Abram.*] While he lived in Ur of the Chaldees; from whence it is certain he called him while his father was alive, (xi. 31.) We are not told how he spake to him; for here is no mention, as Maimonides observes, (par. ii. cap. 41.) of his speaking in a dream, or a vision, or by the hand of an angel; but only simply and absolutely that "the Lord said to him." By a voice, when he was awake, I suppose, from the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty; for St. Stephen saith expressly, "the God of glory appeared to him, before he dwelt in Charran," (Acts vii. 2.)

*Get thee out of thy own country,* &c.] Which began a good while ago to be infected with idolatry, (see xi. 18. 22.) some of Shem's posterity forgetting the Creator of all, and worshipping the sun as the great God, and the stars as lesser gods. So Maimonides, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 29.) where he saith the Zabii relate in one of their books (which he there names), that Abram contradicting their worship, the king of the country imprisoned him, and afterward banished him into the utmost parts of the east, and confiscated all his estate. A tale invented to take away from him the honour of his voluntary leaving his country, and to discredit this sacred history, which tells us he directed his course quite another way, towards the west. Abarbinel, and others, will not have this call of God to Abram to have been when he was in Ur, but after they came to Haran; to which he fancies Terah came, because of some misfortunes he had in Ur. But this is invented to contradict St. Stephen, (Acts vii. 2.) with whom Aben Ezra agrees, who expounds these words of his calling out of Ur. For it is hard to find any other reason why he designed to go to Canaan, (xi. 31.) the place whither he went after Terah was dead.

*Into a land that I will shew thee.*] He had the Divine direction, it seems, all along, to conduct him in his journey. But it argued, as the apostle observes, a great faith in God, that he would follow him, not knowing the country to which he would lead him.

Ver. 2. *And I will make of thee a great nation.*] First, by multiplying his posterity, and then by making them a select, peculiar people; whom he distinguished, by his favours, from all other nations. So it follows:

*I will bless thee.*] Bestow many benefits both temporal and spiritual upon them.

*And make thy name great.*] Make him famous throughout the world; as he is to this day, not only among the Jews, but among Christians and Mahometans. So Mai-

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monides observes, that all mankind admire Abram, even they that are not of his seed.

*And thou shalt be a blessing.*] Others shall be the better for thee; as Lot was, and the king of Sodom, &c. Or, as the Hebrews understand it, thou shalt be so prosperous, that when men would wish well to others, they shall use thy name, and say, "The Lord bless thee as he did Abram."

Ver. 3. *I will bless them that bless thee,* &c.] The highest token of a particular friendship which he here contracts with Abram (who is called the *friend of God)* in promising to espouse his interest so far, as to have the same friends and enemies that he had. Which is the form wherein kings and princes make the strictest leagues one with another.

*And curse them that curse thee.*] Maimonides will have it (in the place beforenamed), that the Zabæans loaded Abram with all manner of curses and reproaches (when he was sent out of their country), which he bearing patiently, God turned upon themselves.

*And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.*] Which was most eminently fulfilled in Christ. And here it must be remarked that this promise, of blessing all the world in Abram, was made to him before he received circumcision, while he was in Ur of the Chaldees, and before he had any issue, (for Sarai was *barren* and *had no child,* xi. 30.) And therefore before any preference of Isaac to Ishmael; or any distinction made between his posterity and the rest of mankind: in token that they were all concerned in this promise; whether descended from Abram, or not. In short, this promise only limits the birth of the Messiah to the seed of Abram; but declares that his benefits should be common to all other nations.

Ver. 4. *So Abram departed,* &c.] Having stayed some time in Haran, where his father fell sick and died, he prosecuted his journey from thence to Canaan, after his father was dead. So St. Stephen tells us expressly, (Acts vii. 4.) "From thence (*i. e.* from Charran), when his father was dead, he removed him into this land," &c. It was a wonderful effect of Abram's faith (I observed before) to move him to leave his own native country and go to Haran: but it was still a greater, after he had travelled a long way from Ur hither, to go three hundred miles more from hence to Canaan; a country of which he had no knowledge, nor had sent any body before him to discover it: taking his journey through the dangerous and barren deserts of Palmyrena; and having nothing to support him, but only the promise of God: which made him climb over the high mountains, either of Libanus, Hermon, or Gilead; for in that part of the country he entered, as Sir W. Raleigh hath observed. See ver. 5.

*And Lot went with him.*] He might conclude, perhaps, that Abram, being called in a special manner out of Chaldea, was thereby distinguished from the rest of Shem's posterity; and that he joining with him in obeying the same call, might claim the privilege of fulfilling the promise of the Messiah, no less than Abram.

*And Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran.*] See xi. ult.

Ver. 5. *And all the souls they had gotten* (Hebrew, *had made*) *in Haran.*] *i. e.* All the slaves born in their house, or bought with their money. The Chaldee paraphrast interprets this of the proselytes they had won to God: for such only would Abram carry with him. And some of the Hebrew doctors are so nice, as to say, that Abram instructed the men, and Sarai the women, in the true religion: concerning which he wrote a book (if we may believe Maimonides, De Idolol. cap. 1.) and left it to his son Isaac. We read also in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 25. that he took a house, which fronted Charran, where, according to the ancient piety, he kept great hospitality: and inviting those that went in or came out of the town to refresh themselves if they pleased, set meat and drink before them; saying, "There is but one God in the world."

*And into the land of Canaan they came.*] We are told before, (xi. 31.) that Terah went forth to go to this country, but could not reach it, as Abram did: who entered into it, at the north part of it, as appears from the following part of the story; where we read he went to Sichem, &c. and ver. 9. went on "still towards the south."

Ver. 6. *Sichem unto the plain of Moreh.*] Or, as Mr. Mede, following the LXX. will have it, *the oak of Moreh:* understanding by oak, not only one single oak, but a *holt,* or *grove* of oaks. See xiii. 18. Where I suppose he intended to have fixed his dwelling; had not the temper of the people, who inhabited that country, made it inconvenient.

*And the Canaanite was then in the land.*] It was very pertinent to Moses's design, speaking of Abram's passage through this country, to tell who was at that time possessed of it. But it is dubious whether he meant by the Canaanite a particular people descended from Canaan, as he doth xv. 21. or, in general, all the nations which the Israelites afterwards destroyed. It seems to me the first of these is meant, and that by land he means only that part of the country where Sichem lay, which was then possessed by this particular people: for, in the next place that Abram went to, it is said, "The Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land," (xiv. 7.) *i. e.* in that part of the country: where we do not read what entertainment Abram met withal; but I take it as an argument of Abram's great faith, that he would adventure among such a rough and fierce people, who had no kindness for the posterity of Shem upon an old score; and, if the ancient tradition in Epiphanius be true, upon a fresh account: for he saith, (Hæres. lxvi. n. 84.) that this country called Canaan did really belong to the children of Shem, by virtue of the division made among the sons of Noah: but the children of Canaan had dispossessed them. So that these words, "the Canaanite was then in the land," signifies, they had already invaded this country, before Abram came thither. To whom God promising to give it, he only restored the posterity of Shem (from whom Abram descended), unto that which the children of Ham had wrongfully seized.

By all which it is easy to see how frivolous their reasons are, who, from this place, conclude Moses did not write this book: because these words seem to signify the writer of them lived after the Canaanites were thrown out of this land: which was after Moses's death.

If these men had not a greater inclination to cavil, than to find out the truth, they would rather have said the meaning is, The Canaanite was possessed of this part of the country in Abram's time, though thrown out of it by Jacob's sons, (Gen. xxxiv.) before the times of Moses.



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Which is another way of explaining these words: against which I see no objection but this, that their prince is called an Hivite, (xxxiv. 2.) To which there is an answer, (ver. 30.) which shews the people were partly Canaanites.

Ver. 7. *And the Lord appeared unto Abram.*] As he had done before, (ver. 1.) but now, it is likely, in a more glorious manner; to establish him in faith and obedience.

*And said unto him,* &c.] There was a voice came from the Schechinah, or Divine glory, which now appeared to him; and told him this was the country he intended to bestow upon his posterity. It is very remarkable, that he no sooner entered Canaan, but God renewed his promise to him, made before he came out of his own country.

And it is further observable (as we shall see in the following story), that Abram's obedience was constantly rewarded in kind, according to the quality of the service he performed: though, in quantity, the reward far exceeded the service. Thus, having left his own country and father's house (which was the first trial of his obedience), God promises to give him the whole land of Canaan, and to make his posterity a mighty nation. See xvii. 6. xxii. 16.

*And there he built an altar,* &c.] This was so glorious an appearance, that it moved him to offer up a solemn sacrifice to God, for which he built an altar here in Sichem. And it being the first that he built in this country, it made this become the first place that was established for public worship, after the Israelites conquered the land of Canaan. For here was the sanctuary of God in Joshua's time, near this very grove where Abram first pitched his tent, and built an altar, (Josh. xxiv. 1. 25, 26.) It continued famous also in after-times, as appears from Judg. ix. 6.

Ver. 8. *And he removed from thence unto a mountain,* &c.] Though the Lord here appeared to him, yet he did not think fit to trust himself among the Canaanites (who were the chief of the wicked nations that possessed this land), or he thought fit to see the rest of the country, which God promised to give him: and therefore came hither, which was about twenty miles further southward.

*And there he built an altar.*] Upon the mountain; where they anciently chose to sacrifice, rather than in other places. And, it is likely, God again appeared to him here, to encourage and strengthen him against all his fears: which made him build a new altar and offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, to implore his continued favour.

And it is observable, that the promise which God made in the former place, (ver. 7.) he renewed again in this, and more at large, after he came out of Egypt, (xiii. 3, 4. 14, 15, 16.)

*On the east of Bethel.*] So it was called in after-times.

Ver. 9. *And Abram journeyed,* &c.] He did not think fit to fix yet in the forenamed place; but made a further progress into the southern parts of the country. Yet after he had been in Egypt (the story of which follows), he returned to this place.

Ver. 10. *A famine in the land.*] Of Canaan.

*He went down.*] Egypt lay low in comparison with Canaan.

*To sojourn.*] Not to dwell there: for he doubted not of God's promise to him, of possessing the land which he had left.

Ver. 11. *Thou art a fair woman,* &c.] She was now threescore years old: but having comely features, and being of a fair complexion (in comparison with the Egyptians, who were sallow), she seemed to be younger than she was.

Ver. 12. *They will kill me.*] Knowing them to be a libidinous people, he was afraid they might be tempted to make him away, that they might have his wife.

Ver. 13. *Say, thou art my sister.*] He himself, upon another occasion, explains in what sense she was so, xx. 12. Therefore he teaches her not to tell a lie, but to conceal the truth.

Ver. 15. *Pharaoh.*] The Egyptian kingdom began about three hundred years before this (in the days of Ragau, xi. 18. if the Arabian writers say true) and now was grown to be very powerful, by the means of some king of this name; which (it appears by this place) was very ancient, and continued to be the name of all the kings of Egypt, till the captivity of Babylon; and we know not how much longer. Just as Ptolemy was their name after the times of Alexander; and Cæsar and Augustus were the names of all the emperors of Rome; and Candace of all the queens of Ethiopia; and the like may be observed in several other countries. Ludolphus takes *Pharaoh* to be a compound word, signifying as much as *father of the country:* for that is the meaning of *Phar-ot,* in the Ethiopic language; as *Pharmut* is *mother of the country.*

*The princes also,* &c.] The courtiers who studied to gratify their prince's pleasure.

*Was taken into Pharaoh's house.*] Into the house of the women, it is probable (for the Egyptian kings were now, as I said, very great; like those of Persia in after-times), intending to make her one of his concubines.

Ver. 16. *And he had sheep, and oxen,* &c.] By the gift of the king; besides those he had of his own before.

Ver. 17. *And he plagued Pharaoh,* &c.] Some of the Hebrews think they had grievous ulcers in the secret parts; which made both him and his servants incapable to enjoy either her, or any one else.

*His house.*] His courtiers partake of the punishment, because they were partners in the intended sin.

Ver. 18. *Why didst thou not tell me,* &c.] Some think he speaks thus subtilly to Abram, to see what he would say; not knowing yet that she was his wife. Or, that his priests and wise men had consulted the oracles about the cause of their plagues. But the simplest account is, that Sarai, being interrogated about it, confessed the whole truth. Whereupon he expostulated thus with Abram; who being silent, he took it for granted, that indeed she was his wife.

Ver. 19. *Now therefore behold thy wife,* &c.] He disclaims all intention of abusing another man's wife (so virtuous they were in those days), but would have made her his own, (as he saith in the foregoing words, "I might have taken her to me to wife"); that is, a secondary wife, as the manner was in those days; for it is not likely he had no wife at all before.

Ver. 20. *Pharaoh commanded his men concerning him,* &c.] Gave strict orders none should hurt him, or any thing belonging to him, but conduct him safely, whither he had a mind to go. And accordingly, the next words tell us they did.

*They sent him away,* &c.] Not with violence, but gave him a safe conduct: sending him away, perhaps, with a guard for his security. Such was the generosity of the Egyptian princes in those times.

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## CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. *INTO the south.*] Into the southern part of Canaan, where he had been before, (xii. 9.)

Ver. 2. *Very rich,* &c.] His riches were increased since he went into Egypt, by the bounty of Pharaoh, (xii. 16.) and (if we could believe Josephus, lib. i. Antiq. cap. 8.) by the rewards he had for teaching them several pieces of learning, which he brought out of Chaldea. The author of Schalsch. Hakkab. quotes Eusebius's Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 4. to prove this. And, indeed, I find Eusebius quoting Josephus in the sixteenth chapter of that book; who says he taught arithmetic and astrology, of which the Egyptians were ignorant before: and in the seventeenth chapter Eupolemus, who says that Abram was familiarly conversant with the Egyptian priests at Heliopolis (when he went thither by reason of the famine in Canaan), and taught them many things; particularly the celestial sciences, which he calls astrology; *i. e.* the knowledge of the stars.

Ver. 3. *Unto Bethel,* &c.] Which was the second place wherein he dwelt, after his first entrance into Canaan, (xii. 8.)

Ver. 4. *Unto the place of the altar,* &c.] This seems to intimate that the altar itself was either fallen or thrown down. Some think demolished by Abram himself, when he left the place; others by the Canaanites when he was gone.

*And there Abram called on the name of the Lord.*] Commended himself, and all he had, to God's protection; who had promised to bestow this country upon him. Perhaps he built the altar again, and offered sacrifice thereon.

Ver. 5. *And Lot also,* &c.] God had blessed him likewise, as a faithful companion of Abram in his travels; and partaker also of his faith.

Ver. 6. *The land was not able to bear them,* &c.] There was not sufficient pasturage for them both, in that part of the country.

Ver. 7. *And there was a strife,* &c.] Wealth commonly breeds contentions. Yet here was no difference between the masters, but between their servants: each endeavouring to get the best pastures, and the best watering places for their flocks.

*And the Canaanite and the Perizzite,* &c.] This part of the country was inhabited by the people peculiarly called Canaanites, and by the Perizzites, (a very rugged and barbarous nation, see xv. 20.) among whom contention would have been dangerous, at least very scandalous.

Ver. 8. *Abram said to Lot.*] The best, the wisest, and men of greatest experience in the world, are most inclined to peace, and most yielding in order to it.

*Let there be no strife between me and thee,* &c.] There had been none yet; but their servants' quarrel might have proved theirs at last.

*And between my herdsmen,* &c.] *And* here signifies *or:* as xix. 12. Exod. xii. 5.

*For we are brethren.*] Near kinsmen, whom the Hebrews call brethren.

Ver. 9. *Is not the land before thee.*] There is room enough, though not here, yet in other parts of the country: now, since we cannot remain together, take thy choice which way thou wilt go, &c. A wonderful condescension in Abram, to let the younger, and least in estate, please himself. And he did not desire Lot to leave the country, but only to settle himself in what part of it he liked best; that he might be near to help him, as he did afterwards.

Ver. 10. *Behold all the plain of Jordan,* &c.] A fruitful and pleasant country, well watered by the streams of Jordan: which in many windings and turnings run through it, and at some times overflowed it; which made the ground very rich. And therefore Moses compares this plain to the garden of Eden, (as most understand those words, "the garden of the Lord") which was well watered by a river running through it; and to the land of Egypt, which is fattened by the overflowing of Nile, as this was by the overflowing of Jordan.

*As thou comest to Zoar.*] These words are not to be referred to "the land of Egypt," immediately foregoing (from which Zoar was at a great distance), but to those words in the beginning, "a plain well watered every where;" even to the utmost skirts of it, which was Zoar.

Ver. 11. *And Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan.*] He was invited by the richness of the soil, without regard to the manners of the people; which proved afterwards a great affliction to him.

*And Lot journeyed east.*] For the "plain of Jordan" lay east, from Bethel, where they now were.

Ver. 12. *And Abram dwelt in the land of Canaan,* &c.] In that part of the country where the people peculiarly called Canaanites (ver. 7. and xii. 6.) were seated: otherwise, if "the land of Canaan" be taken largely, the "plain of Jordan" was also a part of it.

Ver. 13. *The men of Sodom were wicked,* &c.] Their sins were grown ripe for punishment; having been brought (as it were) "before the Lord;" and sentenced at his tribunal to the judgment which shortly after befel them.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord said unto Abram,* &c.] It is likely the Lord appeared again to him, (as he had done formerly, xii. 7.) after Lot was separated from him: both to comfort him in his absence, by renewing his promise in larger words, and to assure him that his posterity, not Lot's, should inherit this country.

*Lift up thine eyes,* &c.] He dwelt now, it is likely, upon the mountain, which was on the east of Bethel, (where he pitched his tent before he went into Egypt, xii. 8.) and returned to it when he came from thence (ver. 3, 4. of this chapter), which gave him the advantage of a fair and long prospect of the country every way.

Ver. 15. *For all the land thou seest,* &c.] That whole country, some parts of which he saw a great way, in every quarter of it; and all the rest contiguous to them, were hereby assured to him.

*For ever.*] It doth not signify strictly time without end; but a very long period. The Jews, indeed, say that this world *olam,* when it is written full, as they speak, that is, with *vau,* denotes *eternity;* though, without *vau,* they confess it signifies only *a long time:* but this small observation is quite overthrown by many examples to the contrary. For (Exod. xv. 18.) where the Lord is said to *reign for ever,* this word *olam* is without a *vau,* and yet denotes *eternity.* And (Deut. xv. 17.) where it is said, "he shall be thy servant *for ever,*" it is written with a *vau,* and yet denotes only a term of *fifty years* at the most.

Ver. 16. *I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth,* &c.] More than could be contained in that land.

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Ver. 17. *Arise, walk through the land,* &c.] He would have him, for his satisfaction, go and view it all more nearly in every part of it. Or, he gives him leave (if he desired to understand more fully both the quality and quantity of the inheritance he bestowed on him) to go and survey it: promising he would protect and preserve him in his perambulation. Nay, some look upon this as giving him a warrant to take possession of the country, though he should not yet enjoy it.

Ver. 18. *Then Abram removed his tent.*] To a place about twenty-four miles from Bethel, where he was before.

*And dwelt in the plain.*] Here the word we had before (xii. 6.) is in the plural number; and is taken by many for *oaks, i. e.* for an *oaken grove:* so the Arabic interpreter. The LXX. translate it παρὰ τὴν δρῦν, *by the oak,* in the singular number; for there seems to have been one *oak* more eminent than the rest: under which Abram pitched his tent, and built an altar unto the Lord.

This is confirmed by xviii. 1. compared with ver. 8. And indeed the ancients very much reverenced an oak, and therefore planted this tree very frequently. Jacob buried the idolatrous trumpery of his family under an oak, (xxxv. 4.) which was by Schechem, where the place of public worship seems to have been fixed in Joshua's time, (Josh. xxiv. 1. 26.) The angel of the Lord also appeared to Gideon under an oak (Judg. vi. 11. 19. 25. ix. 6.) And of all other trees, an oak was held most sacred by the heathen; particularly by the Druids. (See Pliny, lib. xvi. cap. 44. Max. Tyrius, Dissert. 34.) And Pausanias, in his account of Arcadia, says, the ancients made the images of their gods of oak, being the most durable wood.

This *oak,* some fancy, was in being in the time of Constantine, and there was great resort to it. (See Sozomen, lib. ii. cap. 4.) Here Abram dwelt a long time, and many great things passed here, before he removed to any other place.

*Mamre.*] Was the name of a man among the Amorites, as appears from the next chapter, ver. 13.

*Which is in Hebron.*] Or, rather, *by* or *near* Hebron (for so the particle *beth* is often used), which was a very ancient city, built seven years before Zoar; *i. e.* the famous city of Tanis in Egypt, (Numb. xiii. 22.) It was called Arba, or Kirjath-Arba at the first, (xxiii. 2.) but in Moses's time, Hebron. There are those, indeed, who say it was not called Hebron till the time of Joshua, who gave it to Caleb for his portion: (Josh. xv. 13. 15.) and thence conclude this passage was not wrote by Moses, but put in by some other hand, after his time. But I see not the least proof of this assertion, that Caleb was the first who gave it this name. His grandson, mentioned 1 Chron. ii. 42, 43. may rather be thought to have taken his name from this place, than to have given a name to it. Besides, there have been two occasions of giving one and the same name; as appears by what is said of Beersheba, (xxi. 31. xxvi. 33.) And therefore this city might have the name of Hebron in Moses's time; and it might be confirmed in Joshua's.

## CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 1. *AND it came to pass,* &c.] It is very easy to give an account of this war, which the kings of the east made upon the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. if what was said before (xii. 6.) be admitted; that the Canaanites had invaded the rights of the children of Shem, and gotten possession of a country belonging to them; which they now endeavoured to recover (as they had attempted before, ver. 4.) For Elam, of which Chedorlaomer was king, descended from Shem, (Gen. x. 22.)

*Amraphel king of Shinar.*] *i. e.* King of Babylon, as it is commonly understood. But it cannot well be thought that so potent a king as he is supposed to have been in those days, should need any associates in a war against such petty princes as those mentioned ver. 2. Or, that the king of Elam, (whose quarrel this was, as appears from ver. 4.) should not be able of himself to grapple with them: or, that the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. durst have adventured, with a handful of people, in comparison, to rebel against him, after he had brought them under his subjection. Therefore, we must either take Amraphel to have been some small prince in the country of Shinar, *i. e.* Assyria; or, if he were king of Babylon, that monarchy was not very great in the days of Abram. And we must also look upon the rest as names of some particular places (like Sodom and Gomorrah) over which Arioch and Chedorlaomer reigned; who were such kings as those in Canaan when Joshua conquered it: or else, commanders of colonies, which they had led out of Assyria and Persia, and settling thereabouts, endeavoured to enlarge their plantations: as the manner was in those and in succeeding times; when the captains of a troop, and leaders of a small body of men, were called princes or kings.

*Arioch king of Ellasar.*] There was a city (mentioned by Stephanus, de Urbibus) called Ellas, in Cœlo-Syria, on the borders of Arabia; where Arioch perhaps commanded.

*Chedorlaomer king of Elam.*] Concerning this country see x. 22. where Chedorlaomer was either governor of some little province or city, or a commander of some troop of that nation.

*Tidal king of nations.*] Some take *gojim* in this place, which we translate *nations,* for a country or city. But it is more agreeable to the common use of the word in Scripture, to take it to signify a people: who either wanted a fixed habitation, or were gathered out of sundry regions.

Thus, part of Galilee being inhabited by a mixed people of divers countries, was thence called "Galilee of the nations," or gentiles, (Matth. iv. 15.) There were also, as Sir W. Raleigh observes, several petty countries which adjoined to Phœnicia (viz. Palmyrena, Batanea, Apamena, Laodicene, &c. which lay towards Mesopotamia on the north, and Arabia on the east), over which we may suppose Tidal reigned. Eupolemus, an ancient Greek writer, relating this story, calls them Armenians, who made this inroad upon the Phœnicians, as Eusebius tells us out of Alexander Polyhistor. lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 17.

Ver. 2. *These made war with Bera king of Sodom,* &c.] They were lords of the country called Pentapolis, or five cities: which were so small, that there was no need to bring a great king from beyond Tigris, with such a mighty

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monarch as he of Babylon is thought now to have been, and several other nations between these kings and Euphrates, to subdue their petty province. It had been madness also for these kings to resist such powerful armies as the eastern kings are commonly supposed to have brought against them. And therefore I think it reasonable, by the kings in the first verse, to understand some such petty princes as those mentioned in the second.

Ver. 3. *Valley of Siddim.*] The five cities stood in this goodly valley, which now is the Salt-Sea or Lake; since the overthrow of these cities by fire and brimstone from heaven. Some will not have *Siddim* a proper name, but translate it *ploughed lands;* in which this valley was very rich.

Ver. 4. *Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer,* &c.] This shews he was the principal in this war: and if he had been king of all that country called Elam, we cannot think he would have passed through so great a part of the world as Assyria, Mesopotamia, and part of Arabia, to conquer five towns: all whose riches could not countervail the charge, though he had sent only one of his lieutenants, with a small force, to bring them under.

Ver. 5. *Smote the Rephaims.*] In their way to Sodom they subdued these warlike people, who, it is likely, opposed their passage into Pentapolis. And these Rephaims, it appears by xv. 20. were a part of Canaan's posterity, situate (as one may gather from Josh. xii. 4. xiii. 12.) on the other side Jordan, in Bashan, or Batanea. They were of a giant-like stature: and therefore the LXX. here and in other places, instead of Rephaim, have giants.

*Ashtaroth-Karnaim.*] It is plain from the forenamed place, and from Deut. i. 4. that Ashtaroth was a place in Bashan. Whether so called because the goddess Astarte, *i. e.* Diana or Juno, was here worshipped, nobody can resolve. They that are of this opinion fancy that *Karnaim,* which in Hebrew signifies *two-horned,* denotes the *new moon.* But this word may as well denote that Ashtaroth was a city in the form of a half moon.

*And the Zuzims.*] Another warlike people thereabouts: who, some think, are the same with the Zamzummims, (Deut. ii. 20.)

*The Emims.*] It appears from Deut. ii. 9, 10, &c. that these were also a gigantic people, and near neighbours to the Horites, mentioned in the next verse. For the Emims possessed Ar and the field of Kirjath-Jearim; and the Horites possessed Mount Seir; till the former were driven out by the Moabites, and the latter by the children of Esau: and then the country of the Emims was called Moab, and the country of the Horites was called Edom.

Ver. 7. *And they returned.*] From the conquest of the forenamed people.

*And came to En-mishpat.*] Fell upon this country, which was called afterward by this name, because God here judged the Israelites for their murmurings and contention with Moses. From whence also it was called Kadesh, because here the Lord was sanctified among them. (Numb. xx. 13.)

*All the country of the Amalekites.*] The country which was afterwards possessed by the Amalekites, who were not yet in being; for they were the descendants of Esau, as Moses shews, (Gen. xxxvi. 16.)

*And also the Amorites, who dwelt in Hazezon-Tamer.*] Which is the same with En-Gaddi, near the Dead Sea, (2 Chron. xx. 2.)

Ver. 10. *Full of slime-pits.*] Into which they hoped their enemies might fall, and so be broken: which made them draw up their army, and wait for them in this place.

*And the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled.*] Were routed, as we now speak. Of the word *slime,* see xi. 3.

*And fell there.*] *i. e.* A great slaughter was made of their armies; for they themselves escaped it appears by the following part of the story. Some will have it, that many of them fell into those slime-pits, in which they hoped to have seen their enemies plunged. But the simplest sense is, many of them were slain, and the rest, as it follows, escaped to the mountain: but made such ill use of their preservation, from being killed with their fellows, that they only lived to suffer a greater vengeance.

Ver. 11. *And they took all the goods,* &c.] This is a further proof that Chedorlaomer, and the rest of his confederates in this war, were but petty princes (like the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c.), for, having broken the army of the five kings, they rested contented, and marched away with the prisoners and booty; but took not one of their cities: which, if they had been such great kings as is imagined, they would have certainly sacked, and perhaps burnt, if they had not thought fit to keep them. But we read (ver. 17.) the king of Sodom still reigned after this victory, and went out of his city to meet Abram.

Ver. 12. *And they took Lot,* &c.] Who is here called "his brother's son," and ver. 14. and 16. "Abram's brother." This was the foundation of Abram's quarrel with the four kings; whose war was just against the king of Sodom and his confederates: but they unjustly seized upon Lot and his goods, who was but a sojourner in that country, and had no hand in their revolt.

*Who dwelt in Sodom.*] In the country of Sodom, where he hired some ground for his cattle; but it is not likely he yet dwelt in the city (for then he had not been taken captive), but afterwards for, more security, betook himself thither.

Ver. 13. *Told Abram the Hebrew.*] So called from his ancestor Heber, as was before observed. To which may be added, that if he had been called by this name, as many think, only from his passing over the Euphrates (which the LXX. took to be the reason, when they translated it, περάτης), it would not have descended to all his posterity, who did not come from beyond the river. So little a thing as that would not have given a name to a whole and eminent nation; who are usually denominated from some eminent progenitor.

*And these were confederate with Abram.*] The three forenamed families were near neighbours to Abram; who, it is likely, farmed (as we now speak) some ground of them: and so entered into a league of mutual defence, having the same interest. I should think also, that, having the priest of the Most High God not far from them, (ver. 18.) they were good, pious people (rather than conclude, as I find some do, that they were utter strangers to the true religion), which made Abram more forward to embrace, if not to court, their friendship. For the sins of the Amorites being not yet full, (xv. 16.) there might be some remainders of true piety among them: and it is no argument, that because these three families were of that nation, they were wicked idolaters.

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Ver. 14. *Armed his trained servants.*] Drew forth a select number of his servants, whom he had instructed to handle arms, in case of any assault by robbers or injurious neighbours. We read before (xii. 5.) of the servants they brought with them from Haran; and now they were more increased, as their cattle were (xii. 16. xiii. 2. 6.) so that he might well make a little army out of them.

*And pursued them to Dan.*] As far as that place, where one of the heads or springs of Jordan breaks forth, called *Dan*, as Josephus relates, where he speaks of this very history, (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 10.) This plain and short account of this word *Dan*, overthrows the argument which cavillers draw from hence to prove that Moses did not write this book.

Ver. 15. *And he divided himself against them, he and his servants, by night.*] The Vulgar Latin here reads, "His companions being divided, he fell upon them by night:" minding rather the sense than the words. For here is no mention of any but Abram and his servants: though it appears by the last verse of the chapter, that his confederates beforementioned, (ver. 13.) Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, joined with him in this expedition. Which they managed with great judgment (for stratagems in war were never wanting from the beginning), Abram and his servants making one troop or battalion (as they now speak), and the confederates making three more. Who, dividing themselves, fell upon the four kings, in the four quarters of their camp; that they might the more distract them, and make them apprehend their forces to be more numerous than indeed they were. They were put also into the greater confusion, because this assault was made in the night: when, perhaps, they were buried both in wine and in sleep.

*Unto Hobah.*] Which lay in the vale between Libanus and Antilibanus: called by Amos, (i. 5.) *the valley of Aven*, and *Beth-Eden*, or the seat of pleasure. In this vale was Damascus seated.

Ver. 16. *He brought back all the goods,* &c.] All the prey, whether in money, cattle, or other things, which the four kings had carried away.

*The women also, and the people.*] It seems they had carried away all the people of Pentapolis, who did not flee to the mountains or fenced cities; and women, in those days, were a special part of their booty.

Ver. 17. *Went out to meet him.*] To congratulate his victory; and to desire his people might be restored to him.

*At the valley of Shaveth.*] This seems to have been a pleasant place, wherein the king (that is Melchizedec, I guess by what follows) took delight: whence it was called the King's Dale: in which the King of Sodom met Abram; and Melchizedec entertained him with bread and wine.

Ver. 18. *And Melchizedec.*] The Jews generally say this was Shem, the son of Noah. But we have reason to look upon this opinion as proceeding from their pride and vanity: which could not endure to think the father of their nation had any superior in another nation, especially among the Canaanites. And therefore they will have Abram to have been blessed by his great ancestor, Shem; to whom also he paid tithes: which is a fancy so plainly confuted by the apostle to the Hebrews, that it is strange any Christian should follow it. For he saith expressly, that Melchizedec was not γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν, (vii. 6.) *his descent*, or *pedigree, was not counted from them;* which is not true of Shem. Nor could Shem be said to be without father or mother; whose genealogy is evident from Adam. Nor was Shem's priesthood, if he had any, of a different order from Levi's; who was in his loins, as well as in the loins of Abram. And therefore it could not be said that Levi paid him tithes in the loins of Abram, but it would be as true that he received tithes in the loins of Shem: for, according to this interpretation, he was in the loins both of him that received tithes, and of him that paid them; and so the whole argumentation of the apostle falls to the ground. But setting aside these and other Christian reasons (which are strongly urged by Bochartus, lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 1.) there is no cause, that we can discern, why Moses should call Shem (whom he so often mentions) by any other name than his own; nor is it likely that Shem reigned in the land of Canaan; which now was in the possession of his brother's son: nor could Abram be said to sojourn there as in a strange country, if his noble ancestor, Shem, had been a king there. Nor is this an ancient opinion among the Jews, at least not constantly believed: for Josephus says expressly, that Melchizedec was Χαναναίων δυνάστης, *a potentate of the Canaanites,* (lib. vii. de Bello Jud. cap. 18.) And yet it was so common, that it went to the Samaritans, as Epiphanius tells us, Hæres. lv. n. 6. (though not to the Arabians, who say he was the son of Peleg. See Hotting. Smegma Orient. 256. 269. 306.) and many Christians have embraced it, merely (as far as I can discern) because they would not acknowledge any good man to have been then among the Canaanites. Some heretics held him to be μεγάλην τινὰ δύναμιν, as Epiphanius tells us in the place forementioned, (Numb. I.) Which was the opinion of Hieracas, a great scholar and famous physician in Egypt. (Hæres. lxvii. n. 3.) And some of the church took him to have been the Son of God himself, who then appeared to Abram, ἐν ἰδέᾳ ἀνθρώπου, *in the form of a man.* (Hæres. lv. n. 7.) But the plain truth is, he was a king and priest (for those two offices anciently were in the same person) in that country: where men were not as yet wholly degenerated, and fallen from the true religion.

*King of Salem.*] It is a great error to think that this Salem was the same with Jerusalem. For it is plain, as Bochart observes, (lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 4.) that Salem was in the way which led from the valley of Damascus unto Sodom: which we learn from this very place of Scripture. And so St. Jerome says, that he learned from the Jews in his time, that it was seated on this side of Jordan: and it retained its name in our Saviour's days, as appears by the story of John's baptizing near Salem. (John iii. 23.) Several of the fathers are of the same mind, quoted by Mr. Selden in his Review of the History of Tithes, p. 452.

*Brought forth bread and wine.*] This he did as a *king*, not as a *priest:* for it was not an act of religion but of hospitality. Thus heathens themselves understood this history, as we find by Eupolemus, (quoted by Eusebius, lib. ix. cap. 17.) who saith he received Abram as they were wont to do strangers, in a city called *Argarizin*, which he interprets the *Mount of the Most High.* We know not in what language it so signifies, or whether it be

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misprinted for *Harellon:* but I think the plain sense is, that he treated Abram and his followers, by causing provisions to be brought forth for their refreshment after the fight. For *bread* and *wine* comprehend all sorts of provision for their repast: as to *eat bread* with another, in this book, is to *feast* with him, (xliii. 25.) And thus Tertullian, it is certain, understood it; who saith expressly, he brought them forth to Abram, and offered them to him, and not to God, (lib. adv. Judæos, cap. 3.) And Epiphanius observes, that the word in the Greek is not κατένεγκε but ἐξέβαλε; not *he offered,* but *brought out.* So it seems his copy had it.

Ver. 19. *And he blessed him.*] This he did as a priest (which office is just beforementioned) as he did the other as a king.

*Blessed be Abram of the most high God.*] He prayed God to confirm the blessing, which he had pronounced upon him.

*Possessor of heaven and earth.*] Rather *Creator,* as the LXX. and Vulgar Latin translate it. (See Dr. Spencer, lib. i. de Leg. Hebr. cap. 4. §. 10. and Lud. de Dieu before him, in his notes on this place, and Hotting. Smegma Orient. p. 87.) By this and the next verse, wherein he gives glory to the most high God for Abram's victory, it is apparent that he was a worshipper of the one only true God, and maker and governor of all things. To whom he also ministered in the office of a priest, who blessed men in his name.

*And he gave him.*] *i. e.* Abram gave to Melchizedec, as the apostle explains it, (Heb. vii. 2.) But the words are so doubtful as they lie here, that Eupolemus (in the place abovementioned) thought Melchizedec had bestowed gifts upon Abram.

*Tithes of all.*] He doth not say of what all; but that which goes before leads us to think he means tithes of all the spoil, which he had taken from Chedorlaomer, &c. For he had nothing else there to tithe, unless it were the remainder of the provision he had carried along with him in this expedition: all the rest of his own estate being many miles off, at Mamre. And thus Josephus interprets it, δεκάτην τῆς λείας, *the tithe of what was gotten by war.* And thus the apostle himself seems to expound it, (Heb. vii.) For having said (ver. 2.) he gave him the "tenth part of all;" when he comes to argue from this, he calls it "the tenth part of the spoils," (verse 4.) And, indeed, it was a very ancient custom to offer to God (whose priest Melchizedec was) the tenth part of what they took in war. Diodorus Siculus reports it of the Greeks, and many authors of the Romans. From whence we cannot infer, that they gave only tithes of such things; but rather that these were extraordinary acknowledgments of God's mercy to them, which it was usual to make out of those possessions which he had blessed them withal. For why should they give tithe of the spoils, if they were not wont to pay tithe of other things? And, therefore, St. Chrysostom makes this reflection upon this practice of Abram, that it should teach us to be willing and ready to offer unto God, ἀπαρχὰς, *the first-fruits of all that he hath bestowed on us.* This is confirmed by the story of Jacob, which, together with this of Abram, shews plainly the custom of paying tithes was before the law of Moses; and that not only of the spoils of war, but of their flocks, corn, and other fruit, which Jacob vowed unto God, (xxxviii. 22.) See there.

Ver. 21. *Give me the persons,* &c.] A truly generous disposition, becoming a king, to love the persons of his subjects better than their goods.

Ver. 22. *I have lift up my hand.*] *i. e.* Sworn, as the phrase is used in many places, (Exod. vi. 8. Numb. xiv. 30, &c.)

*Possessor of heaven and earth.*] See ver. 19.

Ver. 23. *I will not take from a thread,* &c.] *i. e.* The meanest thing.

*I have made Abram rich.*] He would have this to be only the work of God; who promised, a great while ago, to bless him, and had now renewed his promise by Melchizedec. And he would not have it thought that love of spoil had carried him to the war; but only love of justice. In short, here is a most noble example (as Maimonides observes, par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 50.) of contentedness with what he had, of despising riches, and seeking praise rather from virtue.

Ver. 24. *Except only that which the young men* (*i. e.* the soldiers) *have eaten.*] For which he did not think it reasonable they should pay.

*And the portion of them that went with me.*] He could not bind his confederates by his own act, but left them to deal with their countrymen as they pleased: in either keeping their share of the spoil, or parting with it, as he had done. The Jews truly observe, that they who stayed with the stuff and carriages, had their portion equal with those that fought: as we read in the story of David, (1 Sam. xxx. 25.) But it is not certain that this custom was as old as Abram's time; which they would gather from this place. For here they take the young men for those who fought and pursued the enemy: and Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, stayed to guard the carriage. But I see no ground for this, it being most probable, as I observed before, that they attacked the enemy, as well as Abram's servants; and thereby acquired a title to part of the spoil. But whether we consider it this way, or the other, Abram could not give away their right, when he generously parted with his own.

## CHAP. XV.

Ver. 1. *AND after these things.*] After this great victory, and his generous refusal of the king of Sodom's offer.

*The word of the Lord came to Abram.*] God revealed himself more clearly to him. For this is the first time we read of "the word of the Lord" coming to him; and of his having a vision: that is, being made a prophet, and that in a high degree, God revealing his mind to him, not in a dream but in a vision; when he was awake, but having his senses (as Maimonides explains it) bound up from their ordinary functions; during the time that the heavenly influence came upon his mind, and diffused itself to his imagination, where it represented several things to him. (More Nev. par. ii. cap. 41.) But these words may be understood of his having these things represented to him by the Divine Majesty, when he was perfectly awake, and used all his senses.

*Fear not, Abram.*] He heard these words, while he was in the ecstacy (according to Maimonides's explication),



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encouraging his hope in God, that he and Lot should be safe from any new invasion by these or any other enemies. For, perhaps, there were some rumours abroad of the Assyrians recruiting their forces, with an intention to renew the war.

*I am thy shield.*] I will protect and defend thee.

*And thy exceeding great reward.*] Will give thee far more than thou hast lately denied to take for my sake.

Ver. 2. *Lord God, what wilt thou give me,* &c.] What good will all the riches in the world do me, if I have not a child to inherit my estate?

*To go childless.*] Is to die (to go out of the world without children), as Luke xxii. 22. "truly the Son of man goeth;" *i. e.* must die shortly. He doth not slight God's promise made in the foregoing verse; but only desires him to be so gracious as to give him a child for his reward.

*And the steward of my house is this,* &c.] He that takes care of all I have (and therefore deserves best of me), is not of my kindred.

*Eliezer of Damascus.*] Some think this signifies no more, but that he was born of a Syrian woman.

Ver. 3. *And Abram said,* &c.] He repeats the same again, out of a great concern to have God's promise fulfilled: which he did not disbelieve, but earnestly longed for, more than for all the riches in the world.

*One born in my house is my heir.*] It is likely, that Eliezer was one of their souls (*i. e.* servants) gotten in Haran, (xii. 5.) and had been such a wise and faithful manager of all things committed to his care, that Abram intended, before the promise made to him, to have left him his heir: thinking he should have no child of his own, Sarah being barren, as we read, xi. 30.

Ver. 4. *And behold, the word of the Lord came to him,* &c.] A new assurance is given him, from the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, that he should have an heir begotten by himself.

Ver. 5. *And he brought him forth abroad, and said,* &c.] Maimonides thinks (More Nev. par. ii. cap. 46.) that all this which follows was done in a vision: but others will have it, that he was really conducted out of his tent into the open air, and looked upon the stars. The former opinion is more probable, because the sun was not yet gone down, (ver. 12.) and therefore the stars were not to be seen with the eye, but were represented only in a vision.

*So shall thy seed be.*] Nehem. ix. 23. He not only promises him an heir; but that this heir should have a numerous posterity. Which, as before (xiii. 16.) he compared to the dust of the earth, so here he compares to the stars of heaven. Shewing (say some of the Jews) by the former their humiliation; and by this their exaltation and advancement: and indeed, in this chapter, he speaks of both.

Ver. 6. *He believed in the Lord.*] Was fully persuaded that God both could and would perform his promise, though it seemed to be very difficult, if not impossible, according to the ordinary course of nature: he and Sarah both being very old.

*And he counted it to him for righteousness.*] The Lord esteemed it a most noble act, and high expression of a pious confidence in him, (as that act of Phinehas was, in aftertimes, Psalm cvi. 31.) and thereupon graciously owned him for a righteous person: though he was not free from all sin whatsoever; but was guilty of some that were not consistent with perfect righteousness.

It is here to be considered, that Abram believed this promise before (xii. 1, 2, 3, 4.) but now his faith was the more remarkable; because, notwithstanding some time had passed since the first making of the promise, and he had no issue, he still persisted in the belief that God would bestow a son upon him, though it grew every day more unlikely.

Ver. 7. *I am the Lord that brought thee,* &c.] He reminds him of what he had already done for him; that he might confirm him in the belief of what he promised farther to do.

*To give thee this land,* &c.] To bestow it upon thy children for their inheritance.

Ver. 8. *Whereby shall I know,* &c.] This is not spoken doubtingly; for the strength of his faith is highly commended, but he desires to have it more and more strengthened and confirmed: as some good men did in aftertimes, when they were put upon very difficult services. So Gideon, Judg. vi. 37, &c.

Ver. 9. *And he said unto him, Take me an heifer,* &c.] *i. e.* Offer unto me (so it should be rendered, as Mr. Mede observes, book ii. p. 472.) the following creatures: which are of four sorts. From whence the Hebrew doctors would persuade us, the rise and the fall of the four monarchies are signified in these words: but it is a better observation, that God hereby fore-signified their sins should be expiated by sacrifices. For these were the creatures, and these alone, which were appointed to be offered in sacrifice to God, by the law of Moses. And it justifies their opinion, who think there were clean and unclean beasts, with respect to sacrifice before the law, though not with respect to meat.

Yet here is something singular, that God required Abram to offer an heifer of three years old, with a goat and a ram of the same age; whereas afterwards, under the law, they were commonly of one year old. I know not the reason of this difference; but certain it is, that a ram of three years old is in its full strength, and the vigour of its age, as Bochart observes. Whence it is that Lucian introduces Ganymede proffering to offer unto Jupiter (if he would dismiss him), τὸν τριετῆ τὸν μέγαν, &c. *a ram of three years old, a big one, the leader of the flock.* Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 46.

*A young pigeon.*] The Hebrew word *gozal,* signifies the young ones of ring-doves, wood-pigeons, or any other of that kind, as he also observes.

Ver. 10. *And he took unto him.*] Now we must suppose he was come out of his ecstacy; and really performed all that follows, until he fell into it more profoundly than before.

*Divided them in the midst.*] There is no footstep of this rite any where in the Scripture, save only in the prophet Jeremy, (xxxiv. 18, 19.) But this place shews it to have been very ancient: and St. Cyril, in his tenth book against Julian, derives this custom from the ancient Chaldeans. As others derive the very word *bireth,* [ברית] which signifies *a covenant,* from the word used both here and in Jeremy, viz. בתר, *batar,* which is the very same by a transposition of letters, and signifies *to divide,* or *cut asunder.* Because covenants were made by dividing a

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beast, and by the parties covenanting passing between the parts of the beast so divided: signifying that so should they be cut asunder who broke the covenant. Thus Mr. Mede, in the place forementioned, truly explains this rite, which was as much as if they had said, "Thus let me be divided and cut in pieces, if I violate the oath I have now made in the presence of my God."

We find in Zenobius, that the people called Molotti retained something of this custom; for they confirmed their oaths when they made their covenants, κατακόπτοντες εἰς τὰ μικρὰ τοὺς βοῦς, *by cutting oxen into little bits.*

*Laid each piece one against another.*] So that there was a space left between them; through which the parties covenanting might pass. Which seems to be meant by Homer, when he says, (Iliad. *ά.* ver. 461.) that after the priest had prayed to Apollo, the sacrifice was slain and flayed, and then they cut it up,

Δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες,——

*making duplicates, which were exactly answerable one to the other.*

*But the birds divided he not.*] Thus it was prescribed afterwards, (Levit. i. 17.) because they were but an appendage to the sacrifice, and their blood was not sprinkled upon the altar. It is likely, notwithstanding, that the birds were laid one against the other, as the pieces of the beasts were. And there being a prophecy of the state of Abram's family in future times, (ver. 13, 14.) some fancy that the division of these beasts represented the dispersion of his posterity into divers countries.

Ver. 11. *And when the fowls came down,* &c.] The birds of prey. For the Hebrew word *ajit,* signifies "avis rapax et carnivora," *ravenous birds, that feed on flesh.* Whence Bochartus thinks an eagle is called in Greek Ἀετὸς, and Αἰετὸς, as the principal bird of prey. (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 12.) And by these fowls some think the Egyptians are represented, who fell upon the Israelites, as rapacious birds do upon dead carcasses, and endeavoured to hinder their offering sacrifices unto God.

*Abram drove them away.*] He sat by the pieces of flesh (as the LXX. translate it) to watch, lest vultures, or such-like creatures, should snatch them away. For he looking upon them as things hallowed, watched to see what God intended in them.

Ver. 12. *A deep sleep,* &c.] Some would have it, that he being tired with the great labour of fetching the sacrifices, cutting them up, and watching them, naturally fell into a sleep. But Maimonides, more reasonably, looks upon this as the continuance of what was begun before in a vision: which at last was converted into a profound sleep, wherein things were represented to him in a dream. And therefore their wise men say, this was a prophetical sleep. More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 45.

*A horror of great darkness fell upon him.*] Prophecy, saith the forenamed author, begins sometimes in vision; afterwards that terror and vehement passion, which follow the high working of the imaginative faculty, being multiplied, it ends in a deep sleep, as it did here in Abram. Such a terror also possessed Daniel in some of his visions, while he was awake, (Dan. x. 8.) as the same Maimonides observes in the 41st chapter of that book.

This horror of great darkness, many think, signified the dismal condition of Abram's posterity in Egypt: which God now represented to him. And this horror coming upon him, at the going down of the sun, was, they think, a further signification of it. For we say a man's sun is set when he falls into great calamities. And it signified, some imagined, these calamities should come upon them a great while hence.

Ver. 13. *And he said unto Abram,* &c.] Here he informs him what the state of his family should be from the birth of Isaac, (which he had promised to him, ver. 5.) for the space of four hundred years.

*Thy seed.*] This shews from whence the four hundred years were to commence; viz. from the time of his having a son.

*Be a stranger in a land that is not theirs.*] *i. e.* Sojourn partly in Canaan and partly in Egypt. There are those, indeed, who fancy Canaan cannot be said to be a land that was not theirs, God having bestowed it upon Abram. But God himself teaches us otherwise, (Exod. vi. 4.) where he calls it, "the land of their pilgrimage, wherein they were strangers:" because they were not at present possessed of it, though they had a good title to it.

*And they shall afflict them four hundred years.*] These four hundred years are not to be referred only to what immediately goes before [*they shall afflict them*], but to all the rest, their sojourning in a strange land, and their being in servitude. These three things were to come to pass within that space: so that it is as if he had said, "Thy seed shall not possess this land till four hundred years hence." During which time they shall be sojourners in this land and in Egypt; that is, some part of it, and also be no better than slaves, nay, endure sore affliction.

It must here be noted, that from the birth of Isaac, when these years began, to their deliverance out of the Egyptian bondage, was just four hundred and five years: but the five odd years are not mentioned; it being the manner of all writers to take no notice of broken numbers (as they call them) when they name a round sum. Thus the Greek interpreters of the Bible are commonly called the LXX. though there were seventy-two of them. And the Roman writers call those Centumviri, who were in all a hundred and five. And Moses, in another place, (Numb. xi. 21.) saith, "the Israelites were six hundred thousand;" not reckoning the three thousand five hundred and fifty above that number, as appears from Numb. i. 46. and ii. 32.

If it seems a difficulty, that their sojourning is said in Exod. xii. 40. to have been four hundred and thirty years, it is removed by considering, that in those years is comprehended the time of Abram's sojourning also, as well as his seed. And it was just twenty-five years from his coming into Canaan to the birth of Isaac, which, added to four hundred and five years beforementioned, make up the number of four hundred and thirty. And this is so exactly true, that if we divide the sum of four hundred and thirty into equal parts, it is computed by the best of the ancient as well as later writers, that the Hebrew nation sojourned just two hundred and fifteen years in Canaan, (reckoning that short time Abram was in Egypt, chap. xii.) and as many after they went into Egypt. See Usser. Chronol. Sacra, cap. 10.

Ver. 14. *I will judge.*] *i. e.* Punish them.



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Ver. 15. *Go to thy fathers.*] *i. e.* Die, and depart to the other world.

*In peace.*] And see none of the forenamed calamities.

Ver. 16. *The iniquity of the Amorites,* &c.] Abram now lived among the Amorites, (xiv. 13.) But under their name are comprehended all the other nations of Canaan. Who were very wicked; but God forbare them till their wickedness had overflowed the whole country, and that to the greatest height. Their most heinous iniquities were abominable idolatries, cruelty, beastly filthiness, to a prodigious excess, (Levit. xviii. 22, 23. &c.) See Theodoret upon Psalm cv. 44. and P. Fagius on Levit. v. 1.

But in Abram's time their iniquity was not full: *i. e.* there were several good men still remaining among them, as Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner seem to have been, who were confederate with Abram; and Melchizedec certainly was, who, being priest of the most high God, had some people sure worshipped together with him: and therefore God stayed till there was an universal corruption, and they were all ripe for destruction. For we read of none but Rahab, whose faith saved her and her family, when the time of their destruction came.

Ver. 17. *Behold a smoking furnace.*] If the great horror, (ver. 12.) represented the extreme misery of the children of Israel in Egypt, then this seems to signify God's vengeance upon the Egyptians, for oppressing them in the furnaces wherein they wrought, (Exod. ix. 8.)

*A burning lamp,* or *a lamp of fire.*] *i. e.* The Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, appeared in great splendour, (so Maimonides rightly explains it, par. i. More Nevoch, cap. 21.) like to a flaming fire. So it appeared to Moses, when God came to deliver them from the Egyptian bondage, (Exod. iii. 2. 6, &c.)

*Passed between the pieces.*] In token, as it follows, (ver. 18.) that he entered into a covenant with Abram and with his posterity: for *passing between* the pieces he consumed them (as St. Chrysostom rightly understands it), and thereby testified his acceptance of the sacrifices which Abraham offered. I noted before, that there is no such rite we read of any where in Scripture, but in Jeremiah, of making a covenant in this manner. But there are those who think they find this custom in other nations: for if Dictys Cretensis do not lie, after the manner of the Cretians (as Bochart speaks), both the Greeks and Trojans, from the time of Homer, did make covenants in this fashion. Certain it is, the Bœotians and Macedonians passed, on some occasions, through the parts of a beast dissected; but it was for lustration, not for covenanting, as the same Bochart observes, (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 46.)

Ver. 18. *Unto thy seed will I give this land,* &c.] Here is the utmost extent of the donation made to Abram; which began to be fulfilled in David, (2 Sam. viii. 3, &c.) for till then they did not enlarge their borders as far as Euphrates.

*The river of Egypt.*] So Nile is commonly called, but cannot be here meant, because the Israelites never enjoyed all the land of Egypt on this side Nile. Therefore we are to understand by it, that little river which came out of that branch of Nile called Peleusiacum Barachium; from whence a small river, not navigable, ran toward Judea, falling into the Egyptian or Phœnician Sea. For this river was the bounds of Palestine, and is mentioned by Strabo and others, whom G. Vossius cites, (lib. ii. De Idolol. cap. 74.) It is called, (Amos vi. 14.) "the river of the wilderness," because it run through the wilderness, which is between Egypt and Palestine, into the sea.

Ver. 19. *The Kenites, and Kenizzites.*] These are put into the number of the nations whose country God gave to Abram, but whether they were descended from any of the sons of Canaan we cannot tell; nor are we certain where they dwelt. Only Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, says, the Kenites dwelt about Libanus and Amanus; and the Kenizzites, it is likely, were their neighbours. But the names of these people were quite extinct between the times of Abram and Moses; for we find no mention of them by Joshua in the division of the land of Canaan, nor in the account he gives of the nations he conquered. We read, indeed, of the Kenezites, (Numb. xxxii. 12. Josh. xiv. 6. 14.) but they were of the children of Israel; and of the Kenites, (Judg. i. 16. iv. 11. 17.) but they descended from the father-in-law of Moses. And therefore those whom Moses here speaks of, it is probable, lost their name; being incorporated into some of the seven nations who inhabited this country when Joshua subdued it.

*The Cadmonites.*] These are no where else mentioned; but are thought, by Bochartus, to be the same with the Hivites; who, living about Mount Hermon, toward the east of the land of Canaan, were thence called Kadmonites; *i. e.* Orientals. See x. 17.

Ver. 20. *Hittites.*] See x. 15.

*Perizzites.*] They were a people inhabiting the mountainous and woody country of Canaan, as appears from Josh. xi. 3. xvii. 13. From whence we may gather, they were a wild sort of people, who lived far from cities, in little villages; and thence, perhaps, had their name: for *Pherazoth,* in Hebrew, signifies *Pagi,* villages. But from which of the sons of Canaan they descended, there is not the least signification in Holy Scripture.

*Rephaim.*] They dwelt in Bashan, and, perhaps, in other countries thereabouts. See xiv. 5.

Ver. 21. *Amorites.*] These were the mightiest people in the land of Canaan. See x. 16.

*Canaanites.*] These were some of the posterity of Canaan, who peculiarly inherited his name, living upon the sea-coast, and upon the banks of Jordan, (Numb. xiii. 30. Deut. i. 7. xi. 30.) And it is a reasonable conjecture, that they sprang from such of Canaan's sons, as had, for a time, the greatest power and authority in that country; and therefore had the prerogative of being called by his name; or else they were so called because they were merchants, and great traders by sea. For so the word is used in Scripture.

*Gergasite.*] See x. 16.

*Jebusite.*] See there also.

## CHAP. XVI.

Ver. 1. *SARAI bare him no child.*] Still the fulfilling of God's promise was deferred, for the greater trial of Abram's faith; which now had held out ten years, (ver. 3.) without seeing any fruit of it.

*She had a handmaid, an Egyptian.*] An Egyptian by

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nation, but a proselyte to the true religion. St. Chrysostom thinks Pharaoh bestowed her upon Sarai, when he took her into his house, or when he sent her away, (xii. 15. 20.) Which he learnt from the Jews, who say the same, as may be seen in Pirke Eliezer, (cap. 26.) who says also, as R. Solomon Jarchi doth, that she was Pharaoh's daughter, by his concubine. But it is more likely she was such a servant to Sarai as Eliezer was to Abram; born in his house of an Egyptian, as he was of a Syrian woman.

Ver. 2. *And Sarai said unto Abram,* &c.] It is likely, he having acquainted her with the promise, she grew impatient to have it fulfilled some way or other.

*Go in unto my maid.*] *i.e.* Take her to wife, (ver. 3.)

*It may be I may obtain children by her.*] Being born of her bond-slave, they would be Sarai's children, according to the custom of those times, (xxx. 3. Exod. xxi. 4.)

*And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai.*] Thinking, perhaps, that God might fulfil his promise this way, because he had only told him he should have seed, but had not, as yet, said by Sarai.

Ver. 3. *Gave her to her husband Abram to be his wife.*] A secondary wife (which was a liberty they took in those days), who was not to be mistress of the house, but only to bear children, for the increase of the family. Now I can see no good reason why Sarai herself should persuade her husband (contrary to the inclination of all women) to take another wife, which she herself also gave him, but only the eager desire she was possessed withal of having the promised seed. Which gives a good account also of Jacob's wives contending so earnestly as they did for his company.

Ver. 4. *Her mistress was despised in her eyes.*] Hagar began to take upon her as if she had been mistress of the house; at least much more favoured by God, who had made her fruitful; which was accounted a great blessing and honour in those days, especially in a family that had no heir.

Ver. 5. *My wrong be upon thee.*] Thou art the cause of this injury (or these affronts) which I suffer by being too indulgent to my maid, and not repressing her insolence. Or, it is incumbent on thee to see me redressed of the wrong that is done me. See Lud. de Dieu.

*The Lord judge between me and thee.*] Sometimes this phrase signifies an appeal to God, as the avenger of wrongs; but here it seems only to denote her committing the equity of her cause to the judgment of God.

Ver. 6. *Behold, thy maid is in thy hand.*] Is subject unto thee.

*Do with her as pleases thee.*] Use her as thy maid, and not as my wife.

*And when Sarai dealt hardly with her.*] Beat her, perhaps, or imposed on her too much, or too servile, labour.

*She fled from her face.*] Run away, to avoid her cruel usage.

Ver. 7. *And the angel of the Lord,* &c.] This is the first time that we read of the appearance of an angel. By whom, Maimonides will scarce allow us to understand more than a messenger, (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 42.) But some Christians go so far into the other extreme, as to understand hereby, the Eternal ΛΟΓΟΣ, or Son of God. It seems to me more reasonable to think, that though the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, did not appear to her, as it had often done to Abram; yet one of the heavenly ministers, who were attendants upon it, and made a part of its glory, was sent to stop her proceedings. And a great favour it was, that the Lord would dispatch such a messenger after her, who was sufficient to do the business.

*In the way to Shur.*] She was flying into Egypt, her own country (upon which the wilderness of Shur bordered), and only rested awhile at this fountain to refresh herself.

Ver. 8. *And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid.*] He takes notice of her being Sarai's maid, rather than Abram's wife, to put her in mind of her duty, and that she could not honestly leave her mistress without her consent; for so it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 9. *Return to thy mistress, and submit;* &c.] It is the same word here translated *submit,* with that (ver. 6.) where it is rendered *dealt hardly;* signifying that she should be patient, and endure the hardship of which she complained (or suffer herself to be afflicted by her).

Ver. 10. *I will multiply,* &c.] I will make thee partaker of the promise I have made to Abram, (xv. 5.) The angel delivers this message to her in the name of God, who sent him.

Ver. 11. *Behold, thou art with child,* &c.] Do not doubt of what I say, for thou art with child of a son, who shall be the father of a great people. This promise was renewed to Abram in the next chapter, (xvii. 20.) and we find was performed, (xxv. 12.)

*Shalt call his name Ishmael.*] Some of the Jews take notice of the honour which was here done him, in calling him by his name before he was born; there being but six, they say, who were thus distinguished from others; the two first were the sons of Abram (Ishmael and Isaac), and the last was the Messias.

*The Lord hath heard thy affliction.*] Thy complaint under the affliction thou hast endured from thy mistress, and here in the wilderness. This passage shews it was an angel which appeared and spake to her from the Lord, and not the Lord himself.

Ver. 12. *A wild man.*] The Hebrew word *phere,* here joined with *man,* signifies a *wild ass;* and so is well translated by Bochart, "tam ferus quam onager," *as wild as a wild ass.* Which loves to ramble in deserts, and is not easily tamed to live in society.

*His hand shall be against every man,* &c.] He shall be very warlike; and both infest all his neighbours, and be infested by them.

*He shall dwell in the presence of his brethren.*] Be a nation by himself, near to all his brethren, whether descended from Isaac, or from the rest of Abram's sons by Keturah; who, though annoyed by him, shall not be able to dispossess him. This is such an exact description of the posterity of Ishmael throughout all generations, that none but a prophetic spirit could have made it, as Doctor Jackson truly observes, (book i. on the Creed, chap. 25.) Wildness being so incorporated into their nature, that no change of times hath made them grow tame.

Ver. 13. *She called the name of the Lord, that spake to her.*] By his angel, for she looked upon the presence of the angel as a token of the Divine presence, though she saw it not in its full glory.

*Thou God seest me.*] Takest care of me, wheresoever I am.

*For she said, Have I also here looked after him that seeth*

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*me?*] There are various interpretations of these words: the plainest is that of De Dieu, who observes, that the word *halom* always signifies *place*, not *time;* or, that which is done in any place, and so we translate it by the word *here*. But there he makes a stop after that word, by way of admiration, in this manner: *And even here also!* or, *even thus far!* It had been less wonder, if God had taken care of me in my master's house; but doth he follow me with his favour even hither? This is wonderful! And then the next words, *(have I looked after him that seeth me?)* carried this sense, Have I beheld God, who taketh care of me? What a favour is this, that he would so far condescend to me? It ought never to be forgotten; therefore she called his name, *Thou God seest me.*

Ver. 14. *Beer-lahai-roi.*] Some would have this refer both to Hagar and to God, in this manner: "The well of her that liveth, and of him that seeth," (*i. e.* who preserves me in life.) So it was an acknowledgment that she owed her life and safety to God.

Ver. 15. *Abram called his son's name,* &c.] Hagar having told him at her return the foregoing story, he gave his son this name, in obedience to the angel's command, (ver. 11.)

Ver. 16. *Fourscore and six years old.*] He was seventy-five years old when he came into Canaan, (xii. 4.) and had been ten years there when he took Hagar to wife (ver. 3. of this chapter), and therefore was then eighty-five years old; and consequently eighty-six the next year, when Ishmael was born.

## CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1. *WHEN Abram was ninety-nine years old.*] Thirteen years after Ishmael's birth.

*The Lord appeared to Abram.*] In a visible majesty, to satisfy him that the promise made, (xv. 4, 5.) should not be fulfilled in Ishmael.

*I am the Almighty God.*] Or, All-sufficient. This is the first time we meet with this name; which was most fitly used here, when he speaks of a thing very difficult to be done, but not beyond the power of God, who can do all things, and needs none to assist him.

*Walk before me.*] Go on to please me.

*And be thou perfect.*] Till thou hast completed thy faith and obedience.

Ver. 2. *And I will make my covenant,* &c.] Establish and perform my covenant; for it was made before, and now only confirmed by a sign or token of it, (ver. 11.)

Ver. 3. *Abram fell on his face.*] Being astonished at the brightness of that Majesty which appeared to him, (ver. 1.)

Ver. 4. *As for me, behold, my covenant,* &c.] Be not afraid, for it is I, who am constant to my word, and now again engage myself unto thee.

*Thou shalt be a father of many nations.*] Not only of Jews, and Ishmaelites, and others, but, in the spiritual sense, of all the gentile world.

Ver. 5. *Neither shall thy name,* &c.] Abram is commonly interpreted *high father;* and Abraham, the *father of a multitude*. So the very text expounds the reason of this name: "For a father of many nations have I made thee." There are many ways of making out this meaning, but none seems to me so plain as that of Hottinger's; who makes it a composition of *Ab* (a father), and the old word *Raham*, which still in Arabic signifies a *great number*. Smegma Orient. cap. viii. §. 19.

Ver. 6. *And I will make thee exceeding fruitful,* &c.] I observed before, (xii. 7.) that Abram's obedience was constantly rewarded in kind, &c. of which here is a new proof. For, upon his submission to be circumcised (wherein his obedience was next tried), which might seem to weaken the power of generation, (as Maimonides affirms it doth, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 49.) God promises that he would make him so exceeding fruitful, that nations and kings should proceed from him; as there did both by Israel, Edom, and Ishmael, from whom the Saracens came, &c.

Ver. 7. *An everlasting covenant.*] The word *olam*, which we translate *everlasting*, hath often a limited signification, to the end of such a period, (as, Exod. xxi. 6. *a servant for ever*, is, till the year of jubilee) though, with respect to the thing signified, this covenant is absolutely everlasting, and continues now that the sign is abolished. The next words tell us what was signified in this covenant of circumcision.

*To be a God unto thee,* &c.] I think Maimonides hath truly observed, that in circumcision they covenanted with God, to have no other God but him; or, in his phrase, they covenanted concerning "the belief of the unity of God," (More Nev. par. iii. cap. 49.) who promised to be their God; that is, to bestow all manner of blessings upon them, and at last to send the Messiah.

Ver. 8. *And I will give thee,* &c.] Here he again renews his promise, (xii. 7. xiii. 15. xv. 18.) and confirms it by this covenant, to give him that land, wherein he was at present a stranger, and to put his seed in possession of it.

*An everlasting possession.*] If they did not forfeit it by their disobedience to him.

Ver. 9. *Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore,* &c.] Now follows Abraham's part of this covenant, which was mutual between God and him.

Ver. 10. *This is my covenant.*] Which the next verse explains, by the sign or *token of the covenant*. As the paschal lamb is called the passover of the Lord; (Exod. xii. 11.) that is, the memorial of the angel's passing them by, when he killed the Egyptian children, (xiii. 9.) But circumcision was such a sign, that they entered thereby into a covenant with God to be his people. For it was not a mere mark, whereby they should be known to be Abraham's seed, and distinguished from other nations; but they were made by this the children of the covenant, and entitled to the blessings of it: though, if there had been no more in it but this, that they who were of the same faith, as Maimonides speaks, should have one certain character, whereby they should be known and joined one to another, without the mixture of any other people, it had been a very wise appointment. And this mark was very fitly chosen, because it was such a token as no man would have set upon himself and upon his children, unless it were for faith and religion's sake. For it is not a brand upon the arm, or an incision in the thigh, but a thing very hard, and in a most tender part: which nobody would have undertaken but on the forenamed account, (par. iii. More Nev. cap. 49.)

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It may be proper here to add, that covenants were anciently made in those eastern countries, by dipping their weapons in blood (as Xenophon tells us), and by pricking the flesh, and sucking each other's blood, as we read in Tacitus; who observes, (lib. ii. Annal.) that when kings made a league, they took each other by the hand, and, their thumbs being hard tied together, they pricked them, when the blood was forced to the extreme parts, and each party licked it; which, he saith, was accounted "Arcanum fœdus, quosi mutuo cruore sacratum;" *a mysterious covenant, being made sacred by their mutual blood.* How old this custom had been, we do not know; but it is evident God's covenant with Abraham was solemnized on Abraham's part by his own and his son Isaac's blood, and so continued through all generations, by cutting off the foreskin of their flesh (as it follows in the next verse); whereby, as they were made the select people of God, so God in conclusion sent his own Son, who, by this very ceremony of circumcision, was consecrated to be their God and their Redeemer.

Ver. 11. *Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin.*] *i. e.* The foreskin of your flesh; for that member, which is the instrument of generation, is peculiarly called by the name of *flesh*, in many places, (Lev. xv. 2. Ezek. xvi. 26.) In which part of the body, rather than in any other, God appointed the mark of his covenant to be made; that they might be denoted to be a holy seed, consecrated to him from the beginning. The pagans made marks in several parts of their bodies (some in one, some in another), whereby they were consecrated to their gods; but the character which God would have imprinted upon his people, was in one peculiar part and no other (from which they never varied), *viz.* in that part which served for the propagation of mankind. Of which some have given natural, others moral reasons; but the most plain and obvious is, that it might be an apt token of the Divine covenant made with Abraham and his posterity, that God would multiply their seed, and make them as the stars of heaven, (xv. 5.) It is probable, also, that this part was chosen, rather than any other, to make them sensible that this was a Divine sacrament; for nothing but God's institution could at first engage men to lay that part bare, which nature hath covered.

It is of late, indeed, made a question by some learned men, whether this were the original of circumcision; which they fancy the Jews borrowed from the Egyptians, and not the Egyptians from the Jews. Certain it is, that not only the Egyptians, but several other nations, did very anciently use circumcision. Now it is improbable, say they, that the Egyptians (who seem to have had it the most early of all nations who sprang not from Abraham) would borrow this custom from the Hebrews, whom they perfectly hated (shepherds being an abomination to them, xlvi. 34.) and therefore they give themselves the liberty to say, that God did not now enjoin Abraham a new thing, when he ordered him to be circumcised, but only made this a sign of his covenant with him, which it was not with other nations. But unless it can be proved that circumcision was in use before Abraham's time, (which doth not appear from any good authors, though such as Celsus were so bold as to affirm it, as we find in Origen, lib. v.) such arguments as these will not persuade us to believe, that it came from the Egyptians, or any other nation; but they had it, if not from the Hebrews, yet from the posterity of Ishmael, or other people descended from Abraham: who, being highly beloved of God, it is not credible that God would set the mark of Ham's race upon him and his posterity; much less make it the token of his covenant with them. (See J. Ludolphus, lib. iii. Comment. in Histor. Ethiop. cap. i. n. 5.) The only authority upon whom the broachers of this novelty rely, is Herodotus, who, in this second book, cap. 104. says, "The people of Colchis, and the Egyptians, were the only nations that were circumcised, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *from the beginning:* the Syrians and Phœnicians who live in Palestine, acknowledging they had this rite from them." Which is just such a tale as he tells in the second chapter of that book, that the Egyptians were the first inhabitants of the earth, unless, perhaps, the Phrygians. This opinion proceeded from their own vain conceit, which made them loath to confess they received circumcision from any other people. Though I think there is a convincing argument of it in Moses himself, who tells us, in chapter x. 14. that the Philistim came from the Casluchim; *i. e.* the people of Colchis, as that people came originally from Egypt. (So Herodotus himself, Diodorus, and abundance of other credible authors, testify.) This, it appears by what I noted there, was before the time of Moses, nay, before Abraham; for the Philistim had a king among them in his days, as we read in this book, (xx. and xxvi.) Now these Philistim were an uncircumcised people, and therefore the people of Colchis, no doubt, were so also, when they went out of their country, and drove the Avim out of Palestine. And, consequently, the Egyptians had no such rite among them, when the Casluchim came from Egypt, but put a gross cheat upon Herodotus when they made him believe they had been circumcised, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *from the beginning.* And in like manner they imposed upon him, who told him the inhabitants of Palestine (whom he calls Syrians and Phœnicians) confessed they received circumcision from the Egyptians: for there were no inhabitants of Palestine circumcised but the Jews, who always professed they received it from Abraham; who, we may be confident, was the first person in the world that was circumcised; there being nothing to induce any body to use such a rite, unless they had been directed to it by God, as Abraham was; from whom the Ishmaelites received it, and from them the Arabians; and from those countries, or from Abraham's children by Keturah, it was derived (as seems most probable to me) to the Egyptians; from whom the people of Colchis, who knew themselves to be an Egyptian breed, embraced it, in imitation of their famous ancestors. But, after Abraham's time, we find no such rite among the Philistim, a colony of theirs; to whom, in all likelihood, they would have communicated it, as the Egyptians did to them, if it had been then used in that country.

Ver. 12. *And he that is eight days old,* &c.] Maimonides thinks, that if circumcision had not been performed in their infancy, it might have been in danger to have been neglected afterward. For an infant felt not so much pain as an adult person would have done; in whom the flesh is more compact, and his imagination stronger. The parents also (especially fathers) have not so strong an affection to a child when he is newly born, as they have when he is grown up; and so more easily submitted to this harsh rite at their first

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appearance in the world than they would have done, after they were more endeared to them. But the child could not be circumcised before the eighth day after his birth; because till then he was looked upon as imperfect; and not yet sufficiently cleansed and purged; for which reason beasts were not accepted by God, till seven days were passed after their birth, (Exod. xxii. 30.) See More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 49.

And, as the child was not to be circumcised before the eighth day, so he was not (unless, perhaps, in cases of great weakness) to be kept uncircumcised beyond that day. On which, if the parents did not cause it to be circumcised, the house of judgment, as the Jews speak, were bound to do it. And if they did not (being ignorant perhaps of the neglect) the child when he came of age (*i. e.* was thirteen years old) was bound himself to get it done. If he did not, the judges (if it were known to them) were obliged to take care of it: as Mr. Selden observes, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 6. p. 96, 97.

Ver. 13. *He that is born in thy house, or bought with money, must needs be circumcised.*] Not whether they would or no: for men were not to be compelled to religion; which had been a profanation of this covenant. But Abraham was to persuade them to it; and, if they consented not, to keep them no longer in his house; but to sell them to some other people. So Maimonides expounds it, in his Book of Circumcision, cap. 1. which is true both of servants born in the house, and bought with money: but as for the children of these slaves, they were to be circumcised whether their parents would or no; because they were the possession of their masters, not of their parents. For which cause, when the parents were set free, their children were left behind, as their master's goods, Exod. xxi. 4.

Ver. 14. *That soul shall be cut off from his people.*] That is, if, when he came to the age of thirteen years, he did not cause it to be done.

What it is to be *cut off*, is very much disputed. The simplest sense seems to be, he shall not be accounted one of God's people. But the Hebrew doctors generally take this to have been a punishment inflicted by the hand of heaven; *i. e.* of God: though they be much divided in their opinions about it. Of which Mr. Selden treats, at large, in lib. vii. De Jure N. et G. cap. 9. and De Synedr. lib. i. cap. 6. and more briefly L' Empereur in his notes upon Chron. 1. Bertram de Republ. Jud. p. 351. Some say it was the shortening of the man's life; others say it was the making him childless; so that his family and name perished in Israel. Maimonides would have it the extinction both of soul and body, like a brute. And Abarbinel takes it for the loss of the happiness of the world to come. Some Christians would have it to be excommunication: which cannot be, because such a person was never a member of the church, which he was to be made by circumcision. The first of these opinions seems more probable than the rest: for God himself saith of several offenders, to whom he threatens this punishment, "I will cut him off, and I will set my face against him," (Lev. xvii. 10. xx. 5, 6. xxiii. 30.) Yet, in other places, it must be confessed, this *cereth*, or cutting off, signifies more largely, a punishment by the judge, and not by the hand of God. And therefore the signification of it must be determined by the matter with which it is joined. Thus the violation of the sabbath is threatened with *cutting off*, (Exod. xxxi. 14.) which was to be done by stoning him: and so were incestuous persons, blasphemers, idolaters, and others, to be judiciously cut off by the rulers.

Ver. 15. *Sarah shall be her name.*] The same letter is added to her name, that was to Abraham's, and for the same reason; for in the next verse it is said, "she shall be a mother of nations."

Ver. 16. *Give thee a son also of her.*] Here now the promised seed is determined to spring from Sarah. See xvi. 2.

Ver. 17. *Abraham fell on his face.*] Worshipped God with the humblest reverence.

*And laughed.*] Not doubting of the promise, (for the apostle tells us quite contrary, Rom. iv. 19.) but out of the exceeding great joy wherewith he was transported; and the admiration wherewith he was surprised. Which produced the following questions:

*Shall a child be born unto him, who is a hundred years old?* &c.] As if he had said, Strange! that I and Sarah, at this age, should have a child! What joyful news is this! Accordingly, the Chaldee translates the word *laughed*, he *rejoiced*.

Ver. 18. *O that Ishmael may live before thee!*] In his posterity; as appears by God's answer to this petition, verse 20.

Ver. 19. *Call his name Isaac.*] He had this name from Abraham's, not from Sarah's laughter: for that was after this; and proceeded not from the same cause with Abraham's.

Ver. 20. *I have heard thee.*] He shall have a numerous posterity. See Doctor Jackson's first book on the Creed, chap. 26. where he shews how the Hagarens grew a mighty nation: and at last (when they were called Saracens) became the scourges of all these parts of the world.

Ver. 21. *But my covenant will I establish with Isaac.*] The great blessings I have promised in the covenant I have made with thee, shall come to thy posterity by Isaac, not by Ishmael: particularly the Messiah.

Ver. 22. *And God went up from Abraham.*] That visible majesty wherein he appeared to him, (ver. 1.) called often, in aftertimes, "the glory of the Lord," went up to heaven from whence it came.

Ver. 25. *Ishmael was thirteen years old*, &c.] From hence it was, that the Saracens, descended from him, did not circumcise their children till they were thirteen years old. So it was in the days of Josephus, (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 13.) And the Saracens in Spain and Africa observed the same custom.

Ver. 26. *In the self-same day.*] The Jews will have this to be the same with the great day of expiation instituted in Moses's time: so that God every year remembered, say they, the covenant of circumcision. But this is an ungrounded fancy.

Ver. 27. *And all the men of his house.*] Maimonides understands by the *men of his house*, those whom Abraham had converted from idolatry, and made proselytes to the true religion. So do others among the Jews; (see his treatise of the Worship of the Planets, cap. i. §. 9.) But it is more proper to understand by the *men of his house*, all his family in general: who were either (as it follows) *born in his house* (and therefore it is likely were bred up in the true religion, and so easily persuaded to receive the mark

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of circumcision), or *bought with his money;* who submitted to Abraham's arguments, not to his authority; for religion is to be chosen, not compelled.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord appeared to him.*] The glory of the Lord, or the Divine Majesty, which the Jews call the Schechinah, as it had done lately (xvii. 1.) And as the Lord then appeared to establish his covenant with him by circumcision, so some of the Jews imagine he again appeared to visit, comfort, and heal him, now that he was very sore of his circumcision; or rather, I should think, to testify, by his illustrious manifestation of his glory (ver. 2.) his high approbation of Abraham's ready obedience to so harsh a command. So the Jews themselves esteem it, and therefore think that, by receiving it, Abraham fulfilled that precept which goes just before it (xvii. 1.) "be thou perfect." Which may have some truth in it, if rightly understood: for his faith and obedience grew more perfect, by submitting to this command; and was completed, when he sacrificed his son.

However this be, I think it is plain from verse 10. that this appearance of the Divine Majesty was not long after the former.

*In the plain.*] Or, the oaks of Mamre, mentioned before, (xiii. 18.) This place continued famous till the time of Constantine; both Jews, gentiles, and Christians, meeting here once a year, not only for traffic, but for religion: Christians here calling upon God; and there being an altar here also, on which the gentiles sacrificed, and invoked the angels. Of which superstition Constantine being informed by his mother, he caused that altar to be demolished, and a church to be built in its place. (See Sozomen, lib. ii. cap. 4. Euseb. in vita Constant. lib. iii. cap. 53.)

*And he sat in the tent door.*] To observe what strangers passed that way.

*In the heat of the day.*] In the afternoon, when travellers sought for places of refreshment.

Ver. 2. *And he lift up his eyes, and looked.*] Having fallen down on his face (I suppose) and worshipped the Divine Majesty, as he did xvii. 17. he beheld, when he rose up again.

*And lo, there stood three men by him.*] Three angels in the shape of men (for so the apostle to the Hebrews calls them, xiii. 2. and so Moses himself calls two of them, xix. 1.) who were part of the heavenly retinue, as I may call it, waiting upon the Divine Majesty, mentioned in the verse foregoing. There is a maxim among the Jews, that no angel performs two ministries (that is, is sent on two messages), nor are two angels sent upon one embassy, (as Maimonides speaks, More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 6.) and therefore they think these three angels were dispatched for different purposes; one of them, and the principal, to bring a confirmation of the birth of Isaac; another to bring Lot out of Sodom; and a third to overthrow the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. And therefore, when one of these angels had delivered that message to Abraham, there were but two that went to Sodom, (xix. 1.) and Lot speaks to one of them as taking a particular care of him; (ver. 19, &c.) and then it is said, "The Lord rained fire and brimstone from the Lord out of heaven;" (ver. 24.) that is, that angel of the Lord, who was set by the Lord of heaven and earth over that work. Some of them, indeed, assign another work for one of them, (as we find in that title of the Talmud called Bava-Metzia, cap. 7.) but they agree in the main notion, that they had different offices with which they were entrusted. But some Christians, and those of great authority, have made a question whether they were all created angels; one of them, at least, seeming to be the Lord of all. Nay, St. Cyril, in his first book against Julian, thinks there was a representation of the blessed, undivided Trinity; for Abraham speaks to them, (ver. 4.) ὡς εἷς ὄντες οἱ τρεῖς, as if *the three were but one.* But St. Hilary's opinion (and Eusebius's, lib. v. Demonstr. cap. 9.) is more likely, that the Son of God only appeared with two angels attending on him: which many think is evident from ver. 22. and 25, of this chapter. Yet I think another account may be given of those verses: and if we should make that an argument that one of them was the increated Lord, another of them must be so also: for he is called likewise by the name of Jehovah, Gen. xix. 24. See St. Austin, lib. ii. de Trin. cap. 11. and lib. iii. cap. 11. where he confutes the forenamed opinion.

*And when he saw them, he ran to meet them.*] Was forward to invite them to refresh themselves with him: for he took them to be considerable persons, as appears by what follows.

*And bowed himself towards the ground.*] After the manner of the eastern people; in token of the respect and honour he had for them. For this was a civil action (not religious) it is manifest by this: that he did not know them to be angels; but only persons of quality (as we now speak), their aspect and habit, I suppose, being extraordinary.

Ver. 3. *My Lord, if now I have found,* &c.] One of them appeared more honourable and superior to the other two; and therefore he makes his address to him, as the chief: praying him, if he thought him worthy of such a favour, to honour him with their company.

Ver. 4. *And wash your feet.*] *i. e.* To wash your feet. For this was performed by servants, and not by the guests themselves.

*And rest yourselves under the tree.*] In an arbour under a great tree: where they were wont to eat, for coolness' sake. See Dr. Hammond upon Psalm cxxviii. 3. St. Jerome sometimes calls this tree an oak: sometimes a turpentine-tree, (as J. Filesacus observes, lib. i. Select. cap. 13.) unless we will say, that he thought Abraham dwelt under the one, and entertained them under the other. And so Eusebius (lib. v. Demonstr. Evang. cap. 9.) expressly relates it, that God appeared to him under the oak where he dwelt: and that he entertained the angels under a turpentine-tree, which was had in great honour in his time.

Ver. 5. *I will fetch a morsel of bread.*] Or rather a loaf of bread; as De Dieu shews the word imports: under which is comprehended, all necessary provision at a meal.

*And comfort ye your hearts.*] Refresh yourselves.

*For therefore are ye come to your servant.*] Divine Pro-



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vidence hath directed you to come this way, at this time of day, that I may have an opportunity to entertain you hospitably.

Ver. 6. *Make cakes upon the hearth.*] Many interpret it, upon the *coals* or *hot embers*, according to what we read 1 Kings xix. 6. But Bochartus thinks the word there signifies, as it doth here, upon *hot stones;* others will have it, that they were laid upon the hearth, and covered with *hot embers*, (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 34.) and so they prepare them at this day, as Leon. Rawwolf tells us in his Travels, par ii. cap. 9. where he saith, That as he went through a country that lies between Mesopotamia and Media, a woman presently made them cakes, about a finger thick, and of the bigness of a trencher: which she first laid upon hot stones, and turned them often; and then threw ashes and embers over them: which, he says, were very savoury.

Ver. 7. *A calf tender and good.*] Which was a noble entertainment in those countries.

Ver. 8. *And he took butter.*] Though we read of cheese in Homer, Euripides, Theocritus, and others; yet they never mention butter: nor hath Aristotle a word of it, (as Bochart observes, Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 41.) though he hath sundry observations about cheese: for butter was not a thing then known among the Greeks; though we see by this, and many other places, it was an ancient food among the eastern people.

*And he stood by them.*] Waited upon them, and ministered to them. For he did not stand unmoveable; but as servants do that attend upon the table; who, as there is occasion, bring or take away, &c. (See P. Fagius on Deut. i. 38.)

Ver. 9. *And they said unto him, Where is thy wife?*] One of them (the rest signifying some way their consent) asked him for his wife; not being ignorant, but to introduce the following discourse.

*In the tent.*] In her apartment; for women had their apartments by themselves.

Ver. 10. *And he said.*] The principal of the three angels; or rather, the Lord himself, as it is explained, ver. 13. For, as Theodoric Hackspan judiciously observes, this appearance of the Divine Majesty was different from the foregoing: not being *immediate* by himself alone, like that xvii. 1. nor merely *mediate* by an angel, like that xvi. 7. 10, 11, 12, &c.: but *mixed*, the Lord himself (ver. 1.) being conjunct with the angels, whom he employed in this embassy.

*I will certainly return to thee.*] To fulfil the promise which I made thee, (xvii. 19.)

*According to the time of life.*] Nine months hence; which is the time of perfecting the life of a child in the womb. This appears to be the sense, from ver. 14. where he calls it the *time appointed*, or a set time.

*In the tent door, which was behind him.*] The angels sat with their backs to Sarah's tent: unto the door of which she was come to listen, having heard that they asked for her.

*Behind him.*] This shews the truth of what Hackspan notes, that this was a *mixed* apparition: for this word *him* plainly relates to the angel, whose words were in truth the Lord's, who was there present. For, as he observes in another place, (Disput. ii. de Nominibus Divinis, n. 15.) the Scripture relates these matters so, that sometimes it mentions the principal cause whose words are related; sometimes only the secondary cause: in which latter case, it must be understood, that when the words exceed the dignity of the minister, the Lord himself spake them. For the sacred writers mind more by whose authority any thing is spoken, than by whose ministry: so that it is not much material from whose mouth any message comes; but what is said must be attended. This will be made plainer, when I come to Gen. xxii. 11, 12, &c.

Ver. 11. *It ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women.*] She was no longer capable of conception, according to the ordinary course of nature.

Ver. 12. *Laughed within herself.*] Not as Abraham, for joy; but out of incredulity: not thinking it possible for an old woman to conceive by an old man. And her smiling at this was the more excusable, because she did not know them to be angels of the Lord, but took them only for some great men.

Ver. 13. *And the Lord said.*] The Divine Majesty (mentioned ver. 1.) said, Why doth she not believe my messenger? The angel spake these words, but the words were the Lord's (not his), who was now present with the angels, and in a little time appeared without them, (ver. 17. &c.)

Ver. 14. *At the time appointed will I return to thee.*] Take it from myself, that what hath been told thee by them shall be effected.

Ver. 15. *Sarah denied.*] Fear (as it follows) put her into a confusion: so that she did not mind what she said. Otherwise she would not have denied, what she might well think they knew. Therefore she is only made sensible of her fault, by a simple affirmation of what she denied; without any further reproof.

*Nay, but thou didst laugh.*] The person that speaks seems to have turned to her, and said, Do not deny what I know to be true.

Ver. 16. *Looked toward Sodom.*] As if they intended to travel that way.

*And Abraham went with them to bring them on the way.*] A piece of civility like the former: having entertained them, he accompanied them so far as to direct them in the road to Sodom.

Ver. 17. *And the Lord said.*] The Divine Majesty, mentioned ver. 1. began now to discourse plainly and openly with him; not by the ministry of angels, but by himself. For, I take it, the three angels had now left Abraham alone: who, returning towards his tent, saw the glory of the Lord, and heard him speak what follows.

*Shall I hide from Abraham,* &c.] These words seem to have been spoken to Abraham: otherwise, how came he to expostulate with the Lord, as he doth ver. 23, &c. unless we will conceive (as we may) ver. 20, 21. to be the declaration of God's intention to destroy Sodom: and these words and the next, to be his resolution within himself, to acquaint Abraham with that intention?

Ver. 18. *Seeing that Abraham shall surely,* &c.] This is one reason why the Divine Majesty resolves to acquaint Abraham with his intended proceedings: because he had already revealed to him greater things and made him most gracious promises.

Ver. 19. *For I know,* &c.] This verse contains another reason; because he knew Abraham would approve himself so faithful to him, that he would not fail to enjoy all that he had promised.

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*To keep the way of the Lord.*] Is to persist in the true religion and worship of God.

*To do justice and judgment.*] Includes in them all those virtues which were opposite to the sins of Sodom.

Ver. 20. *Because the cry.*] Of their sins: which are said to *cry;* first, to shew the enormous greatness and impudency of them: for "grandis absque dubio clamor est, qui a terra ascendit ad cœlum;" as Salvian speaks. And, secondly, to shew that the goodness of God could no longer bear with them; their sins compelling him, as one may say, to punish them: for, "Deus eos noluerit perdere, sed ipsi extorserint, ut perirent." They not only called, but cried to him for vengeance, as he also speaks; (lib. i. de Gubern. Dei, p. 19, 20. edit. Baluzii; and lib. iv. p. 75. lib. v. p. 113.)

*Of Sodom and Gomorrah.*] As they were the principal and greatest cities, so they were the most wicked; and led the rest into all manner of impiety: who, therefore, also perished with them.

*Very grievous.*] Not to be tolerated any longer. There are prodigious stories related of the wickedness both of their judges and of the people, in the Gemara Sanhedrim, cap. xi. which are there alleged as an explication of this verse.

Ver. 21. *I will go down now,* &c.] He uses the language of a good judge, (ver. 25.) who never passes sentence, much less executes it, till he hath examined the cause.

*Whether they have done altogether,* &c.] Whether they are come to the highest pitch of wickedness: or (as De Dieu) whether they are so resolved to go on in sin, that there is no hope of them.

*If not, I will know.*] That so I may use means for their reformation.

Ver. 22. *And the men.*] The three men mentioned ver. 2. It is commonly said that only two of them went away from Abraham, and that the third remained and held discourse with him. But I see no reason for this: they that came in and eat with him, and rose up from the table, (ver. 16.) who no doubt were all three, being the persons that are here said now to have turned their faces from thence; *i. e.* from the place where they had been entertained by Abraham: or where he parted with them.

*And went towards Sodom.*] As they intended, (ver. 16.)

*But Abraham stood yet before the Lord.*] Not before any of those three, but before the Divine Majesty: who appeared to him, (ver. 1.) and had spoken to him, (ver. 13.) and discoursed with him (ver. 17. 20.) in whose presence he still continued. Some by *stood* understand he *prayed:* but that follows in the next verse.

Ver. 23. *Abraham drew near.*] Approached towards the Divine Majesty, to make his addresses by prayer and supplication to him. Perhaps the Divine Majesty remained in the place where it first appeared, (ver. 1.) and Abraham, by conducting the three men some part of their way, being gone farther from it, now came nearer to it. Though the phrase doth not necessarily import it; to *draw nigh* to God, in the holy language, signifying no more but to worship him.

*Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked?*] As much as to say, I know thou wilt not. For such questions strongly deny; as in ver. 17.

Ver. 24. *Fifty righteous within the city.*] Of Sodom, which was the chief, and comprehended the rest of the country of Pentapolis: which one would guess, by Gen. xiv. 17. depended upon Sodom as the metropolis. So what is said here of it, I take to refer to the whole region.

*Wilt thou not spare the place for the fifty,* &c.] He desires two things of God. 1. That he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. 2. That he would spare the wicked for the sake of the righteous; if any considerable number of them were found among the wicked.

Ver. 25. *Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?*] This refers (as we translate it) only to the first part of his request, "not to destroy the righteous with the wicked." Which was contrary to common justice, much more to that exact justice, which is administered by the Supreme Lord of the world: from whom there lies no appeal. But, according to the Vulgar translation, (which is this, "Thou who judgest all the earth, wilt by no means execute this judgment,") it refers to the other part also: that God would not be so severe as to destroy a whole country, whilst there were many good men still remaining in it: and so the word *right,* includes in it *clemency.* And, indeed, this passage seems to relate to both parts of his request; and is to be interpreted thus: Shall not the Supreme Judge shew mercy, as well as do justice?

Ver. 26. *And the Lord said, If I find fifty,* &c. *then will I spare,* &c.] This shews the foregoing interpretation to be right: God promising most graciously to be merciful to all, for the sake of a few, in comparison with the multitude of offenders.

Ver. 27. *Who am but dust and ashes.*] Very mean and vile.

Ver. 28. *Lack five of the fifty righteous.*] A great argument of Abraham's modesty; who durst not presume to ask too much at once; but by degrees proceeds, in the following verses, to petition for greater abatements: and that with fear and trembling, lest the Lord should be angry with his importunity.

Ver. 32. *I will not destroy it for ten's sake.*] A wonderful representation of the tender mercy of the Most High; who condescended so low as to grant a reprieve to the whole country, for the sake of so small a number, if they could have been found in it. And his mercy was still greater, even beyond Abraham's desire; for he spared one of the *five* cities, for the sake of *three* or *four* persons, as we read, xix. 20, 21.

We do not find that Abraham makes express mention of Lot in any of the foregoing petitions; but it is plain from xix. 29. that he was in his thoughts; which God knew: and he is comprehended in those words, (verse 23. of this chap.) "Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked?"

Ver. 33. *And the Lord went his way.*] The Divine Majesty, or the glory of the Lord, disappeared (and ascended perhaps towards heaven), after this communication with Abraham was finished.

*And Abraham returned to his place.*] In the plain of Mamre (verse 1.)

## CHAP. XIX.

Ver. 1. *AND there came two angels.*] There were *three* at the first, (xviii. 2.) but the chief of them was gone; having



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dispatched his message to Abraham; unto whom he was peculiarly sent. (See xviii. 2.)

*At even.*] They had been with Abraham in the heat of the day: and were now come to the gates of Sodom.

*Lot sat in the gate of Sodom.*] The Hebrew doctors will have it, that he was made a judge in this city; and the prime judge of all: for they adventure to name *five* (in Bereschith Rabba) and say Lot was the president of the court, which sat in the gate of the city. But this is only a fancy of theirs: he rather sat *in the gate* of this city, as Abraham did at his *tent door;* to invite strangers to his house (according to the hospitality of those days), which was the greater charity, because he knew the city to be so wicked, that (if we may believe the Hebrew doctors) they not only denied them all assistance, but abused them, and were cruel to them, (see Gemara Sanhedrim, cap. 11. and Pirke Eliezer, cap. 15.) for which last, they quote those words of Ezekiel, (xxii. 29.) "they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully." Which are spoken of Israel, whom (xvi. 49.) he had compared with Sodom: one of whose sins, he says, was, want of compassion to "the poor and needy."

*Rose up to meet them,* &c.] Just as Abraham did; whose civility he imitates, as well as his charity. For the *bowing himself* so lowly, was a token of the great honour he paid them: who had the appearance of great and noble persons. And therefore he calls them *lords,* in the next verse.

Ver. 2. *Turn in, I pray you, and tarry all night,* &c.] It is late, and the night draws on; take up your lodging with me, and refresh yourselves; and go away as early as you please.

*And they said, Nay,* &c.] It was as great a civility in strangers, not to be forward to accept, as it was in him to invite: and therefore they refuse him at first, to try his kindness: but intending, no doubt, to embrace his offer, if he pressed them further. So the following words are to be understood.

*We will abide in the street all night.*] Unless you persist in your invitation. In those hot countries, it was not unusual to lie in the open air; especially in summer. And in a city, they were safe from being infested by wild beasts, or robbers.

Concerning *washing the feet,* see xviii. 4.

Ver. 3. *He pressed upon them greatly.*] Would not be denied, but was so earnest that they yielded. It is the same word with that verse 9.

*Bake unleavened bread.*] Which would be soonest ready, that so they might, in good time, repose themselves.

Ver. 4. *And before they lay down.*] To take their rest.

*Both old and young.*] A manifest token of an universal depravation of manners, and dissolution of government.

*From every quarter.*] Or, as some understand it, from the most extreme parts of the city: as in Psalm xix. 4. One, it seems, told another, what goodly persons were come to their city: and all ran to the house where they heard they were, with the same wicked inclinations. This is a proof there were not *ten* righteous persons in Sodom.

Ver. 5. *That we may know them.*] A modest word for a lewd fact. Some, indeed, will have it understood simply, of their examining what they were, whence they came, and what their business was. Which might perhaps be their pretence: but Lot's answer to them, (ver. 7, 8.) interprets their meaning to be filthy.

Ver. 6. *Went out at the door.*] To try if he could persuade them to depart. From whence, perhaps, the Jews gathered he was a man of authority among them.

Ver. 7. *Do not so wickedly.*] As to break the rights of hospitality, and violate the laws of nature.

Ver. 8. *Behold now, I have two daughters,* &c.] This must be understood to have been spoken, in a great perturbation and perplexity of mind; and out of a vehement desire to preserve the men whom he had entertained: which made him say, he had rather they should abuse his own daughters, than those strangers.

*For therefore came they under the shadow of my roof.*] He pleads the laws of hospitality, which obliged him to protect them; though he himself suffered by it.

Ver. 9. *And they said, Stand back.*] Give way to us.

*This one fellow,* &c.] Here is one, and he but a sojourner; who takes upon him to be a *censor morum,* and control the whole city. This shews he was no judge.

*Now will we deal worse with thee,* &c.] Abuse thee more than them. For it is the same word with ver. 7. "doing wickedly."

Ver. 11. *Smote the men with blindness.*] Not with a total blindness, (for then they would not have sought for the door of Lot's house, but rather have groped for the way home) but such a dimness that they could not see any thing distinctly, or in its right place: but there seemed to be a door, suppose, where there was none: or, there was such a confusion in their brain, that all things were turned topsy-turvy (as we speak) in their imagination; and appeared quite otherwise than they were.

Ver. 12. *Son-in-law, and thy sons, and thy daughters.*] Here the copulative *and,* must be expounded *or;* as it is used in many places: (xiii. 8.) "Let there be no strife between me and thee, or between my herdsmen and thine." And so we translate it, Exod. xii. 5. "Thou shalt take it out of the sheep, or out of the goats:" and, Exod. xxi. 15. "He that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be put to death." And so it should be translated here, "Hast thou any here besides son-in-law, or thy sons, or thy daughters?" As much as to say, we are desirous to save all that are nearly related to thee for thy sake.

Ver. 14. *Which married his daughters.*] Had espoused them for their wives, but had not yet consummated their marriage; as some understand it. Others will have it, that, besides those two virgin daughters at home with him, he had other daughters, who were actually married in the city. Which they gather from the next verse, "take thy wife and two daughters, which are here:" as if he had more daughters elsewhere. And R. Jehuda (in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 25.) names one of them married to one of the great men of Sodom, and calls her Pelothit. But this seems rather to have been the name of one of them who were saved by the angels, and thence so called: for it signifies *delivered,* or *snatched* from destruction.

*He seemed as one that mocked.*] Who was not in earnest; but only made sport with them, and spake in jest. For it is the same word from whence Isaac is derived, which signifies *laughter.*

Ver. 15. *And when the morning arose.*] At break of day: for the sun did not rise, till Lot was got into Zoar, (ver. 23.)

*Take thy wife, and thy two daughters, which are here.*] These last words, *which are here,* are not without emphasis:

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and are paraphrased thus by the Chaldee interpreter, "which are found faithful with thee:" are not corrupted by the common wickedness of this place; or, that believe what we threaten.

Ver. 16. *While he lingered.*] Being loath to leave his goods, or his sons-in-law, and children: or, as some think, praying God to spare the city.

*The men laid hold upon his hand,* &c.] One of the angels laid hold upon him and his wife; and the other upon his two daughters: whom they pulled out of the house with some kind of constraint; and led them out of the city.

Ver. 17. *He said.*] That angel who had a peculiar charge of preserving Lot and his family. (See xviii. 2.)

*Escape for thy life.*] Make haste, if thou lovest thy life.

*Look not behind thee.*] To see what becomes of thy goods; or, as if thou wast loath to leave Sodom. Make no delay, no, not so much as to turn about and look back.

*Neither stay thou in the plain.*] Do not rest till thou hast got out of the plain: for every place in it is to be destroyed.

Ver. 18. *And he said unto them,* &c.] Both the angels were still with him: but he seems particularly to speak to him that led him and his wife out of Sodom; who had spoken before to him, and bid him make haste; (ver. 17.) But there are those (Franzius, for instance,) who would have the word *Adonai* translated, not *my Lord,* but *my Lords,* as if he spake to both.

Ver. 19. *I cannot escape to the mountains,* &c.] He that lingered before, (ver. 16.) now thought he could not make haste enough. Either being crazy, or, tired with sitting up all night; or, fearing the destruction would overtake him, before he could reach the mountain; and desiring, perhaps, to have a better dwelling than that.

Ver. 20. *My soul shall live.*] Rejoice, and be exceeding thankful.

Ver. 21. *See, I have accepted thee.*] Granted thy request.

*I will not overthrow,* &c.] A wonderful instance of the Divine clemency: which in the midst of wrath remembered mercy.

Ver. 22. *Haste thee.*] Make no more delays: no, not to make any further petitions.

*I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither.*] Having made thee this promise, I must defer the vengeance till thou art safe there.

*Called Zoar.*] In aftertimes it had this name; from the smallness of it: which he twice mentions, (ver. 20.)

Ver. 24. *The Lord rained from the Lord.*] It cannot be denied that here is an intimation of a plurality of persons in the Deity; yet there are many, both ancient and modern interpreters, who think the meaning is no more, than the Lord sent this rain from himself; it being the manner of the Scripture phrase, to repeat the *noun* instead of the *pronoun* (as grammarians speak); of which Cocceius (upon the Gemara of the Sanhedrim, cap. 4.) gives these instances, Gen. ii. 20. 1 Sam. xii. 11. Zech. i. 16. And there are others, which come nearer to these words, Exod. xxiv. "And he (*i.e.* the Lord, ver. 3.) said unto Moses, Come up unto the Lord." Hos. i. 7. "I will save them by the Lord their God." Zech. x. 12. "I will strengthen them in the Lord," &c. The council of Sirmium, indeed, anathematizes those who thus interpret these words, and do not say, "the Son rained from the Father," (Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 30.) Yet St. Chrysostom did not fear to say this is an idiom of the Scripture language, which intended only to shew, ὅτι κύριος τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπήγαγε, *that the Lord brought this punishment upon them.* Others also have observed, that the Scripture phrase being very concise, by *the Lord,* (in the beginning of the verse) may be meant, *the angel of the Lord.* For wheresoever mention is made of the Lord, it is to be understood of him, ובית דינו, *and his house of judgment* (as the Jewish doctors speak); *i. e.* of the angels which attend his Divine Majesty. And thus I find Arethas (or Andreas Cæsariensis), in his Commentaries upon the Revelation, p. 729, understands these words. For he there compares that captain who was over the locusts, (Rev. ix. 11.) to the angel that was sent to cut off the army of Senacherib, and to this angel, Ὁ τῶν Σοδόμων τὸν διάπυρον ὄλεθρον ἐπιστήσας, *who had the charge of executing the fiery destruction upon Sodom committed to him.* For all angels, saith he, are not ministering spirits, εἰς διακονίαν σωτήρων, *for men's preservation,* but some serve, εἰς τιμωρίαν, *for punishment.* And that they can bring fire from heaven, and raise storms and tempests, appears by the story of Job.

*Out of heaven.*] From the Lord whose seat is in heaven. The like expression we have, Rev. xx. 9.

*Upon Sodom, and upon Gomorrah.*] And the neighbouring cities, Admah and Zeboim; as appears from Deut. xxix. 23.

*Brimstone and fire.*] A most hideous shower, or rather storm, of nitre, sulphur, or bitumen, mingled with fire, fell upon this country from above; and, as the tradition was among the heathen, accompanied with a dreadful earthquake: which made an irruption of those bituminous waters, whereby this country was turned into the lake called Asphaltites, or the Salt, or Dead Sea. So Strabo, lib. xvi. in his description of that lake. And, indeed, it doth not seem improbable, that the earth quaked while the heavens did so terribly frown, and the Almighty's voice thundered from the clouds, as Doctor Jackson speaks, book i. on the Creed, chap. 15. For the word καταστροφὴ, (which St. Peter uses, 2 Pet. ii. 6.) may be thought to import some such subversion. But it was his ignorance of the sacred tradition in the Scriptures, which made Strabo wholly ascribe the desolation of that country to the earth; and not at all to the heavens. Whereas Tacitus, who was better informed, says these Judaical cities (as he calls them), "fulminum jactu (or ictu) arsisse," *were burnt by the stroke of thunderbolts from heaven:* and, a little after, "igne cœlesti flagrasse," *were set on fire and consumed by lightning,* (lib. v. Histor.) With which fell such abundance of bituminous stuff, that the valley which had only some pits of bitumen in it before, (xiv. 3. 10.) became a lake of it.

Ver. 25. *And he overthrew those cities,* &c.] "Super impium populum gehennam misit e cœlo," as Salvian glosses, (lib. i. et lib. iv. de Gubern. Dei.) *he sent hell from heaven upon an impious people.* Of whose destruction there remains an everlasting monument in the Salt Sea: into which that plain country is turned. The quality of which, and of the soil about it, is so contrary to the nature of all other seas, or inland lakes; that no philosopher can give an account of it, like that which Moses hath given us: as the same Doctor Jackson truly observes. He that will read Tacitus in the place forementioned, or Pliny, or Diodorus,

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may be satisfied of this. The country where these cities stood, being become a *pan*, or *receptacle*, (as the forenamed doctor well calls it) of such a strange moisture, that it may be called liquid pitch, rather than water: for it is so stiff that no wind will move it: nor will a camel sink, if thrown into it; nor any fish, or bird, that uses the water, live in it: and therefore called the Dead Sea, and Salt Sea, as Salmasius thinks, (Exerc. Plinian. p. 577. 614.) because no creature can live there, and because the noisome steams that come from it blast all that grows of itself, or is sown in the earth about it. Nor do the rivers that run into it, at all alter it; but it infects all their waters, with the loathsome qualities of those dregs of God's wrath (to use Doctor Jackson's words once more) which first settled in it, at this overthrow: just like bad humours, when they settle in any part of our bodies, plant, as it were, a new nature in it, and turn all nourishment into their substance.

Ver. 26. *His wife looked back from behind him.*] She not only lagged behind, as we speak, but turned about and stood still awhile, bewailing perhaps the loss of all there: or, as some of the Jews fancy, to see what would become of her kindred, and whether they would follow her or no.

*Became a pillar of salt.*] Or, as some understand it, an everlasting monument: whence, perhaps, the Jews have given her the name of Adith, (as they call her in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 25.) because she remained a perpetual testimony of God's just displeasure. For she standing still too long, some of that dreadful shower, before mentioned, overtook her; and falling upon her, wrapped her body in a sheet of nitro-sulphureous matter: which congealed into a crust as hard as stone: and made her appear like a pillar of salt, her body being as it were candied in it. Kimchi calls it a heap of salt; which the Hebrews say continued for many ages. Their conjecture is not improbable, who think the fable of Niobe was hence derived: who, the poets feign, was turned into a stone, upon her excessive grief for the death of her children.

Ver. 27. *Gat to the place, where he stood before the Lord.*] Where he prayed, say the Jews, or communed with God, (xviii. 22. 33.)

Ver. 28. *The smoke of the country,* &c.] Some think, the Hebrew word signifies, *like the smoke of a lime-kiln;* or, of a *boiling cauldron.* After the shower was over, the reek or steam of it remained; and made that country look dismally, which before was like "the garden of God," (xiii. 10.) but now become a stinking puddle of filthy water, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δυσῶδες, as Diodorus speaks, *noisome beyond expression.*

Ver. 29. *Overthrew the cities, wherein Lot dwelt.*] In one of which he dwelt: which is an usual manner of speaking in Scripture. Gen. viii. 4. "The ark rested on the mountains (*i.e.* on one of the mountains) of Ararat." Judg. xii. 7. "Jephthah was buried in the cities (*i.e.* one of the cities) of Gilead." Which explains that of St. Matthew, xxvi. 8. "when his disciples (*i.e.* one of his disciples, Judas,) saw it, he had indignation," &c.

Ver. 30. *And Lot went up out of Zoar,* &c.] It appears from hence, that this good man was very timorous, not having so strong a faith as his uncle Abraham. For he that had lately obtained a pardon for this place, because he was afraid he should not have time enough to get to the mountain, now forsakes it: for fear, I suppose, a new shower should come from heaven and destroy it, after the rest; because the inhabitants, perhaps, continued unreformed, though they had seen such a terrible example of the Divine vengeance upon their wicked neighbours. If his "fear to dwell in Zoar" proceeded from this cause, it was the more reasonable; because he might think, though God had spared them for the present, yet they, taking no warning by the calamity of their country, would shortly perish as the rest had done. And so Theodoret, and others, think this city was afterwards destroyed: of which there is no certain record: and if the tradition be true, it was not speedily swallowed up, as they report, but retained for some time the name of Zoar; being before called Bela, (xiv. 2.)

*Dwelt in the mountain.*] It is not said what mountain; but it is probable one of the mountains in the country afterward called Moab; from one of his children, which he here begat. For Epiphanius (Hæres. liii.) describes the country of Moab as lying πέραν τῆς ἁλυκῆς, &c. *beyond the Salt, or Dead Sea.* (See Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 615.)

Ver. 31. *There is not a man in all the earth.*] Not one remaining of their kindred, that they knew: for they were not much acquainted, we may suppose, beyond that country which was destroyed; and those of Zoar were so wicked, that they looked upon them as beasts, rather than men.

Ver. 32. *Let us make him drink wine.*] Which they brought with them out of Sodom, to support their spirits in their flight; or, else got at Zoar: of which they invited their father to drink liberally, and cheer himself under his extreme great sorrow.

*That we may preserve seed of our father.*] This fact of theirs being objected by Celsus against our religion, Origen gives this account of it, (lib. iv. contra Cels.) That these two maids having learned something of the conflagration of the world, and seeing their own city and country destroyed by fire, imagined, ζώπυρον τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, *that the seminary of mankind remained only in their father and them.* And if what they did was upon this supposition, that there was no other way to restore the world, they did no worse than the stoics thought their wise man might do, if the race of mankind were extinct, so that none but he and his daughter were left alive. Irenæus makes the same excuse for them, and says they did this innocently, and in their simplicity, believing all mankind were destroyed, (lib. iv. cap. 51.) But I take their conjecture to be highly probable, who conceive that the eager desire, which then possessed the hearts of good people, to fulfil the promise of the Messiah, was that which put them upon this, otherwise monstrous crime. For which there are these reasons: first, that they had lived so chastely in the midst of the impurities of Sodom, that one cannot think a spirit of uncleanness now entered into them, and carried them to this action: and indeed, secondly, their joining together in this contrivance (whereas matters of this nature used to be carefully concealed from the nearest friends, or make them fall out, if they find themselves engaged in the same intrigue), shews that they were acted by counsel and design, and not by brutish lust: and, thirdly, their perpetuating the memory of this fact, in the names of their children, is a demonstration there was something extraordinary in it; and that they were not ashamed of it, but rather gloried in it; desiring it might be remembered that these children were descended from Lot. Who they thought, perhaps, might pretend to fulfil the promise as well as Abraham: being

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the son of Abraham's elder brother; and called out of Sodom by the ministry of angels, as Abraham was called out of Chaldea.

Ver. 33. *He perceived not when she lay down*, &c.] This seems hard to be understood: but it must be noted, that Moses only says he did not perceive when she came to bed to him, and when she got up again: not that he did not perceive when he lay with her, of which he could not but have some perception.

Though M. Montaigne, in his Essays, relates a story of a widow, who, being drunk, was abused by a hind in her house, and afterward finding herself with child, could not remember how it came to pass. But the fellow at last confessed his fact: of which, whatsoever sense she had then, she had perfectly forgot it when she awaked.

Ver. 34. *Go thou in*, &c.] If he had retained any remembrance of what he had done the night before, one cannot think he would have fallen into the same snare so soon again. For which reason, it is probable, he did not think he had been intoxicated, but only drank so freely as to make him sleep soundly, and forget his sorrow.

Ver. 37. *Moab.*] Most will have this word to signify, *from my father*. But Drusius, in Deut. ii. 8. takes the import of it to be, *Aqua Patris*.

Ver. 38. *Ben-ammi.*] This signifies as much as, *the son of my people*. Which doth not acknowledge so plainly as the other, that this son was begotten by her father: but only that he was the son of one of her own nation, or kindred, not by a stranger.

## CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1. *JOURNEYED from thence.*] *i. e.* From Mamre, where he had dwelt a great while, and where many remarkable passages had happened, (xiii. 18. xviii. 1.)

*Toward the south country.*] Toward Egypt: for some fancy the very stench of the lake of Sodom was offensive to him in Mamre.

*Sojourned in Gerar.*] The metropolis of Palestine; and, as some compute it, not much above six miles from Mamre.

Ver. 2. *Abraham said of Sarah*, &c.] Just as he had done in Egypt, (xii. 13.) when there was greater reason for it, she being then thirty years younger than now, when she was no less than ninety years old. But it seems her beauty remained at this age, being healthful, and having born and suckled no children: and women in those days living so long, that they were as fresh at ninety as they are now at forty or fifty. When many that are of excellent constitutions, and naturally handsome, continue very lovely.

*Abimelech.*] The name of all the kings of Palestine, as Pharaoh was of the kings of Egypt. It is not improbable, as the author of Tzemath David conjectures, that the succeeding kings took the name of him who was the first king of the country. Ad A. M. 2600.

*Sent and took Sarah.*] By violence, some think; but I see no ground for it. He desired to have her, and might think Abraham would look upon it as a great honour to have his sister become wife to a king: and Abraham, it is likely, shewed no unwillingness, not being in a condition to deny him.

Ver. 3. *And God came to Abimelech in a dream by night.*] Two differences are observed by Maimonides, between this manifestation, which God made of his mind to Abimelech, and that which he made to the prophets. For it is only said here, "God came to Abimelech," and that he came "in a dream by night." The very same is said of Laban, the Syrian, who doth not seem to have been so good a man as Abimelech, (xxxi. 24.) But of Jacob it is said, "God spake unto Israel," and he spake to him in the visions of the night (not in a dream), and said, "Jacob, Jacob," xlvi. 2. (See More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 41.) God was not a stranger to other nations, when he was peculiarly kind to Abraham: but spake to them in dreams, and sometimes in visions, as appears in Eliphaz and Elihu, Job iv. 13. xxxiii. 14, 15, &c.

*Thou art but a dead man.*] *viz.* If thou dost not restore Abraham his wife, (ver. 7.)

*She is a man's wife.*] Or, *married to a husband* (as we translate it in the margin) so completely, that he hath enjoyed her as his wife. For from this place the Jewish doctors prove, that the marriage contract was not perfected in these days till the parties had lain together: after which, if any other person lay with the woman, he was to be put to death as an adulterer; but not if he lay with her after the contract, before it was consummated by actual enjoyment. (See Mr. Selden, de Jure N. et G. lib. v. cap. 4. p. 551.)

Ver. 4. *But Abimelech had not come near her.*] To use her as his wife.

*Wilt thou slay also a righteous nation?*] He was afraid (as became a good man, and a good king) lest his people should suffer upon his account, who, in this particular, had no guilt upon them.

Ver. 5. *Said he not unto me*, &c.] The fault is in them, not in me: for I had both their words for it, that he was her brother, and he said nothing of her being his wife.

*In the integrity of my heart.*] Not with any intention to defile her; but to make her my wife.

*And innocence of my hands.*] I did not take her by violence from Abraham; but he and she consented to it.

Ver. 6. *And God said unto him in a dream.*] The same expression is still retained, which we had (ver. 3.) to shew that this was a lower degree of Divine manifestation than was in Abraham's family.

*I know thou didst this in the integrity*, &c.] *i. e.* That thou didst not design any evil.

*For I also*, &c.] Or, rather, "and I also withheld thee." I dealt well with thee, because of thy integrity. Some think he was withheld by a disease in the secret parts, (ver. 17.)

*From sinning against me.*] From committing adultery.

Ver. 7. *He is a prophet.*] This is the first time we meet with the word Nabi, a prophet: and Abraham is the first that is honoured with this name. Which signifies one familiar with God, who might come to him to consult him upon all occasions, and be authorized to declare God's mind and will to others; and also prevail with him by his prayers for a blessing upon them. So it here follows:

*He shall pray for thee.*] Obtain life and health to thee. The greater any prophet was, the more powerful he was in prayer, as appears by the stories of Moses, Elias, and Samuel. (See Psalm xcix. 6.)

It appears by this whole history of Abimelech, that he

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was a man of great virtue in those days: and not an idolator, but a worshipper of the true God, as Melchizedec, the high-priest of that country, was: yet not so well acquainted with Divine revelations as Abraham was.

Ver. 8. *Abimelech rose up early in the morning.*] This is a further token of his goodness, that he delayed not to obey the Divine command.

*Called all his servants.*] His privy-council, (as we speak) who were all of the same mind with him: that this was a Divine admonition, which it was not safe to disobey. From whence we may probably gather his court was not so corrupted as Abraham suspected.

Ver. 9. *What hast thou done unto us?*] Into what danger hast thou brought us?

*Thou hast brought on me and my kingdom a great sin.*] Run me into the hazard of committing a great sin, or suffering a heavy punishment (for so *sin* is sometimes taken), in not telling me the truth.

*Thou hast done deeds unto me, that ought not to be done.*] This is not fair dealing, such as I might have expected from thee.

Ver. 10. *What sawest thou,* &c.] What didst thou observe in my country, that made thee think we would meddle with thy wife? What tokens of injustice, or impurity, didst thou see among us?

Ver. 11. *Because I thought surely,* &c.] The word *rak,* which we translate *surely,* signifies *only:* and may be thus well translated here, "this only I saw wanting in your country, the fear of God:" *i. e.* a sense of religion, which restrains men from all manner of wickedness. It seems the people were not so good as their king.

Ver. 12. *And yet, indeed, she is my sister.*] Do not condemn me of telling a lie; for she is truly my sister. Such was the language of those days, to call their wives sisters, and their nephews brothers. As he calls Lot, xiii. 8. who was his nephew, and the brother of Sarah; as was observed upon xi. 29.

*She is the daughter of my father.*] *i. e.* His father's granddaughter, who are frequently in Scripture called the children of their grandfathers. For she was daughter to Haran, elder brother of Abraham.

*But not the daughter of my mother.*] It seems Terah had two wives, by one of which he had Haran, the father of Lot and Sarah; and by the other he had Abraham. So Sarah was daughter to one who was his brother by his father's side, but not by his mother: and with such a niece they thought it not unlawful then to marry. No regard being had to consanguinity (if we may believe R. Solomon Jarchi) by the father's side, before the law of Moses, but only by the mother's.

The more received opinion, indeed, of the Hebrew doctors is, (as Mr. Selden observes, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2.) that Sarah was indeed the daughter of Terah by his second wife, and so Abraham's half sister. And Said Batricides (patriarch of Alexandria above seven hundred years ago) in his Arabic History, tells us, the name of Terah's first wife was Jona; and the name of his second Tevitha, by whom he had Sarah. But there is no other authority for this.

Ver. 13. *When God caused me to wander.*] The Hebrew word which we translate *wander,* being in the plural number, the LXX. render the word Elohim (God) the *angels,* who, by the command of God, led him from his father's house, through divers countries. But the Chaldee translates it, "when because of the idols of Chaldea," I was called away from my own country, &c. For so the gods, that is, the idol gods, might be said to cause him to wander: because it was by reason of them, that God would not have him stay any longer in his own country. But there is no need of these devices: nothing being more usual in the Hebrew language than for the plural number to be put instead of the singular, especially when they speak of God, as Bochart observes, in many places, (Gen. xxxv. 7. Exod. xxxii. 4. Psalm cxlix. 2. Eccles. xii. 1.) See Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34. Nay, Hackspan hath rightly observed that there are nouns of the plural number in their termination, which, in signification, are singular, with which it is usual to join a verb of the plural number, because of the plural termination of the noun. A plain example of which we have, Gen. iv. 6. "Why is thy countenance (in the Hebrew, *faces*) fallen?" The like he observes in the Syriac language: (John i. 4.) "The life (in the Syriac, *lives*) was the light of men."

Ver. 16. *I have given thy brother a thousand pieces of silver.*] The word *pieces* is not in the Hebrew. But by *ceseph, silver,* all, in a manner, understood *shekels:* for anciently there were no shekels of gold or brass, but only of silver. Yet there are those who think he did not give him thus much in money; but in the goods beforementioned, (ver. 14.) which were worth a thousand shekels. (See xxiii. 16.)

*He is unto thee a covering of the eyes,* &c.] These words are very variously expounded, according as the first word *hu* is interpreted: which may relate either to the gift beforementioned, and be translated *this;* or to Abraham, and be translated *he,* as it is by us. If they refer to the former, then the sense is, "I have given him that sum of money to buy thee a veil, that all who converse with thee here, or in any other country (where thou shalt come), may know thee to be a married woman." For a veil was worn in token of subjection to the power of the husband: and that thereby their chastity might be preserved safe from the snares of others. As G. Vorstius observes upon Pirke Eliezer, cap. 32. Or, as others interpret it, "this money will be a covering to thine eyes (that is, a defence to thy modesty): it being a testimony that Abimelech paid dear for taking thee into his house."

If they refer to Abraham, then the meaning is, "Thou needest no other defence of thy modesty and chastity than he, nor hast any reason to say hereafter he is thy brother; for he is so dear to God that God will defend him, and he will defend thee, without such shifts as this thou hast used: nay, not only thee, but all that are with thee; and that even against strangers." I omit other interpretations, and refer the reader to L. de Dieu.

*Thus she was reproved.*] Or, *instructed* (as some translate it) not to dissemble her condition: or, this was the reprehension he gave her, for saying Abraham was her brother.

Ver. 17. *So Abraham prayed unto God,* &c.] Beseeched God to restore them all to their health, now that his wife was restored to them, (ver. 14.)

Ver. 18. *For the Lord had fast closed up,* &c.] By such swellings (some understand it) in the secret parts, that the men could neither enjoy their wives, nor the women who were with child be delivered.

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## CHAP. XXI.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord visited Sarah,* &c.] Bestowed upon her the blessing he had promised her; *i. e.* made her conceive. For so the word *visit* signifies, either in a bad sense to inflict punishment, (Exod. xx. 5.) or in a good sense to confer blessings; as here, and Exod. iii. 16. and many other places.

*And he did unto her as he had spoken.*] Performed his promise by making her bring forth a child: for so it is explained in the next verse, "Sarah conceived, and bare Abraham a son."

Ver. 2. *Sarah conceived,* &c.] God not only made her womb fruitful, but brought the fruit of it to perfection, and then brought it into the world.

*At the set time of which God had spoken to him.*] (xviii. 14.) It is not said where Isaac was born: for we are not told here, whether Abraham departed from Gerar into any other part of this country, as Abimelech kindly offered and gave him liberty to do, (xx. 15.) But it appearing by the latter end of this chapter, that he continued a long time in Abimelech's country, though not at Gerar, it is probable Isaac was born at Beer-sheba, (ver. 31.)

Ver. 6. *God hath made me to laugh.*] *i. e.* To rejoice exceedingly.

*So that all that hear will laugh with me.*] All my friends and neighbours will congratulate my happiness and rejoice with me.

Ver. 7. *Give children suck.*] It is usual to put the plural number for the singular, as was observed before, (xix. 29.) Or, she hoped, perhaps, to have more children after this. And her giving him suck was a certain proof, that she had brought him forth of her own womb; and that he was not a supposititious child, as Menochius well observes. Others note, that the greatest persons in those ancient days suckled their own children: which Favorinus, a Greek philosopher, pressed as a duty upon a noble woman by many strong arguments: which are recorded by A. Gellius, who was present at his discourse; (lib. xii. Noct. Attic. cap. 1.)

Ver. 8. *The child grew, and was weaned.*] At the age of five years old, as St. Jerome reports the opinion of some of the Hebrews.

*Made a great feast the same day.*] Rather now than at his nativity, because there was greater hope of life, when he was grown so strong as to be taken from his mother's breast.

Ver. 9. *Sarah saw the son of Hagar,* &c. *mocking.*] He laughed and jeered, perhaps, at the great bustle which was made at Isaac's weaning: looking upon himself as the first-born, and by the right of that to have the privilege of fulfilling the promise of the Messiah. This gives a good account of Sarah's earnestness for the expulsion, not only of him, but of his mother also, who, it is likely, flattered and bare him up in those pretensions. Many think he did more than mock him, because St. Paul calls it persecution, (Gal. iv. 29.) which St. Jerome takes for beating Isaac; who, perhaps, resenting his flouts, might say something that provoked Ishmael to strike him. And it is very probable his mother encouraged him to this, or maintained him in his insolence, which was the reason Sarah pressed to have them both turned out of doors.

Some think he jested upon his name, and made it a matter of merriment. For so the word is used, xix. 14.

Ver. 10. *Cast out,* &c.] Let them not dwell here any longer, nor continue a part of thy family.

*Shall not be heir,* &c.] She judged, by what she had seen of his fierce and violent spirit, that it would not be safe for her son to let Ishmael have any share in his father's inheritance: for she was afraid he would make himself master of all.

Ver. 11. *Grievous, because of his son.*] His wife is not here mentioned, because his principal concern was for his son: but it appears, by the next verse, he had some consideration of her also.

Ver. 12. *God said unto Abraham,* &c.] By this he was satisfied that Sarah's motion proceeded not merely from her anger; but from a Divine incitation.

*For in Isaac shall thy seed be called.*] Here the blessing promised to Abraham's seed, (xvii. 7, 8.) is limited to the posterity of Isaac; and the meaning of the phrase is, they that descend from Isaac, and not they that descend from Ishmael, shall be owned by me for the children of Abraham; particularly the Messiah shall be one of his seed.

Ver. 13. *Also of the son of thy hand-maid,* &c.] He renews the promise he had made him before, (xvii. 20.) that Ishmael should have a numerous posterity: because he was descended from Abraham.

Ver. 14. *Rose up early in the morning.*] Delayed not to fulfil the Divine will.

*Took bread and a bottle of water.*] Which includes all sort of provision for their present necessity, till they came to the place unto which, in all probability, he directed them to bend their course. For it is not reasonable to think, that he sent them to seek their fortune (as we speak) without any care what became of them. It may seem strange rather, that he did not send a servant to attend them, but let Hagar carry the provision herself: which I suppose was done to humble her, and to shew that her son was to have no portion of Abraham's inheritance, nor of his goods; of which servants were a part. Doctor Jackson, (book i. on the Creed, cap. 25.) thinks that Abraham would scarce have suffered them to go into a wilderness so poorly provided, when he had store of all things, unless he had been directed by some secret instinct, presaging the rude and sharking kind of life unto which his progeny was ordained. Yet, it is probable, he was as kind to him as he was to the sons he had by Keturah, and sent him some tokens of his love afterwards. (See xxv. 6.)

Ver. 15. *She cast the child under one of the shrubs.*] He being faint, and ready to die with thirst. A presage (saith the great man beforenamed) that his posterity should be pinched with the like penury: scantiness of water (which was their best drink) straitening their territories in Arabia, as Strabo observes, lib. xvi. And after they had enlarged their bounds, even in Mesopotamia itself, they were still confined to the dry and barren places of it.

Ver. 16. *And she went and sat her down,* &c.] Her strength carried her further than he could go: but her affection still kept her within sight of the place where he was.

Ver. 17. *And God heard the voice of the lad.*] Who cried, it seems, as well as his mother: and it moved the Divine pity to send an angel to their relief.



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*Fear not.*] Do not think I come to terrify thee: or, do not fear the death of thy child.

Ver. 18. *Lift up the lad,* &c.] It seems he was so faint that he was not able to stand without support.

Ver. 19. *Opened her eyes.*] Made her see what she did not observe before, by reason of her tears, or the great disturbance of her mind.

Ver. 20. *And God was with the lad.*] Preserved and prospered him: so that he grew to be a man.

*Became an archer.*] A skilful hunter and warrior also, with bow and arrows. Am. Marcellinus, lib. xiv. tells us, that the Saracens, who were of the posterity of Ishmael, never set their hands to the plough, but got their living, for the most part, by their bow. For such as they were themselves such was their food, *(victus universis caro ferina,* &c.) they all lived upon wild flesh, or venison, and such wild fowl as the wilderness afforded, with herbs and milk. Dr. Jackson observes, that he compares them to kites, ready to spy a prey, but so wild withal that they would not stay by it (as crows or other ravenous birds do by carrion), but presently fled with what they caught into their nests.

Ver. 21. *He dwelt in the wilderness of Paran.*] Which was near to Arabia: in which country all the Oriental writers say the posterity of Ishmael lived: particularly Patricides, who says he went into the land of Jathreb, which is that part of Arabia, in which is the city of Medina.

*A wife out of Egypt.*] Out of her own country, where she was best acquainted. The Jewish doctors say he had two wives, whose names, they tell us, were Aiscah and Phatimah: the first of which received Abraham churlishly, when he went to visit his son; and therefore he put her away and took the other, who proved more civil, when he made a second journey thither. Which, though it looked like a fable, yet I think it not improbable that Abraham might go to see how his son lived, and that Ishmael might sometimes wait upon him (as the author of Schalsc. Hakab. and Pirke Eliezer affirm); for we cannot think they were so unnatural as never to have any correspondence: especially since we read that Ishmael, as well as Isaac, took care of Abraham's funeral, xxv. 9. After which, it is not improbable, Hagar might have another husband; which is the account Aben Ezra (upon Psalm lxxxiii. 6.) gives of the people called Hagarenes, who are there mentioned as distinct from the Ishmaelites: they were, saith he, descended from Hagar by another husband, not by Abraham.

Ver. 22. *Abimelech and Pichol,* &c.] It is plain by this that Abraham still lived, if not in the country of Gerar, yet very near it.

*God is with thee in all that thou doest.*] They saw him so thriving and prosperous, that they were afraid he might grow too strong for them, if he should have a mind to disturb them.

Ver. 23. *Swear that thou wilt not deal falsely,* &c.] That as there hath been a long friendship between me and thee, so thou wilt not violate it; but always preserve it, even when I am dead: according to thy frequent professions and, perhaps, promises.

*According to the kindness,* &c.] Abimelech thought he might claim this oath from Abraham, by virtue of the obligations he had laid upon him.

Ver. 24. *I will swear.*] He was as forward to confirm his promises as to make them.

Ver. 25. *And Abraham reproved Abimelech.*] But before he sware, he thought it necessary to settle a right understanding between them: and therefore argued with Abimelech (as it may be rendered) about a well of water digged by Abraham's servants, which Abimelech's had injuriously taken from him. This was wisdom to complain of wrongs now, before they entered into a covenant, that they, being redressed, there might remain no occasion of quarrels afterward.

Ver. 26. *Abimelech said, I wot not,* &c.] This is the first time I heard of it; if thou hadst complained before I would have done thee right.

Ver. 27. *And Abraham took sheep,* &c.] Some think they were a present he made to Abimelech, in gratitude for what he had bestowed on him, (xx. 14.) or in token of friendship with him. But others think they were designed for sacrifices, by which they made a covenant one with another. At least some of them served for that use.

Ver. 28. *And he set seven ewe lambs by themselves.*] The meaning of this is afterwards explained, ver. 30. That though they were part of the present he made him, yet they should be understood also (being set apart from the rest) to be a purchase of a quiet possession of that well.

Ver. 30. *A witness unto me that I have digged this well.*] By this token it shall be remembered hereafter, that I digged this well, and that thou didst grant me quiet possession of it.

Ver. 31. *Called the place Beer-sheba.*] The Hebrew word *sheba* signifies, both *an oath,* and also *seven:* perhaps for both reasons this place had this name. We are sure for the first, which is here mentioned: because they sware to each other.

Ver. 31. *Thus they made a covenant,* &c.] By giving and accepting those sheep and oxen, mentioned ver. 27. and, perhaps, by offering sacrifices; or, at least, by eating and drinking together, as Isaac and Abimelech did in after-times, (xxvi. 30.)

Here some observe, it was not unlawful, by the law of nature, to make covenants with infidels and idolators, for mutual defence and commerce, or such-like reasons; but I see no proof that Abimelech was such a person. In future ages the people of Canaan were so corrupted by this, as well as other sins, that God commanded them to be exterminated, and made it unlawful to enter into a covenant with them, (Exod. xxxiv. 15.) But as the Philistines were none of them, so it still remained lawful to make leagues with other gentiles who were not of the seven nations of Canaan, as we see by the examples of David, and Solomon, and others.

*They returned into the land of the Philistines.*] Into that part of the country where they dwelt; for both Abimelech and Abraham were now in that land, as appears from the last verse of this chapter.

Ver. 33. *Abraham planted a grove.*] For a solemn and retired place wherein to worship God. For, as Servius says upon the ninth Æneid, " Nunquam est lucus sine religione;" *there never was a grove, in ancient times, without religion.* And therefore here we may well suppose Abraham built an altar, which was fenced and bounded with an inclosure, and shaded with trees, as Mr. Mede (Discourse xix.) observes their *proseuchas,* or *places of prayer,* to have been in aftertimes. For, that this was intended for

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a place of prayer, appears by the following words—"and called there on the name of the Lord," &c.

From hence, some think, the custom of planting groves was derived into all the gentile world, who so profaned them by images, and filthiness, and sacrifices to demons, that God commanded them, by the law of Moses, to be cut down. But Abraham made use of a grove before this, (xii. 6. 8.) where we find he built an altar on a mountain, which, I question not, was compassed with trees. (See xiii. 18.) Therefore I take this only to have been the first grove that he planted himself.

*Called upon the name of the Lord, the everlasting God.*] I find that Maimonides, in several places of his More Nevochim, translates the last words, *The Lord God of the world,* or *the Lord the Almighty Creator of the world.* For this was the great article of faith in those days, that God made the world. (Par. ii. cap. 30. et par. iii. cap. 29.)

Ver. 34. *Sojourned many days,* &c.] The word *days* often signifies *years,* and, it is likely, signifies so in this place: for here Isaac was born, and here he was weaned; and after that Abraham found so much friendship from Abimelech, and so many conveniences of life, that they invited him to stay a long time in this country.

## CHAP. XXII.

Ver. 1. *AND it came to pass after these things.*] That which follows fell out while Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba, or near it, (ver. 19.)

*God did tempt Abraham.*] Proved or tried his faith, in a very difficult instance. The Hebrews take great notice, that the name of Elohim (which they call Nomen Judicii) is here used, as it is in several of the following verses.

*And said unto him, Abraham.*] I suppose there was such a visible appearance of the Divine Majesty to him as he had often seen, (xv. 1. xvii. 1. xviii. 1.)

*Here I am.*] A phrase expressing readiness to hearken and to give answer, (ver. 7. 12.)

Ver. 2. *Take now.*] Immediately.

*Thy son.*] A hard thing, had it been Ishmael.

*Thy only son Isaac.*] His only son by Sarah, and the child of the promise, (xxi. 12.)

*Whom thou lovest.*] Who was far dearer to him than any thing in this world; dearer than his own life; for men will venture that to preserve their children. According to an old saying in Euripides,

Ἅπασι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν ψυχὴ τέκνα.

*Children are to all mankind, their very life, or soul.*

Whence it was that Pacatus Drepanius said in his panegyric to Theodosius the Great, "Instituente natura plus fere filios quam nosmetipsos diligimus;" *we are taught by nature to love our sons, in a manner, more than ourselves.* But the love of God in Abraham was stronger than either.

*Get thee into the land of Moriah.*] So it was called afterwards, from God's appearing there (ver. 14.) for the deliverance of Isaac, as many think. Certain it is, that the temple of Solomon was built upon Mount Moriah; (2 Chron. iii. 1.) but this name belonged not only to that mountain, but to all the mountainous country thereabouts, which is here called *the land of Moriah.* Which Aquila translates καταφανῆ, *conspicuous;* for it is derived from the word *raah, to see.* And the LXX. translate it not amiss, γῆν ὑψηλὴν, *high country;* which is very conspicuous. But Mount Zion, and Acra, and other neighbouring mountains, being also very high, this name of Moriah belonged to them, because they were very conspicuous. Insomuch that Mount Zion is often used in Scripture for Mount Moriah; for all that mountainous country went by one and the same name.

*And offer him there.*] The Hebrews observe the word is ambiguous, and may be translated, *make him to go up;* but Abraham understood it in the usual sense, that he should kill him, as they did the beasts for sacrifices. A very hard injunction, which some think God would not have laid upon Abraham, if he had not had a power thus to dispose of Isaac, inherent in him as his father. (See Dr. Taylor, Duct. Dubit. lib. iii. cap. 5. rule 2. n. 1.)

*Upon one of the mountains.*] There were more hills than one thereabouts, (Psalm cxxv. 2.) as I observed on the foregoing verse. And it may be further here noted, that in ancient times they chose mountains, or high places, whereon to worship God, and offer sacrifices: (xii. 8.) which God himself approved of till they were profaned, as the groves were, (see xxi. 33.) and then he commanded Abraham's posterity not to worship in high places, but only in one certain mountain, where he ordered his temple to be seated. Nothing is plainer in the gentile writers, than that they chose mountains for places of worship: and herein Celsus, the Epicurean, compares them with the Jews; observing, particularly out of Herodotus, that the Persians offered sacrifices to Jupiter, going up, ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων, *to the top of the highest mountains,* as his words are in Origen, (lib. v. contra Cels.) It is well known, also, that these mountains were well shaded with trees; so that, commonly, groves and mountains are mentioned together, as places for religious worship.

Ver. 3. *And Abraham rose up early in the morning,* &c.] Some here take notice of the readiness of his obedience, in several instances:

First, That he rose up early. Secondly, Saddled his ass himself (though the phrase doth not certainly import so much). Thirdly, Carried wood ready cleft along with him, for the offering, lest he should find none there.

*And Isaac his son.*] It is an inquiry among the Jews, how old Isaac was at this time. Some of them say seven-and-thirty, whom the Arabic Christian writers follow, Patricides and Elmacinus. Aben Ezra, more probably, saith he was thirty. But there is no certainty of such things: for I find in the Gemera Sanhedrim, (cap. x. n. 4.) it is said, this fell out a little after he was weaned. (See ver. 9.)

*And went unto the place.*] That is, toward the place; which he did not see till the third day after he set out.

Ver. 4. *On the third day.*] It was not much above one day's journey from Beer-sheba to Moriah; but an ass goes slowly, especially being loaded, as this was, with a burden of wood, and with provisions, we must suppose, for their journey; and Abraham, and his son, and servants, went on foot, and could not travel far on a day (Isaac being but young), for it doth not appear they had more than one single ass, (ver. 5.)

*And saw the place afar off.*] It is most reasonable to



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suppose, that God had given him some token or sign, whereby he should know it. And I cannot but think it highly probable, that the Divine glory appeared in the place where he was to make the oblation. Which conjecture I find confirmed by R. Eliezer, among other of the Jews, who says, that when God bad him go to the place he would *tell him of,* (ver. 2.) and there offer his son; he asked how he should know it? and the answer was, "Wheresoever thou seest my glory, there I will stay, and wait for thee," &c. And accordingly, now, "he beheld a pillar of fire reaching from heaven to the earth," and thereby knew this was the place. (See Pirke Eliezer, cap. 31.)

Ver. 5. *Go yonder and worship.*] This confirms the forementioned conjecture, that, the Divine glory appearing upon the mountain, he went thither to worship God.

*And come again to you.*] He either speaks of himself alone, or believed God would restore Isaac to life, though he did slay him.

Ver. 6. *And laid it upon Isaac his son.*] A figure of Christ, who carried his own cross, (John xix. 17.) according to the Roman custom. Philo's reflection upon Isaac's carrying the wood for his own sacrifice is, that "nothing is more laborious than piety."

Ver. 7. *Behold the fire and the wood,* &c.] It appears by this, that he had not hitherto acquainted Isaac with his intention.

Ver. 8. *So they went both of them together.*] It seems they stayed awhile, (as they were going together, ver. 6.) till Isaac had finished this discourse with his father, and then they proceeded.

Ver. 9. *Built an altar there.*] Of turf, some think; or, of such stone as he could gather.

*And bound Isaac his son.*] Both his hands, and his feet, as it is explained in Pirke Eliezer. (cap. 31.) When the gentiles offered human sacrifices, they tied both their hands behind their backs, as appears from Ovid, (lib. iii. de Pont. Eleg. 2.) and other authors. Whether Isaac was thus bound, it matters not; but we cannot doubt that Abraham had now acquainted him with the will of God, and persuaded him willingly to comply and submit unto it: wherein he prefigured Christ the more exactly, who laid down his life of himself, and no man (without his consent) could take it from him, as he speaks, John x. 17, 18. We have reason to believe this of Isaac, because he, being younger and stronger, could have made resistance, had he been so minded. Josephus says he was twenty-five years old; (lib. i. Antiq. 14.) and Bochart makes him twenty-eight; the word *naar,* which we translate *lad,* being used for one of that age; nay, Joseph is called so when he was thirty years old, (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 9.) This is certain, that he was old enough to carry such a load of wood, (ver. 6.) as was sufficient to make a fire to offer up a burnt-offering. There are those, also, who think Isaac was laid upon the altar to be offered, in that very place where Christ was crucified. And thus much is true, that though Mount Calvary was without Jerusalem, and therefore different from Mount Moriah, on which the temple stood, yet they were so near, and it is likely only parts of one and the same mountain, that they were anciently both comprehended under the name of Moriah.

Ver. 10. *Abraham stretched forth his hand,* &c.] His obedience proceeded so far, that it evidently appeared he was fully resolved to do as he was bidden; for the knife was just at Isaac's throat, ready to do the execution. Insomuch that God made account of it, as if it had been actually done, and accepted his obedience as ὁλόκληρος καὶ παντελὴς, *as entirely perfect, and absolutely completed,* as Philo speaks. And yet there have been those who disparage this obedience, by endeavouring to make the world believe that the sacrificing of children was in use before Abraham's time. And the very first thing that hath been alleged as a proof of it, is the very objection in Philo, made by cavilling calumniators (as he calls them) who said, why should such praise be bestowed on Abraham, ὡς ἐγχειρητὴν κεκαινουργημένης πράξεως, *as if he had attempted a thing altogether new, which private men, and kings, and whole nations, do upon occasion?* The learned reader cannot but know that one of our own countrymen, (Sir J. Marsham, in Canon. Chronic. §. v.) hath set this in the front of all his arguments, to prove that Abraham was not the first who sacrificed his son; without acquainting the reader with Philo's answer to this, which quite overthrows all his pretensions. For he says, (lib. de Abrahamo, p. 375, 376. Edit. Paris.) that some barbarians have done this, following the custom of their country, or being in great distress, &c. But nothing of this nature could move Abraham to it, for the custom of sacrificing children was neither in Babylon, nor Mesopotamia, nor Chaldea, where he had lived a long time; no, nor (as it follows a little after) in that country where he then lived; but αὐτὸς ἔμελλε πρῶτος ἄρχεσθαι καινοτάτου καὶ παρηλλαγμένου παραδείγματος, *he was to be the beginner of a perfectly new and unusual example.* What plainer confutation can there be of what the forenamed author pretends, than this, which he most disingenuously concealed? Nor is there more strength in what follows in him out of Sanchoniathon, who says that Saturn offered his only son. For by *Saturn* it is evident he meant *Abraham,* as appears by the name of that son whom such-like authors call *Jeud,* which is plainly the very same with *Jehid,* as Isaac is called in the second verse of this chapter. I omit the rest, which is of the like stamp.

Ver. 11. *And the angel of the Lord called to him,* &c.] That is, the Lord himself, by his angel. See upon xviii. 10. To which I shall here add, that, whether it be said in these holy books the Lord said any thing, or an angel spake, we are always to understand both to have been present; for the angels ever attend upon the Divine Majesty, and, being ministers of his, do nothing but by his order. Therefore, when he is said to speak, it is *by* them, and when they are said to speak, it is *from* him. It is the Lord, therefore, that speaks, whosoever be the minister. Of which St. Austin gives a demonstration from this very place, (lib. iii. de Trinitate, cap. 11.) in the beginning of this chapter, (ver. 1, 2.) "We read that *God tempted Abraham,* and bade him go and offer to him his son; but here the *angel of the Lord* called to him, and bade him not to do it. What is the meaning of this? Will they (whose opinion he there opposes) say that God commanded Isaac to be slain, and that his angel forbade it; and that Abraham obeyed the angel who bade him spare his son, against the command of God, who bade him slay him? This sense is ridiculous, and not to be endured. The plain meaning is, that God spake both times, in the one case and in the other; but by an angel, who was his minister. That is the reason angels

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sometimes speak as if they were the Lord, because they speak in his name: just as when a public crier pronounces the sentence of a judge, 'Non scribitur in gestis, ille præco dixit, sed ille judex,' *It is not written in the records, that the crier, but the judge, pronounced that sentence.*"

And thus R. Jehuda understood this passage, whose gloss is this: (in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 31.) "He," *i. e.* the Lord, "made his voice to be heard from between the two cherubims, and said, Lay not thy hand upon the lad." I do not know whether it be worth observing, that God is not called in all this story (as the Jews note) by the name of Jehovah, till now: which being, say they, *Nomen misericordiæ*, is most agreeable to this part of the story, as Elohim was to the former part, (ver. 2.)

*Abraham, Abraham.*] He ingeminates his name, that he might make him attend to what he said, and put a stop to his proceedings.

Ver. 12. *Now I know thou fearest God,* &c.] Thou hast given sufficient proof of the regard thou hast to God and his commands. It is apparent from what thou hast done, and thou needest do no more to evidence it. And so Hackspan translates the word *know* in this place, *now I have proved,* or *approved,* as Psalm i. *ult.* Matt. vii. 23. Which proofs do not argue ignorance, no more than questions do. (Gen. iii. 9. John vi. 5, 6.)

Nobody (that I know of) hath better explained this whole matter than Moses Maimonides, whose words are these: (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 24.) This story of Abraham makes good two great foundations of the law: "one is, to shew us how far the fear and love of God extends itself. For here was a command to do that, with which the loss of money, or of life itself, is not to be compared; nay, that from which nature abhorred; *viz.* that a man very rich, and in great authority, who earnestly desired an heir, which was born to him when he had no hope of one, in his old age, should so overcome his natural affection to him (which could not but be exceeding great), as to forego all the expectations he had from him, and consent, after a journey of three days, to slay this son with his own hands. This is the greatest thing that ever was performed: for if he had done it in that moment when he was commanded, it might have been thought a sudden, precipitant, and inconsiderate act; but to do it so many days after he received the command, upon mature deliberation, is the highest proof of his obedience, and that this act proceeded from nothing but from the fear and love of God: for he did not make haste to slay his son out of any fright he was in lest God should have slain him, or taken away his estate, if he had disobeyed; but took time to consider of it, that he might shew to all men what one ought to do for the love and fear of God, and not for fear of punishment, or hope of worldly reward; for the angel said, *Now I know thou fearest God.*

"The second thing we are taught by this history is, that the prophets were fully assured of the truth of those things which God spake to them, either in dreams, or in visions, or any other way; which they believed as strongly as things of sense. For if Abraham had in the least doubted whether this were the will of God or no, which he received either in a vision, or a dream, he would never have consented to a thing which nature abhorred."

This very story is told by Alexander Polyhistor, as Eusebius relates out of him, (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. §. xix.)

Ver. 13. *Abraham lift up his eyes.*] From looking upon Isaac, or upon the angel.

*And looked.*] He heard, we may suppose, a bustling noise, which the ram made when it was caught in the thicket; which made him look that way from whence the noise came.

*And behold, behind him a ram,* &c.] Bochart gives many reasons to prove that the most ancient reading, and much better, was, *Behold, one ram: achar,* which we translate *behind,* being put for *achad, one,* or a singular ram, (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 49.) But it is not material which way we take it; nor need we inquire how the ram came there. Nothing is more common than for sheep to go astray; and by God's providence this ram was caught in a thicket not far from Abraham; whereby he made good what Abraham had told his son, "God will provide a lamb for a burnt-offering." In which this ram was a notable type of Christ, who was a sacrifice provided by God, not by man, as this ram was brought by Divine Providence to be offered, not by Abraham.

*And Abraham took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering, instead of his son.*] Saying, as R. S. represents it, Lord, accept this sacrifice, as if my son himself were slain, and his blood shed, and his skin flayed off, and he were burnt and reduced to ashes.

And the ram being accepted instead of his son, may be thought to signify that the offering of the *blessed seed,* God's only Son, should be suspended till future times, and that in the mean season the offering the blood of beasts should serve as a pledge (to use the words of Mr. Mede) of that expiation which the blessed seed of Abraham should one day make, (Discourse xxv.) where he observes, that the more lively to express this, God so disposed, that the very place where the ram was offered instead of Isaac, should be the place of sacrifice for Israel. For there it was, where the Lord answered David by fire from heaven, (1 Chron. xxi. 26.) and so designed it for the place he had chosen for his altar; there David pitched him a tabernacle, (1 Chron. xxii. 1.) and there Solomon built him a house, (2 Chron. iii. 1.)

Ver. 14. *Jehovah-jereh.*] The Lord will see or provide: that is, take care of their safety who steadfastly obey him.

*And it is said to this day.*] Which is thus called to this day: or, as others interpret it, now it is a proverbial speech when men are in great straits, *in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen:* where a double variation is observed, from what was said before; for here is Jehovah instead of *Elohim,* (ver. 12.) and then *Jeraeh* instead of *jereh; i. e.* the passive instead of the active; signifying, that the Lord will not only see or provide, but make himself conspicuous by so providing, that all shall behold the care he takes of those that fear him.

Ver. 15. *And the angel of the Lord called,* &c.] This confirms what was noted on ver. 12. that it was God himself who called to Abraham to stay his hand, and now says, "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord," &c. What can be clearer, as Hackspan glosses, (Disput. ii. de Nominibus Divinis, n. 16.) than that we are to turn away our eyes from the angel, and fix them upon God, who blessed Abraham, and is called the Lord, for whose sake (ver. 12.)

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Abraham spared not his only son? In all like cases therefore, which exceed the angelical dignity, we are always to understand some such words as these here mentioned, *Neum Jehovah*, thus saith the Lord.

Ver. 16. *By myself have I sworn*, &c.] I observed upon xii. 7. and xvii. 6. that God enlarged his mercies to Abraham, proportionable to his obedience; which is apparent in this great and last trial of all, the offering his son, which was rewarded by the ratification of God's former promise or covenant, by a most solemn oath: *By myself have I sworn, I will multiply thy seed*, &c. This was promised before, but not confirmed by an oath: and, besides, the very promise is now more affectionate (if I may so style it); "in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thee," &c. In the latter end also of the blessing, there seems to be couched the highest of all blessings, that God would make his own only Son such a sacrifice as Abraham was ready to have made his son Isaac; that "all the nations of the world (ver. 18.) might be blessed in him;" *i. e.* all that would follow the faith of Abraham. So Abarbinel himself interprets it upon xii. 3.

Ver. 17. *Possess the gate* (that is, the cities) *of his enemies.*] And consequently their country: for the gates being taken, thereby they entered into their cities; and their cities being surrendered, the country was conquered.

Ver. 18. *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.*] God promised to make Abraham's seed as numerous as the stars of heaven; (xv. 5.) which promise he assures him here should be fulfilled in Isaac, (ver. 17.) But moreover directs him to expect, after the multiplying of his posterity, one particular seed who should bring a blessing to all mankind. This singularity St. Paul observes, and presses very much, (Gal. iii. 16.) applying it to the Messiah. And it is further observable, that there is an increase of sense in these words, as there is in the former. For he doth not simply say, נברכו, they *shall be blessed*, but התברכו, shall *bless themselves*, or *count themselves blessed in him*; to shew, as Jacobus Altingius thinks, that this person should not stand in need of any blessing himself, as the rest of Abraham's seed did; but be the author of all blessings unto others, who should derive them from him alone, (lib. ii. Schilo. cap. 2.)

*Because thou hast obeyed*, &c.] As a reward (the word in the Hebrew signifies) for obeying my voice.

Ver. 19. *Went together to Beer-sheba.*] Where he had for some time settled his abode, (xxi. 33.)

Ver. 20. *Milcah hath borne children*, &c.] The following genealogy is set down to shew, whence Rebekah the wife of Isaac was descended. For she alone, of all Bethuel's daughters (which is probable were many), is mentioned, ver. 23.

Ver. 21. *Huz his first-born.*] There were two others of this name. One, the son of Aram, (x. 23.) another of the posterity of Esau, (xxxvi. 28.) But this Uz here mentioned, is he from whom Job descended: whose country was called *Ausitis*, (so the LXX. translate *Uz*, Job i. 1.) and his posterity called *Ausitæ* by Ptolemy; who were a people of Arabia Deserta, near Chaldea, not far from Euphrates.

*Buz.*] From whom came Elihu the Buzite, (Job xxxii. 2.) a people in some part of the same country, or near it.

*Aram.*] Who inhabited, perhaps, some part of Syria: which had the name of Aram from another, mentioned x. 23.

Ver. 22. *Chesed.*] He was the father of the Chaldeans, who are called Chasdim in Scripture, from this Chesed, or Chasad, as some read it. Where the rest that follow settled, or whether they had any posterity or no, I cannot find. It is likely they never grew to make a nation or a family, and so left no name behind them.

Ver. 24. *And his concubine.*] This was not an ill name in these ancient times: but signifies a wife, who was not the mistress of the family; but only taken for the increase of it, by procreation of children. Such wives were generally servants; whereas the prime wife was a free-woman, or made so by being married to govern the family, and bring children to inherit the estate.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1. *AND Sarah was a hundred and seven and twenty*, &c.] The whole verse may be thus translated, "And the years of the life of Sarah were (in the whole) a hundred twenty and seven years:" it being usual with the Hebrews to repeat a word (as *life* is here) when they would signify any thing to be complete. And Sarah is the only woman whose entire age is set down in Scripture.

Ver. 2. *Kirjath-arba.*] *i. e.* The city of Arba, who was a famous man among the Anakims, (as we read, Josh. xiv. *ult.*) and either built this city, or made it the place of his residence; from whence it took his name.

It doth not appear when Abraham left Beer-sheba, and removed to this place.

*The same is Hebron.*] A very ancient city, as appears from Numb. xiii. 22. When it assumed this name, instead of Kirjath-arba, is not certain: but some conjecture it might be after Abraham purchased a burial-place in this country. (See xiii. 18.)

*Abraham came.*] Some fancy he was in some other part of the country, when his wife died. And several of the Jews have a conceit, that he came from Mount Moriah, (which is confuted by what we read, xxii. 19.) where Sarah, hearing he was gone to sacrifice her son, died with grief. But Maimonides speaks better sense, when he says, Abraham came from his own tent, which was separate (as I noted before, xviii. 9.) from his wife's: as appears further from xxiv. 67.

*To mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her.*] The first relates to private sorrow, the other to the public, especially at the funeral solemnities; when they made great lamentation. After Abraham had performed the former, he made preparations for the latter: but what the rites of mourning were in those days we do not know. It is likely they shut themselves up from company, neglected the care of their bodies, abstained from their ordinary food: which, with many others, were the customs of Abraham's posterity; who made it a part of their religion to mourn for the dead.

Ver. 3. *And Abraham stood up from before his dead.*] By this it seems to be apparent, that in Abraham's time they sat upon the ground while they mourned, as it is certain they did in future ages. In which posture they continued till they had satisfied natural affection, and the

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decent custom of the age and country where they lived. Then they rose up, as Abraham here did, to take care of the interment of his wife. Seven days, in after ages, were the common time of mourning: and for illustrious persons they mourned thirty days.

*Spake unto the sons of Heth.*] In whose country he now lived: concerning whom, see x. 15. By *the sons* are meant the principal persons of that nation.

Ver. 4. *I am a stranger and a sojourner with you.*] Though I am not a native of your country, yet I have lived long enough among you to be known to you.

*Give me possession of a burying-place,* &c.] I do not desire any large possessions among you, being but a sojourner; let me have only a place, which I may call my own, wherein to bury those of my family which die.

Ver. 5. *And the children* (or sons) *of Heth answered,* &c.] By one of their body, who spake in the name of the rest: as appears by the first words of the next verse, "Hear us, my lord:" in which form they were wont to address themselves to great men, (ver. 11. 13. 15, 16.)

Ver. 6. *Thou art a mighty prince.*] We have a great honour for thee.

*In the choice of our sepulchres,* &c.] Make choice of any one sepulchre; and nobody will deny to let thee have it. Every family (at least great ones) had their proper place for burial: which, I suppose, were sometimes so large, that they might spare others a part of them; or, of the ground wherein they were made.

Ver. 7. *Abraham stood up.*] It seems they had desired him to sit down among them, while they treated this business: which when they granted, he stood up to thank them.

*And bowed himself.*] The Hebrew word signifies the *bowing of the body;* and there are other words in that language proper to the *bowing of the head,* or of *the knee.*

Ver. 8. *Entreat for me to Ephron,* &c.] He desires them to mediate between him and this man (who, perhaps, was not then present in the assembly) for a purchase of a convenient place in his ground.

Ver. 9. *Cave of Machpelah.*] We take this word Machpelah for a proper name, as many others do: but the Talmudists generally think it to have been *speluncam duplicem,* (as the Vulgar Latin also, with the LXX. understand it,) *a double cave.* Yet they cannot agree in what sense it was so; whether they went through one cave into another, or there was one above another. For that by a cave is meant a vault arched over with stones or wood, which the ancients call *cryptæ,* nobody doubts. Salmasius hath described them in his Plin. Exercit. p. 1208. where he says this cave is said to have been double, in the same sense that the Greeks called theirs σπήλαια ἀμφιδίδυμα, because they had a double entrance, so that one might go into them at both ends, as Hesychius expounds it. Which shews, as he adds, it was a large place, and would contain many bodies. And of this he is so confident as to say, "Non quærenda est alia duplicis speluncæ interpretatio:" *no other interpretation of this double sepulchre ought to be sought after.* But learned men will not hearken to such dictates; and particularly Theodorick Hackspan maintains Machpelah to be a proper name (as we take it) by these two reasons: first, because the field itself, wherein this cave was, is called the Field of Machpelah: (ver. 19.) which doth not signify sure that there was a double gate to this field, but that it was in that tract of ground called Machpelah. And, secondly, this Field in Machpelah, is said to be before Mamre, (ver. 17.) which plainly denotes it to be a place so called, (Miscell. lib. i. cap. 10.) For which last reason, Guil. Vorstius also takes it to have been the name of a country, or province, in which this field and cave lay. (Animadv. in Pirke Eliezer, p. 179.)

*Which is in the end of his field.*] Burying-places were not anciently in the cities, much less in their temples; but in the fields, in caves, or vaults made to hold a good number of bodies. And so they continued, it is manifest, in our Saviour's time, among the Jews; as appears by Lazarus's monument, (John xi. 30, 31.) and by the burying-places for strangers, (Matt. xxvii. 7.) and their carrying the widow's son out of the city, (Luke vii. 12, &c.)

This seems to have been in the corner of the field beforementioned; which, perhaps, was near the highway: for there they sometimes affected to bury their dead, as appears from Gen. xxxv. 8. 19. Josh. xxiv. 30.

Ver. 10. *And Ephron dwelt.*] The Hebrew word for *dwelt* signifies literally *sat.* Which hath made some think that Ephron was a great man (a ruler, or governor) among the children of Heth, who sat as a prince or judge in this assembly. And that this was the reason why Abraham (ver. 8.) addressed himself to others of the same rank, that they would make way for him into his favour.

*In the audience of the children of Heth,* &c.] It is judiciously observed by Cornel. Bertram, that all weighty matters in those days were determined by the king (if they had any), or the elders, with the consent of the people. (De Repub. Judaic. cap. 3.) Marriages were a matter of public right; (xxix. 22.) as sepulchres were, it appears by this place: both of them being held to belong to religion.

Ver. 11. *In the presence of the sons of my people,* &c.] Contracts, or grants, were wont to be made before all the people, or their representatives, till writings were invented.

Ver. 12. *Abraham bowed,* &c.] Because, by their intercession, this favour was granted him.

Ver. 13. *I will give thee money for the field.*] This was the surest title, he thought, by purchase. And it was but reasonable he should buy it, if he would have any land in Canaan; for the time of possessing it, according to God's promise, was not yet come.

Ver. 15. *The land is worth four hundred shekels.*] This is the first time we meet with the name of shekel. Mention was made of money before in general, (xvii. 12, 13.) and of pieces of silver, xx. 16. (which shews the use of money was found out in those early days, and they did not trade merely by the exchange of one commodity for another), but we have no name for the money till now: and cannot exactly tell of what value a shekel of silver was. But Josephus (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10.) saith, Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας, *it was as much as four Attic drachms;* that is, half an ounce: which, in our money, wants not much of half a crown.

*What is that between me and thee?*] Some will have this to signify as much as, This is not worth speaking of between friends, and therefore I had rather thou wouldst accept it as a gift. But it is more reasonable to think, that he only pretended to use him kindly, and not to exact

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upon his necessity. It being as much as to say, This is no great price, but a friendly bargain: pay it, therefore, and bury thy dead.

Ver. 16. *Abraham weighed to Ephron,* &c.] They did not *tell* money as we do now, but *weighed* it: for it was not stamped anciently, as Aristotle observes: but in the beginning of the world was received, *μεγέθει καὶ στάθμῳ, by its bulk and its weight.* Which being very troublesome, they learned in time to set a mark upon it, to free them from that inconvenience. Ὁ γὰρ χαρακτὴρ ἐτέθη τοῦ πόσου σημεῖον, *for that mark was set upon it to denote its quantity; i. e.* how much it was worth. For having the public stamp, that made it current, at a known value. Which must not be understood of foreign money, which was still weighed, though stamped: but of that of their own country, which they were assured was worth so much as the mark expressed. Yet it continued to be weighed among the Jews in David's time; (1 Chron. xxi. 25.) nay, till the captivity of Babylon, (Jerem. xxxii. 9.) And, indeed, the very word *shekel* comes from *shakal,* to weigh. And may be interpreted, as Waserus observes, *the weight.*

From all which Herm. Conringius well concludes, there is no truth in what the Jews say, in Bereschith Rabba, and other books; that Joshua, David, and Mordecai, nay, Abraham, coined money in their days. To support which fiction, they have counterfeited some coins with the inscription of "*Senex et Annus*" on one side, and "*Juvenis et Virgo*" on the other. As if Isaac and Rebekah were now married: or Abraham had power to coin money in a country where he did but sojourn, and was no sovereign.

Ver. 17. *Which were before Mamre.*] Over against Mamre. (See xiii. 18.)

*Were made sure.*] By a solemn contract, in a public assembly, (ver. 11.) where the money was tendered and accepted; and all there present desired to be witnesses to it.

Ver. 18. *In the presence of the children of Heth.*] See ver. 11.

Ver. 19. *And after this Abraham buried Sarah,* &c.] It is not likely that Ephron had ever buried any of his family here, but had only begun to make a vault in this field which Abraham bought of him, with all the trees therein, (ver. 17.) or, if it were finished, he sold it before he had made use of it. For we cannot think Abraham would lay his wife's body among those of the Hittites: but in a vacant place where he intended to be interred himself: as his family after him also were, (xlix. 30, 31.)

Ver. 20. *Was made sure.*] He repeats this, which had been said, ver. 17. because now the purchase was more confirmed, by the laying Sarah's body in this place: it being a kind of taking actual possession of it.

## CHAP. XXIV.

Ver. 1. *AND Abraham was old.*] Some of the Hebrews, and Christian writers also, refer this to his wisdom; as the next words [well stricken in years] unto his age: nobody being called *zaken* (though far more aged) in the Holy Scripture till now: and therefore they translate it *elder;* which is the name of a wise man. (See Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 14. p. 556, &c.) Certain it is, that Abraham was now a hundred and forty years old: for he was a hundred when Isaac was born, (xxi. 5.) and Isaac was forty when he married Rebekah, (xxv. 20.)

Ver. 2. *And Abraham said unto his eldest servant of his house.*] Or, rather, as the LXX. translate it, *He said to his servant, the elder of his house:* that is, the steward, or governor of his family, as the Jerus. Targum translates it. (See Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 14. p. 550. and Dr. Hammond upon Acts xi. not. b.) All take this servant to have been Eliezer, mentioned xxv. 2.

*Put thy hand under my thigh.*] Some will have this phrase to import no more than, Lift me up, that I may stand, and call God to witness. But Abraham, no question, was now so vigorous, as to be able to rise of himself: having many children after this. Others, therefore, follow the opinion of the Jewish doctors, which is this, in short; "Before the giving of the law, the ancient fathers swore by the covenant of circumcision." They are the words of R. Eliezer, in his Pirke, cap. 49. And it is not improbable, that this manner of swearing, by putting the hand under that part which was the subject of circumcision, had respect to the covenant God made with that family, and their right to accomplish the promise of the Messiah. But this was not a custom peculiar to Abraham's family, for we find it among other eastern people: and therefore, it is likely, more ancient than circumcision. For which cause, Aben Ezra himself thinks putting the hand under the thigh was a token of subjection and homage, done by a servant to his lord: he sitting, and the servant putting his hand under him. Grotius imagines, that the sword hanging upon the thigh (Psalm xlv. 3.) this was as much as to say, If I falsify, kill me. Which is very witty; but the other seems plainer, signifying as much as, I am under thy power, and ready to do what thou commandest.

Ver. 3. *Sweur by the Lord.*] It was not lawful to swear by any creature; but only by him that made them all. For they took the greatest care to declare that they worshipped him alone.

*That thou wilt not take a wife unto my son.*] It seems he intended to leave the guardianship of his son to him (if he should die before he had disposed of him), as unto a wise and faithful servant, who had managed his affairs above fifty years; and we do not know how much longer.

*Of the daughters of the Canaanites.*] For, though there were some good people among them, as appears by Melchizedec and Abimelech; yet he saw them degenerating apace into all manner of wickedness; especially into idolatry: which would bring them, he knew, to utter desolation when they had filled up the measure of their iniquity, (xv. 16.)

Ver. 4. *But go into my country.*] *i. e.* Into Mesopotamia, where he lived for some time in Haran, after he came from Ur: which was also in that country, as I observed upon xi. 31. It seems, also, his brother had removed hither; following his father Terah's and Abraham's example. (See xi. 31.)

*And my kindred.*] The family of his brother Nahor, which he heard lately was increased, (xxii. 20.) who, though they had some superstition among them, retained the worship of the true God; as appears from this very chapter, ver. 31. 50.

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*And take a wife unto my son Isaac.*] Which, no doubt, was by Isaac's consent, as well as his father's command.

Ver. 5. *Must I needs bring thy son again into the land from whence thou camest?*] He desires (like a conscientious man) to understand the full obligation of his oath, before he took it. And his doubt was, whether, if a woman would not come with him into Canaan, he should be bound to go again, a second time, and carry Isaac to her.

Ver. 6. *Beware that thou bring not my son thither again.*] He would by no means his son should go to that country, which God commanded him to forsake; that command obliging not only himself, but his posterity. (See ver. 8.)

Ver. 7. *The Lord God of heaven,* &c.] He who rules all things above as well as below, who brought me from my own into this country, and hath promised, and confirmed that promise with an oath, that my posterity shall inherit it, will prosper thy journey, and dispose some of my kindred to come hither, and be married to my son.

*Send his angel before thee.*] Good men were ever very sensible of God's providence governing all things, and prospering their proceedings by the ministry of angels: which Abraham's servant takes particular notice of, ver. 40.

Ver. 8. *And if the woman will not be willing to follow thee,* &c.] If it fall out otherwise than I hope, thou hast done thy duty: if thou bring not my son into that country again. He speaks (both here and ver. 6.) as if Isaac had once been there: because Abraham himself came from thence, and his servant also, and a great many of his family, (xii. 5.) who, if Isaac went to settle there, must have gone with him, as part of his substance.

Ver. 10. *And the servant took ten camels,* &c.] Camels were of great use in those countries, as they are at this day: some of them being made for carriage of burdens; and others for swift travelling; which latter sort were called by a peculiar name, Δρομάδες, *dromedaries,* as Salmasius observes in his Plinian. Exercit. p. 987. These, perhaps, were of that kind, for the greater expedition: like those we read of, 1 Sam. xxx. 17.

*For all the goods of his master were in his hands.*] He might choose what accommodations he pleased for his journey; having every thing belonging to his master at his command: who being a great person, it was fit his principal servant should be well attended, (as it appears he was, ver. 32.) especially when he went upon such an errand, as to court a wife for his master's son. Most refer this to the presents he carried along with him: and R. Solomon will have it that he carried a writing with him under his master's hand (an inventory we call it), specifying all his goods and riches, that they might know what a great match his son was.

*City of Nahor.*] Which was Haran, from whence Abraham came, (xi. 31.) and to which Jacob went to find his kindred, (xxviii. 10.) How far it was thither we are not told, nor how long they were going to it: and Moses omits also whatsoever passed in the way, as not pertinent to his story.

Ver. 11. *Camels kneel down.*] The posture wherein they rest themselves.

Ver. 12. *O Lord God of my master Abraham,* &c.] He had observed the kindness of God to have been so great to Abraham, and Abraham to have such a peculiar interest in his favour; that in confidence he would make good Abraham's words, (ver. 7. and 40.) he not only begs he might have good success in his journey, but desires a sign of it to confirm his faith; and such a sign as was most apposite to denote the person that would make a good wife, by her courtesy, humility, condescension, hospitality, prompt and laborious charity: all which are included in what *he* desires and *she* did.

Ver. 14. *Thereby shall I know that thou hast shewed kindness to my master.*] He had no confidence that God would do any thing for his own sake, but for his master's, whom God had most wonderfully blessed.

Ver. 15. *And it came to pass before he had done speaking,* &c.] This shews it was by a Divine suggestion that he made this prayer; which was answered immediately. Such is the Divine goodness; or rather (to use the words of Sam. Bochartus, upon occasion of many such instances), "Sic enim parata et obvia esse solent Dei beneficia, ita ut preces nostras non tam sequantur, quam occupent atque antecedant," (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 49.) *So forward is God to bestow his benefits upon us, that they do not so much follow our prayers, as prevent and go before them.* (See ver. 45.)

*With her pitcher upon her shoulder.*] Behold the simplicity, frugality, and industry of that age.

Ver. 20. *Drew for all his camels.*] There were *ten* of them, (ver. 10.) and they are a very thirsty sort of creatures: and therefore she took a great deal of pains to serve him, who was but a stranger, in this manner. Which shewed extraordinary goodness, and a most obliging disposition; at which he might well be amazed, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 21. *Wondering at her, held his peace,* &c.] He was so astonished at her kindness, readiness to do good, and laborious diligence, &c. and also at the providence of God in making things fall out so pat to his desires, that for the present he could not speak; having his mind employed in marking and observing every passage; whereby he might judge how to conclude whether this was the woman or no, whom God designed for his master's son.

Ver. 22. *The man took.*] Gave her, as the phrase is often used. But he first asked her whose daughter she was, as appears from ver. 47.

*A golden ear-ring.*] Or rather (as the margin hath it) a *jewel for the forehead.* And so we translate the Hebrew word, Ezek. xvi. 12. and this person himself expounds it, ver. 47. "I put the ear-ring (or jewel) upon her face," *i. e.* her forehead. For such ornaments were used in those times and countries, hanging down between the eyebrows, over the nose.

*Two bracelets for her hands.*] *i. e.* Wrists.

Ver. 26. *Bowed his head, and worshipped the Lord.*] Gave solemn thanks to God for hearing his prayer: and acknowledged that by his providence he was conducted to the execution of his desires; as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 27. *Mercy and truth.*] Mercy in promising, and truth in performing: or, "hath truly been merciful to him according to his promise," (ver. 7.) See ver. 49.

*The house of my master's brethren.*] *i. e.* His near kindred.

Ver. 28. *Told them of her mother's house.*] The women in the eastern countries had their apartments by themselves;



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as was before observed, and appears again, ver. 67. Thither it was proper for Rebekah to go and acquaint her mother with what had passed.

Ver. 30. *When he saw the ear-ring,* &c.] This was the reason why he ran to invite the man to their house.

*He stood by the camels at the well.*] Expecting to see the issue.

Ver. 31. *Come in, thou blessed of the Lord.*] Whom God favoureth, and I pray may still continue in his favour. For it refers both to the time past and future.

Ver. 32. *Water to wash his feet,* &c.] As the custom was in those countries. (See xviii. 4.)

Ver. 33. *I will not eat,* &c.] An excellent servant; who preferred his master's profit to his own pleasure.

Ver. 35. *The Lord hath blest my master greatly,* &c.] Enriched him exceedingly; so that he is become a person of great eminence, (xxiii. 6.)

Ver. 36. *Given all that he hath.*] Declared him his heir, and settled his whole estate upon him.

Ver. 40. *The Lord before whom I walk.*] Whom I worship and study to please; keeping a grateful remembrance of his benefits always in my mind. For so Abraham's own words are, (ver. 7.) "The God which brought me from my father's house," &c.

Ver. 41. *Thou shalt be clear from this my oath.*] Or *curse,* as the Hebrew word imports: for all oaths were made anciently with some imprecations upon themselves if they sware falsely.

Ver. 42. *O Lord God of my master Abraham,* &c.] He doth not relate just the very words which he said; but the sense of them, and most of the words.

*Prosper my way which I go.*] The design in which I am engaged.

Ver. 48. *My master's brother's daughter.*] The granddaughter of his brother Nahor.

Ver. 49. *If ye will deal kindly and truly.*] Be really and sincerely kind.

*That I may turn to the right hand, or to the left.*] A kind of proverbial speech; signifying, "that I may take some other course (which way God shall direct) to fulfil my master's desire." It is the fancy of some of the Hebrew doctors, that he meant, he might go either to the Ishmaelites, or the children of Lot.

Ver. 50. *Laban and Bethuel.*] The chief manager of this affair was Laban; for Bethuel is not mentioned till now; because, perhaps, he was old, and unfit for business: but consents to all that is desired.

*The thing proceedeth from the Lord.*] It appears to be the Divine will and pleasure.

*We cannot speak unto thee good or bad.*] No way contradict it.

Ver. 51. *Rebekah is before thee.*] Is by us delivered to thee, to be disposed of according to thy desire: as the phrase is used, xx. 15.

*As the Lord hath spoken.*] Declared, by those signs which thou hast related to us.

Ver. 52. *Worshipped the Lord to the earth.*] Gave the most humble thanks unto Almighty God, for his goodness to him.

Ver. 53. *Gave to her brother and mother.*] Here is no mention of the father: which hath made some think, as Josephus did, that the father was dead; and Bethuel, mentioned, ver. 50. was her younger brother. But I take it to be more likely, that her father being infirm had committed the care of his daughter to Laban and his wife: and so appeared no more than was just absolutely necessary, in this treaty of marriage; which was carried on principally by Laban, who is mentioned therefore before her mother.

*Precious things.*] Presents of great value.

Ver. 55. *Let the damsel abide with us a few days, at least ten.*] There is nothing more common in Scripture, than by *days* to express a *year.* And therefore we have exactly translated these words in the margin, *a full year, or ten months:* (See iv. 3. Lev. xxv. 29. 1 Sam. i. 3. compared with ver. 7. and 20.) Some think this cannot be the meaning, because the servant was in such haste to return to his master. But it was as fit for them to shew their love to Rebekah, as it was for him to shew his concern for his master. Besides, there was something of decency in it, the custom being in all countries, for her that was espoused to a husband, to stay some time with her parents, before the consummation of the marriage. And one would think the custom then was, for to keep her a year, or near it: which makes them desire she might stay at least *ten months,* that they might not depart too far from the common usage, and that she might have the longer time to fit herself with the usual nuptial ornaments. Thus Onkelos it is certain understood it, and the paraphrase of Uzielides, and the Mauritanian Jews, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 5.

Ver. 56. *That I may go to my master.*] Whom he would have to rejoice with him.

Ver. 57. *Inquire at her mouth.*] Let her resolve, how it shall be. St. Ambrose observes upon this passage, that they do not consult her about the marriage, "for that belonged to the judgment of the parents," but about the time of going to complete it. Upon which occasion he quotes the words of Hermione when she was courted by Orestes (in Euripides' Andromacha), which he thinks were taken from hence, Νυμφευμάτων μὲν τῶν ἐμῶν Πατὴρ ἐμὸς Μέριμναν ἕξει, κ' οὐκ ἐμὸν κρίνειν τάδε. *My father will take care of my marriage: these things do not belong to my determination.* (Lib. i. de Abrahamo Patriarcha, cap. ult.)

Ver. 58. *Wilt thou go with this man?*] That is, presently, as he desires. For that she should be Isaac's wife was agreed already between them: and we are to suppose she had consented. The only question was, whether so soon as the man desired?

*And she said, I will.*] I agree to go, without any delay: which, no doubt, very much endeared her to Isaac.

Ver. 59. *And her nurse.*] Whose name was Deborah, (xxxv. 8.) who did not suckle her, perhaps, but was (as we speak) her dry-nurse: for whom, it is likely, she had a great affection. It being a piece of ancient piety and gratitude to keep such persons as long as they lived, who had taken care of them in their infancy. It is probable also she was remarkable for prudence, and other eminent qualities; or else Moses would scarce have let her name, and her death and burial, had a place in this history, (xxxv. 8.)

Ver. 60. *And they blessed Rebekah,* &c.] Her father and mother, with all the rest of their family and kindred, prayed God to make her exceeding fruitful; and to make her posterity victorious over their enemies: which were the great things they desired in those days. The Hebrews look upon

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this (as Mr. Selden observes in the place before named on ver. 55.) as an example of the solemn benediction, which was wont to be given (even before the law of Moses) when the spouse was carried to her husband.

*Thou art our sister.*] Near cousin or kinswoman: for all that were near of kin called one another brothers and sisters.

Ver. 61. *Her damsels.*] Who waited upon her; and were given as part of her portion.

Ver. 62. *Well of Lahai-roi.*] Mentioned xvi. 14. By which it appears that Abraham, after the death of Sarah, returned to live at Beer-sheba, or thereabouts; for that was nigh this well: and it is probable Abraham and Isaac were not parted.

Ver. 63. *To meditate,* &c.] The cool of the evening and solitude are great friends to meditation.

Ver. 64. *She lighted off the camel.*] As they always did who met any person whom they honoured.

Ver. 65. *Took a veil.*] Not only out of modesty, but in token of her subjection to him. Many will have this to have been a peculiar ornament belonging to a bride, called by the Romans *flameum,* by the Greeks Θέριστρον, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 5. Whence those words of Tertullian, de Veland. Virgin. cap. 2. "Etiam apud Ethnicos velatæ (*i. e.* sponsæ) ad virum ducuntur:" *Even among heathens brides are brought to their husbands with a veil over their faces.*

Ver. 66. *And the servant told Isaac all things that he had done.*] How she had consented to be his wife.

Ver. 67. *Brought her into his mother Sarah's tent.*] That apartment wherein his mother dwelt: which was distinct from that of the husband's.

*And Isaac was comforted after the death of his mother.*] The love he had to his wife, helped to alleviate the sorrow he had conceived at his mother's death: which was so great, that now it had continued *three* years. Such was the pious affection children had for their parents, in ancient days.

Isaac was *forty* years old when he married Rebekah, (xxv. 20.) and, if we can believe the Jews (in Seder Olam), she was but *fourteen.*

## CHAP. XXV.

Ver. 1. *THEN again Abraham took a wife.*] Sarah being dead, and Hagar long ago sent away, and his son Isaac lately married, he wanted a companion in his old age. For, having given up Sarah's tent unto Rebekah, (xxiv. ult.) it is probable he gave up his own to Isaac, and so dwelt in a tent by himself, where he found it necessary to have a wife to look after his family.

*And her name was Keturah.*] We are not told what family she was of: but it is not unlikely she had been born and bred in his own house, as Eliezer his steward was; and, perhaps, was chief among the women, as he among the men servants. Many of the Jews will have her to be Hagar, whom (Sarah, who was the cause of her expulsion, being dead) he now received again. So the Jerusalem paraphrase, and Jonathan also: but Aben Ezra confutes this opinion with good reason; for no account can be given of Abraham's having more concubines than one, (ver. 6.) unless we make Keturah distinct from Hagar. Nor can any body tell why he should call Hagar by the name of Keturah here, when he calls her by her own name, ver. 12.

Ver. 2. *And she bare him.*] He was now a hundred and forty years old: but so vigorous as to beget many children. Which need not seem strange, considering the age to which they then lived, (for he lived thirty-five years after this marriage, ver. 7.) and that now, in our time, men have had children after they have been seventy, nay, eighty years of age.

To the truth also of this history we have the testimony of pagan writers. For Alexander Polyhistor (mentioned by Josephus, and by Eusebius, lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 20.) tells us, that Cleodemus (called by some Malchas) writing the history of the Jews, reports just as Moses doth, Ὅτι ἐκ Χεττούρας Ἀβραάμῳ ἐγένοντο παῖδες ἱκανοί: *That Abraham had a good many children by Keturah:* three of which he mentions by name.

*Zimran.*] This son of his, with all the rest of his brethren, was sent by Abraham into the east country, (as we read ver. 6.) and therefore we must seek for them in those parts; viz. In Arabia, and the countries thereabout, where some footsteps of them have remained for many ages, particularly of Zimran; from whom we may well think the Zamareni were descended, a people mentioned by Pliny, with their towns in Arabia Felix, (lib. vi. cap. 28.)

*And Jockshan.*] Concerning whom I can find nothing but only this: that Theophanes, a chronographer, in the beginning of the ninth century, after he hath treated of the Ishmaelites and Madianites (the latter of which came from one of Keturah's children), and the parts of Arabia where Mahomet was born, immediately adds, that there were other people, ἐνδότεροι, more in the bowels of Arabia, descended from Jectan, called Amanitæ, that is, Homeritæ. Perhaps it should be written Jocshan, not Jectan: for Philostorgius expressly says of the Homerites, Ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν ἐκ Χεττούρας, &c. *That they are one of the nations descended from Keturah and Abraham,* lib. iii. Hist. Eccles. §. 4. where he relates a famous embassy which Constantius sent to them to win them to Christianity, and the good success of it. And there is this strong proof of their descent from some of Abraham's family, that they retained the rite of circumcision, even when they were idolators. For he says expressly, "that it was a circumcised nation," κατὰ τὴν ὀγδόην περιτεμνομένων ἡμέραν, *and circumcised also on the eighth day.* Which was not the custom of all the Arabians, if we may believe Josephus, (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 23.) and Eustathius in Hexaemeron, &c. who say the Arabians stayed till they were thirteen years old before they were circumcised.

*Medan.*] From whom the country called Madiania, in the southern part of Arabia Felix, it is likely had its name.

*Midian.*] From whom Midianitis, in Arabia Petræa, had its denomination.

*And Ishbak.*] I can find no footsteps of his posterity, unless it be in Bacascami, which Pliny says was one of the towns of the Zamareni, who descended from his eldest brother Zimran. There were a people also hard by, called Bachilitæ, as he tells us, lib. vi. Nat. Hist. cap. 28.

*And Shuah.*] Perhaps he had no children, or so few that they were mixed with some of their other brethren,



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and left no name behind them. Yet Pliny, in the next chapter, mentions a town called Suasa, in that part of Arabia which is next to Egypt, lib. vi. cap. 29.

Ver. 3. *And Jokshan begat Sheba.*] I observed before upon x. 7. that there are four of this name, or near it, all comprehended by the Greek and Roman writers under the name of Sabeans. One of them, the son of Raamah, had a brother called Dedan, as this Sheba here hath. But they were the fathers of a distinct people, as is evident from the Scripture story, and from other authors. For, besides the Sabæi in the furthermost parts of Arabia, near the Persian and the Red Sea, there were also a people of that name (descended, it is very probable, from this son of Jokshan), in the very entrance of Arabia Felix, as Strabo tells us; who says, that they and the Nabatæi were the very next people to Syria: and were wont to make excursions upon their neighbours. By which we may understand (which otherwise could not be made out), how the Sabeans broke into Jacob's country, and carried away his cattle. For it is not credible they could come so far as from the Persian or Arabian Sea: but from this country there was an easy passage through the deserts of Arabia, into the land of Uz or Ausitis, which lay upon the borders of Euphrates. (See Bochart in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 9.)

*And Dedan.*] There was one of this name (as I said before), the son of Rhegma, (Gen. x. 7.) who gave name to a city upon the Persian Sea, now called Dadan. But besides that, there was an inland city, called Dedan, in the country of Idumea, mentioned by Jeremiah, (xxv. 23. xlix. 8.) whose inhabitants are called Dedanim, (Isa. xxi. 13.) And this Dedan, here mentioned, may well be thought to be the founder of it, as the same Bochart observes, lib. iv. cap. 6.

*And the sons of Dedan were Ashurim, and Letushim, and Leummim.*] If these were heads of nations, or families, the memory of them is lost. For it is a mistake of Cleodemus (who mentions the first of these in Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 20.) to derive the Assyrians from this Ashurim: they having their original from Ashur, one of the sons of Shem, (x. 22.)

Ver. 4. *And the sons of Midian, Ephah.*] The name of Ephah, the eldest son of Midian, continued a long time; for these two are mentioned by Isaiah as near neighbours, (lx. 6.) And not only Josephus, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, but the Nubiensian geographer also, tell us of a city called Madian, in the shore of the Red Sea; near to which was Ephah, in the province of Madian. עיפה, *Epha*, or *Hipha*, is the same with that place the Greeks call Ἵππος, and Ptolemy mentions both a mountain and a village of this name on the same shore, a little below Madiane, which is the Madian here mentioned, as Bochart observes in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 3.

*And Epher.*] I can find no remainders of his family, unless it be among the Homeritæ beforementioned, whose metropolis was called Τάφαρον; in which Theophilus (sent by Constantius to convert that country) built a church, as Philostorgius relates, (lib. iii. Hist. Eccles. §. 4.) Which city is mentioned by many other authors, as Jacobus Gotofredus observes in his Dissertations upon Philostorgius; particularly by Arrianus, in his Periplus of the Red Sea, where he calls the metropolis of the Homeritæ expressly by the name of Ἀφὰρ, which one cannot well doubt came from this *Epher*.

*And Hanoch.*] In that part of Arabia Felix where the Adranitæ were seated, there was a great trading town called Cane, as Ptolemy tells us, and shews its distance from Alexandria; Κάνη ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄκρον, (lib. viii.) Pliny also mentions a country in Arabia, which he calls Regio Canauna; which may be thought to have taken its name from this person and his posterity.

*And Abidah.*] The relics of this name remain (if the two last syllables, as is usual, be inverted) in the people called Διβηνοὶ, who lived in an island called Διβοῦ, or Διβοῦς, which lay between Arabia and India, and is by authors said to belong sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other. Philostorgius saith, only they bear the name of Indians (in the place beforenamed, where he saith, Theophilus, who was sent to convert the Homerites, was born here). But Pliny, reckoning up the tracts of Arabia, places the isle called Devadæ (which I take to be this) over-against the forenamed region called Canauna, (lib. vi. cap. 28.) And Strabo (as Gothofred observes), Agatharcides, and others, call it Δέβαι.

*And Eldaah.*] I know not where to find any remains of this name, unless it be in the city Elana (which might easily be formed from Eldaah, by leaving out the *daleth*, and turning the *ain* into *nun*, than which nothing more common), which was seated in the Sinus Arabicus, toward the east, called by others Αἰλάνα (*Ælana*), from whence the Sinus itself was called Elanites, and the people that lived in it Elanitæ, as Salmasius shews out of many authors: (Exercit. in Solinum, p. 482.)

Ver. 5. *Gave all he had to Isaac.*] As he designed long before, (xxiv. 36.)

Ver. 6. *Sons of his concubines.*] Which were Hagar and Keturah, who were wives, but of an inferior sort, according to the manner of those times and countries. Keturah is expressly called his concubine, 1 Chron. i. 32. as she is above (ver. 1. of this chapter) called his wife. Which R. Bechai (in Mr. Selden, cap. iii. de Successionibus) thus explains: "She was his concubine, because of a servile condition; but his wife, because married with covenants, to provide for her and her children;" though they were not to heir his estate. The Talmudists, indeed, do not perfectly agree in this matter; for, though they all agree (and prove it evidently) that they were real wives, yet some say they were made so only by solemn espousals, without any marriage settlement in writing, as the principal wives had: others think they had a writing also, but not with such conditions as the principal wives enjoyed. Abarbinel hath an accurate discourse about this, which Buxtorf hath translated into his book De Sponsalibus, n. 17. And see also Mr. Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 7. p. 570, &c. and G. Sckickard, de Jure Regio, cap. 3. p. 70.

*Gave gifts.*] Some portion of his money, or moveable goods; or, perhaps, of both: which, in all probability, he gave to Ishmael, as well as to these sons, (though it be not mentioned, Gen. xxi. 14.) because Moses here saith, he gave gifts *to the sons of his concubines;* of which Hagar was one.

*Into the east country.*] Into Arabia and the adjacent countries, as was said before. For the Midianites are called the "children of the east," in Judg. vi. 3. 33. vii. 12. viii. 10.

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Ver. 7. *These are the days of the years of Abraham,* &c.] This is spoken by anticipation (to finish the story of Abraham), for Esau and Jacob were born before he died, and were now fifteen years old. For Isaac was but sixty years old when they were born, (ver. 26.) and seventy-five when Abraham died; who was a hundred years old at Isaac's birth, and lived to the age of one hundred seventy and five.

Ver. 8. *Abraham gave up the ghost.*] Died of no disease, but old age.

*In a good old age.*] Without pain or sickness.

*Full of years.*] The Hebrew hath only the word *full;* we add *years* to make up the sense: which some think rather to be this, that he was satisfied, and had enough of this world, desiring to live no longer. Like that expression in Seneca, (epist. lxi.) "Vixi, Lucili charissime, quantum satis est; mortem plenus expecto."

*Gathered to his people.*] It doth not relate to his body, which was not buried with them; and therefore must relate to his soul, which is supposed by this still to live in that place where his pious forefathers were gone. Or else it is a Hebrew idiom, signifying no more, but that he left this world as all his fathers had done before him.

Ver. 9. *His sons, Isaac and Ishmael,* &c.] By this it appears that Isaac and Ishmael were not strangers one to another. Nay, some of the orientals tell us that Abraham went to see Ishmael at his house, and that Ishmael came to see him after he was sent away; which is not at all improbable; for no doubt Abraham provided for him suitable to the condition of his birth: and Ishmael could not but be convinced that the inheritance of his father belonged of right to Isaac, who was the son of a free-woman, and he only of a bond-woman. Nor could he well be ignorant that Isaac was to be heir of Abraham's estate, by God's designation.

*In the field of Ephron,* &c.] See xxiii. 17.

Ver. 11. *Isaac dwelt by the well Lahai-roi.*] He continued, after Abraham's death, his former habitation, which he had when he married, (xxiv. 62.)

Ver. 12. *Now these are the generations of Ishmael,* &c.] Having mentioned the blessing of God which went along with Isaac after his father's death (in the foregoing verse), he takes this occasion to shew, that God was not unmindful of his promise made to Abraham concerning Ishmael also, (xvii. 20.)

Ver. 13. *Nebaioth.*] As he was the first-born of Ishmael, so his posterity gave the denomination to the whole country of Arabia Petræa (in the best part of which, see ver. 3. they inhabited), which Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy, call *Nabatæa;* and sometimes other authors call *Nabathis;* as the inhabitants were called *Nabatæi;* who are mentioned also by Dionysius Periegetes, in his description of the world, and by Plutarch, in the Life of Demetrius; who, he saith, was sent to subdue the Arabs called *Nabatæi* (τοὺς καλουμένους Ναβαταίους) where he was in great danger to perish, by falling, εἰς τόπους ἀνύδρους, into places where there was no water. These are commonly called, in Scripture, Ishmaelites, as if they had been the sole heirs of their progenitor; and they dwelt near to the Midianites (their half brethren); for in the story of Joseph, he is said in one place to be sold unto the Ishmaelites, in another to the Midianites, (Gen. xxxvii. 27, 28. 36.) they being neighbours, and co-partners in traffic. The country of Moab also was near to these *Nabatæi,* as appears from Epiphanius, (Hæres. liii.) where, speaking of the countries that lay beyond the Dead Sea, he mentions this, which he calls Ναβατικὴ Χώρα, the region of Nebaioth, Ituræa, and Moabitis. (See Salmasius, Plin. Exercitat. p. 615.)

*Kedar.*] His posterity, called *Kedareni,* were also seated in Arabia Petræa, together with their elder brother: and their name also was so famous, that some authors call the whole country *Kedar.* For the language of Kedar is the Arabian language; and when David complains that he had dwelt long "in the tents of Kedar," the Chaldee expounds it, "in the dwelling of the Arabians." But those Arabians called Scenitæ were properly the people of Kedar: and yet not all the Scenitæ (*i. e.* all the Arabs who dwelt in tents), but those only who dwelt in Arabia Petræa. For there were divers kinds of them (all called Σκηνῖται), some near Euphrates, others in Arabia Felix, &c. as Salmasius shews in his Plin. Exercit. p. 484. Some take them to be the same with those whom Ptolemy calls Pharanitæ: for what the Psalmist calls dwelling among the "tents of Kedar," is called (1 Sam. xxvi. 1.) "dwelling in the wilderness of Paran." Pliny only says, Pharanitis bordered upon the Arabs (in "ora contermina gentis Arabiæ"), and so later writers make Pharan and Arabia Petræa to be near neighbours, as the same Salmasius shews, p. 485.

Ver. 14. *Dumah.*] He seems, by Isaiah xxi. 11. to have been seated near Idumea.

Ver. 15. *Hadar.*] Some think the Athritæ in Arabia Felix came from him. In which, likewise, there was a city called Tema, from the next son of Ishmael: and Jetur, the next son to him, may well be thought to have been the father of the Ituræi in Cœlo-Syria: and Kedemah, the last of his sons, to have dwelt near his brother Kedar. For so Jacobus Capellus expounds those words, (Jer. xlix. 28.) "Go up to Kedar, and spoil the men of Kedem," (which we translate "the men of the east.") And there are some other people in those countries, whose names sound something like the rest of the sons of Ishmael, but not so like as these I have mentioned: which makes me omit all further search after them, enough having been said to shew the truth of this account which Moses gives us of Ishmael's posterity.

Ver. 16. *These are their names, by their towns.*] Though some of them dwelt in tents (and thence were called Scenitæ Arabes), yet they did not live so scatteringly, but pitched them together, and made a town.

*And their castles.*] They had even then places of defence; which may make it probable, that they had also walled towns, to which they resorted from their tents in the fields, when they were in any danger, (Isa. xlii. 11.) For it must be here noted, that as there were divers people of this name of Scenitæ Arabes; so there was this difference among them (as Salmasius observes in the forenamed place), that some of them were Nomades, who wandered from place to place; others of them were not. Particularly the Sabean Scenitæ, and most of the rest, dwelt in tents, but were fixed in their habitations, and did not remove from one place to another, as those that dwelt in Mesopotamia did, who were both Scenitæ, and also Nomades. They, therefore, who were settled in tents, as the sons of Ishmael were, had reason to build fortresses for the security of their slender habitations.

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*Twelve princes according to their nations.*] Or, rather, (as Dr. Jackson well glosses, book i. on the Creed, cap. 25.) twelve heads of so many several houses, tribes, or clans. Which kind of government they continued till four hundred years after Christ, and is better expressed by heathen writers than by many Christian interpreters, when they call them Φύλαρχοι Ἀράβων, *rulers of their tribes*, as Strabo speaks, (lib. xvi.) in his description of Syria. And so the later writers speak of the Saracens (who were the same people formerly called Scenitæ Arabes), whose governors they called Phylarchi Saracenorum, as may be seen in Sextus Rufus and Jornandes.

See Salmas. as before, p. 484, 485.

Ver. 17. *Gathered unto his people.*] The same phrase being used here of the death of Ishmael, that was (ver. 8.) of the death of Abraham; it shews the meaning is no more, but that they left the world as others had done before them. We do not read where Ishmael was buried: it is likely in his own country, not in the cave of Machpelah; for that had been to give his posterity a claim to a share in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 18. *They dwelt from Havilah unto Shur,* &c.] See Gen. x. 7. Josephus, (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 12.) makes the Ishmaelites to have possessed the whole tract between Euphrates and the Red Sea; which appears by this place not to be true. For between them and Euphrates were the Amalekites and Moabites, who did not reach to Euphrates neither. The Ishmaelites therefore possessed the country, which in that part eastward that was next to the Amalekites, was called *the wilderness of Havilah;* and in that part next to Egypt was called the *wilderness of Shur;* and in other places of Scripture is called *Kedar,* the *wilderness of Paran,* and *the wilderness of sin.* All which was comprehended afterward under the name of Arabia. For Stephanus (as Salmasius observes, Plin. Exerc. p. 488.) makes but two Arabias. One which he calls the *spicy,* between the Persian and the Arabian Sea; the other on one end of it westward, was next to Egypt; on the other end northward, next to Syria.

*As thou goest towards Assyria.*] The wilderness of Shur was over-against Egypt, and touched it in that part by which the way lay from Egypt to Assyria. Or, as some understand the whole verse, "The sons of Ishmael dwelt from Shur, which is towards Egypt, unto Havilah, which is towards Assyria, in the way from Egypt thither."

*He died* (Heb. *fell*) *in the presence of all his brethren.*] Of all his relations or kindred, which are called *brethren* in Scripture. But his death has been spoken of before; and in this verse mention being made only of the situation of his country, some interpret it in this manner, *His lot fell, i. e.* he had its portion in the presence of all his brethren, according to the promise made to his mother, (xvi. 12.) the children of Keturah lying on the east of his country, and Isaac's seed on the west. Or, if we take it to relate to his death, it may have the same sense: "Till death he dwelt in the presence of all his brethren, and was in a flourishing condition."

Ver. 19. *These are the generations of Isaac.*] His principal design being to give an account of those descended from Abraham by Isaac; Moses returns to that, after a short account of his other posterity.

Ver. 20. *The Syrian, of Padan-Aram,* &c.] Bethuel and Laban are called Aramites, or Syrians, not because they were of that nation, but because they lived in the country of Aram, or Syria, that is, in Padan-Aram; as it is here explained, and appears more fully from Rebekah's discourse with her son Jacob, when she sent him thither, (xxviii. 2. 5.) where he living twenty years with his uncle Laban, was upon that account called a Syrian, though born in Canaan, (Deut. xxvi. 5.)

Padan-Aram was a part of Mesopotamia. I say a part of it, for Mesopotamia itself was called Aram-Naharaim, that part of Syria (for there were many other Arams) which lay between the two great rivers of Euphrates and Tigris. Which country had two parts also; one toward the north, from the mountains of Armenia to the river Chaboras, *i. e.* Araxes, (from whence Balaam seems to have been fetched, Numb. xxiii. 7.) which was exceeding fruitful, and upon that account called *Padan,* which signifies in Arabic the same that *Sede* doth in Hebrew, *i. e. a field.* And therefore what Moses calls going to Padan-Aram, (Gen. xxviii. 2.) the prophet Hosea calls fleeing to *Sedo-Aram,* into the *country* or *field of Syria,* (Hosea xii. 12.) this being a cultivated country, abounding with all plenty. The other part of Mesopotamia was southerly, from the forenamed river unto Babylon; and was very stony and barren. The Syrians lived in the former, and the Arabians in the latter, as Bochart observes, (lib. ii. Phaleg. cap. 6.)

Ver. 21. *Isaac entreated the Lord for his wife,* &c.] The Hebrew word *atar* doth not signify barely to entreat, or pray, but to beseech with earnestness, vehemence, and importunity. It is most likely he continued these importunate prayers several years; the desire of seeing the Messiah making them very uneasy under barrenness: and some of the Hebrews fancy, that she remaining barren twenty years, Isaac at last carried her with him to Mount Moriah (where he should have been offered), and there made most fervent supplications for a son; as if he would remember God of the promise he had there made him, that he would multiply Abraham's seed as the stars of heaven, (xxii. 17.)

Ver. 22. *And the children struggled together within her.*] Some time before her delivery (ver. 24.) she felt as if two were wrestling together in her womb; and put her into pangs, by striving which should get out first.

*If it be so, why am I thus?*] If I cannot be delivered, why did I conceive?

*And she went.*] The struggling and pangs, we must suppose, ceased for some time; so that she was able to go and consult the Divine Majesty about this unusual contest.

*To inquire of the Lord.*] There were some places where the Divine Majesty used to appear, which was the settled place of worship. (See iv. 3.) Maimonides will have it, that she went to the school of Sem, or Heber, who were prophets, to desire them to consult the Divine Majesty about her case. (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 41.) And it is very probable, that there was some divinely-inspired person attending the Schechinah, wheresoever it was; such as Melchizedec was at Salem. Whom Patricides takes to have been the person to whom Rebekah resorted, for resolution of her doubt.

Ver. 23. *And the Lord said unto her.*] By Melchizedec, saith the forenamed Patricides; By an angel, saith Mai-

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monides: who tells us (in the place now mentioned) their masters are so settled in their opinion that she went to inquire of the forenamed prophets, and that by *the Lord* is meant his angel, that they will have Heber to be him that gave the answer (for prophets, say they, are sometimes called angels), or the angel that spake to Heber in this prophecy; but it is most reasonable to think, that the Lord spake to her by an angel, from the Schechinah.

*Two nations are in thy womb.*] The heads of two nations.

*Two manner of people shall be separated.*] Greatly differing in their dispositions, manners, course of life, and country; which will make them perpetually disagree.

*From thy bowels.*] Shall issue from thee.

*The elder shall serve the younger.*] In his posterity, not in his own person.

Ver. 24. *When her days to be delivered were fulfilled.*] This demonstrates the time of her delivery was not come when the struggling first began.

Ver. 25. *Red all over.*] Some will have it with red hair, not only on his head, but all over his body.

*Like a hairy garment.*] As rough as hair-cloth; just as the poets describe satyrs. He was *hirsutus;* not only hairy all over, but those hairs as stiff as bristles; arguing great strength of body, and a rough, fierce temper.

*They called his name Esau.*] Which signifying *made* in Hebrew, this is commonly taken for the reason of his name, that he was as full of hairs when he was born, as others are at man's estate. But I think it may as well denote his active genius, which they thought this presaged.

Ver. 26. *Jacob.*] He certainly had his name from his taking his brother by the heel at his birth; as if he would supplant him, as he afterwards did.

*Was threescore years old.*] God exercised Isaac's faith and patience (just as he had done Abraham's) for the space of twenty years, before he gave him a child; for he was forty years old when he married (ver. 20.) and now sixty.

Ver. 27. *A cunning hunter.*] Had great skill in hunting, in which his active genius delighted.

*A man of the field.*] That took pleasure to be abroad, pursued wild beasts, in woods and mountains; where afterwards he had his habitation.

*A plain man, dwelling in tents.*] He loved not violent exercise, but kept at home; or looked after the flocks of sheep, and the breed of cattle.

Ver. 28. *And Isaac loved Esau,* &c.] Not only because he was his first-born, and because his love of hunting argued him to be a man of great activity and valour, who was likely to prove a great person, but because he also took care frequently to entertain his father with venison (which was of divers sorts), and afforded him such variety at his table, as gave his father frequent occasion to commend him.

*But Rebekah loved Jacob.*] Being a man of a more meek and quiet temper, suitable to her own disposition, and more at home also with her than Esau was, and designed by God to inherit the promise, (ver. 23.) It is likely Esau made great court (as we speak) to his father, and Jacob to his mother; whereby they won their affection.

Ver. 29. *He was faint.*] With too violent and long pursuit of his sports.

Ver. 30. *Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red,* &c.] It was made of lentiles, as we learn from the last verse of this chapter. And St. Austin upon Psalms xlvi. saith they were Egyptian lentiles; which were in great esteem, and much commended by Athenæus and A. Gellius: and gave the pottage, it is probable, a red tincture. Some think Esau did not know what it was, and therefore calls it only by its colour; asking for *that red, that same red,* as it is in the Hebrew.

*Therefore was his name called Edom.*] This repeated eager desire of he knew not what, for which he sold his birthright, gave him the name of Edom: which signifies *red.* Whence the city which he built, and the whole country his posterity inhabited, was called by the same name; and by the Greeks, Idumea; bordering toward the south upon Judea, Arabia, and Egypt.

Ver. 31. *Sell me this day thy birthright.*] The eldest son had several privileges belonging to him above the rest: the chief of which was to have a double portion of his father's estate. As for the right of priesthood, there are many reasons to prove it did not belong thereunto. But whatsoever they were, Jacob cunningly made an advantage of Esau's necessity, to purchase them all for a small matter. In which some think he did not amiss: about which I shall not dispute.

Ver. 32. *What profit shall this birthright do to me?*] He speaks very slightly, if not contemptuously of it: preferring the present satisfaction of his appetite, before his future dignity and greatness. For some are of opinion he pretended to be fainter than really he was; out of a vehement longing for the pottage; which, perhaps, was a rarity.

Ver. 33. *Swear to me this day.*] That I shall peaceably enjoy the prerogative of the birthright.

Esau seems to have been very violent in all things; and to have pursued this as eagerly as he did his sports: Jacob, on the contrary, very sedate and crafty to make the best use of the opportunities he met with to promote his ends.

Ver. 34. *Rose up and went his way.*] Well satisfied, and without any trouble for what he had done. Which the apostle censures as a piece of profaneness: parents being wont to give a special blessing to their first-born.

*Despised his birthright.*] He thought, perhaps, he could recover that by force, which he had lost by his brother's craft.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Ver. 1. *AND there was a famine in the land,* &c.] Such a scarcity of provisions, as was in Abraham's days, (xii. 10.) when he was newly come into Canaan, happened again in the days of Isaac.

*And Isaac went.*] It is not said from whence he went: but it is probable, after the death of Abraham, he went and dwelt where his father had often done, at Mamre, near Hebron. For he was not now at Beer-sheba, or the well Lahai-roi, (which was the last place of his habitation that we read of, xxv. 11.) for that was in this very country of Gerar, to which he now went.

*Unto Abimelech.*] The son, it is most likely, of him to whom Abraham went: for he is not to be thought the same; it being a hundred years since that time. And all the kings of that country were, for many ages, called by the name of

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Abimelech; as appears from the story of David: who fled to one of that name called Achish in 1 Sam. xxi. 10. but Abimelech in the title of the xxxivth Psalm. (See Gen. xx. 2.)

Ver. 2. *And (*or, *for) the Lord appeared to him.*] He intended to have gone into Egypt, as Abraham his father had done in the like case, (xii. 10.) But God forbade him (appearing to him either in a vision, or a dream, or as the glory of the Lord appeared afterward to Moses and the congregation of Israel upon several occasions), and directed him to stay in this country, which was in the way to Egypt: where he promises to provide for him.

Though Egypt was a most plentiful country; yet the king of it, at this time, was not so good a man, perhaps, as him that reigned in the days of Abraham.

Ver. 3. *Sojourn in this land,* &c.] He not only promises to take care of him at present, during the famine; but renews the promises made to Abraham his father at sundry times, and in divers places, (xii. 3. xv. 5. xvii. 2. 8.) and at last confirmed by an oath, (xxii. 16, 17.)

*I will be with thee, and bless thee.*] These, and such-like words, Maimonides shews express a special providence over those to whom they are spoken, and over all belonging to them. (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 18.)

*Unto thy seed will I give all these countries.*] Which he repeats again in the next verse; having mentioned the vast multiplication of his seed.

Ver. 4. *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.*] In this is contained the promise of the Messiah, the highest blessing God could bestow: which he assured Abraham should spring out of his family, (xxii. 18.) and now assures the same to Isaac.

Ver. 5. *Because that Abraham obeyed my voice.*] In going out of his own country, when God called him; in circumcising himself and his family; but especially (xxii. 18.) in offering his son Isaac.

*And kept my charge.*] *i. e.* Observed the sabbath-day, says Manesseh Ben-Israel, out of the Hebrew doctors: (L. de Creat. Problema viii.) But it seems more rational to understand by this word which we translate *charge,* all that he commanded him to observe: the particulars of which follow.

*My commandments, my statutes, and my laws.*] These are nicely distinguished by some of the Jews; especially Abarbinel: who, by *commandments,* understands not only that of circumcision, but of expelling Ishmael: and by *statutes* (Hebr. *chukkothai,* which always relates to ceremonial things), not only binding his son Isaac to offer him in sacrifice, but his offering a ram afterwards in his stead: and by *laws* (which include the judicial part of Moses's writings), his taking a wife for Isaac out of another country; and bestowing gifts upon the children of his concubines, reserving the land for Isaac. But this may seem too curious: and so many words may be thought rather to be used, only to express his exact obedience to God in every thing, whether belonging to religion, or to justice, mercy, or any other duty. According to what he required of him, (xvii. 1.) "Walk before me, and be thou perfect."

Ver. 6. *And Isaac dwelt in Gerar.*] This is a fresh instance of his constant obedience; in trusting to God's providence here, and not going down into Egypt as he was inclined.

Ver. 7. *She is my sister.*] Or, *cousin;* for so she was. He told part of the truth, but not all.

*For he feared to say,* &c.] He imitated his father; as children are apt to do.

Ver. 8. *Sporting with Rebekah his wife.*] Using such familiarity with her, and blandishments, as were not allowable between brethren and sisters, but common between man and wife, even openly. As embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, perhaps, very often: he having an exceeding great love to her, (xxiv. 67.)

Ver. 9. *Of a surety she is thy wife.*] It seems he took Isaac to be so good a man, that he looked upon the liberties he took with Rebekah, as tokens of conjugal love, not of incestuous desires.

Ver. 10. *Brought guiltiness upon us.*] It is likely the punishment inflicted upon his father and family, (xx. 17.) only for taking Sarah into his house, with an intention to make her his wife, was yet in memory among them.

Ver. 11. *He that toucheth this man or his wife,* &c.] This looks like a modest word, as it is used, xx. 6. and 1 Cor. vii. 1. But the Chaldee paraphrast and the Hebrew doctors interpret it of not doing them any injury: because he speaks of the man, as well as his wife, and so it is explained, ver. 29.

Ver. 12. *Then Isaac sowed in that land.*] Most take this to have been in the time of famine: which makes it the greater wonder, that the ground should then bring forth so plentifully. But it seems more likely to me, that the dearth was at an end: for it is said (ver. 8.) that he had been in that country "a long time," when Abimelech saw him sporting with his wife.

*A hundred-fold.*] This, in itself, is not wonderful; though, at this time, it was a singular blessing of God, after there had been some time ago a dearth; and, perhaps, the soil not rich, which afforded so large a crop. Otherwise, Varro says (lib. i. de Re Rustica, cap. 44.) that in Syria, about Gadera, and in Africa, about Byzacium, they reaped a hundred bushels for one *(ex modio nasci centum);* Pliny and Solinus say the same of that country Byzacium: insomuch that Bochartus fancies the metropolis of that rich country, viz. Adrumetum, had its name from hence; signifying in the Phœnician language as much as, *the region of a hundred-fold:* (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 24.) Nay, some places in Africa were so rich that they produced *two hundred,* yea *three hundred*-fold, as he shews out of several good authors in the twenty-fifth chapter of that book. Whence he thinks Africa had its name; being as much as Εὔσταχυς γῆ, *terra spicarum, a land of ears of corn.* All which I have noted, that this passage may not seem incredible to any reader.

*And the Lord blessed him.*] Or, *for* the Lord blessed him. This is the reason of the fruitfulness of that soil; which naturally would not have yielded so much.

Ver. 13. *And the man waxed great,* &c.] I suppose he had many such fruitful years; so that his riches increased till he grew *very great,* and bought more cattle than he had before. For in them consisted the ancient riches, as Servius tells us on the first of Virgil's Eclogues. "Omne patrimonium apud majores peculium dicebatur, a pecoribus; in quibus universa eorum substantia constabat. Unde etiam pecunia dicta fuit, a peculio." The same also we find said by Columella.

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Ver. 14. *Great store of servants.*] The margin hath, store of *husbandry*. Which is very likely; because he was encouraged in it, by his great crops: which could not likewise but increase the number of his servants. The Arabic set forth by Erpenius hath only, *a great revenue;* or *vast increase:* which, among the eastern people, as I said, was principally from their cattle. But God blessed him with abundance of corn also.

Ver. 16. *Thou art much mightier than we.*] As the people envied him, (ver. 14.) so the king himself, it seems, began to fear him: and therefore desired him, in a friendly manner, to leave his country. For they were not yet grown so wicked, as to attempt to destroy those who lived quietly among them; when they apprehended they would become richer and stronger than themselves.

Ver. 17. *The valley of Gerar.*] Where that was is uncertain; but at some distance from the city where Abimelech dwelt, and near to which Isaac had inhabited before.

Ver. 18. *Which they had digged in the days of Abraham.*] He chose to open the old ones, rather than dig new; both because he was certain there to find a spring of water, and because it was most easy, and less obnoxious to censure or envy: and because he would preserve his father's memory; for which reason he did not give them new names, but those they had in his father's days.

Ver. 19. *They digged in the valley,* &c.] In process of time, they found a necessity of more water; and so digged till they met with a new spring, in the valley.

Ver. 20. *The water is ours.*] Because it was found in their soil, as Menochius observes. But they having let the ground to Isaac, the water was truly his, as long as the contract lasted.

Ver. 21. *And they digged another well.*] I suppose, in the same valley: for, rather than contend, he receded from his right in the other well.

Ver. 22. *He removed from thence.*] To avoid strife, he quitted that part of the country, and went to another: where he was not disturbed in his pasturage.

*For now the Lord hath made room for us.*] He was straitened before, for want of sufficient water for his flock; which now he enjoyed in abundance.

*And we shall be fruitful in the land.*] Increase more than formerly: now that they could water their flocks quietly and plentifully.

Ver. 23. *Went up from thence to Beer-sheba.*] Where he and his father had anciently lived, (xxi. 33. xxv. 11.)

Ver. 24. *And the Lord appeared unto him the same night.*] As he had done before he came to Gerar, (ver. 2.)

*I am the God of Abraham.*] Who was so kind to him, and made a covenant with him.

*I am with thee.*] My special providence is over thee; as was explained before, (ver. 3.)

Ver. 25. *Built an altar there.*] To offer sacrifice unto the Lord.

*Called upon the name of the Lord.*] As Abraham had done before him, in this very place, (xxi. 33.)

*And pitched his tent there.*] Resolved to settle in this place.

Ver. 26. *Phicol,* &c.] The same name and the same office that he had, who is mentioned xxi. 22. but he was not the same man no more than Abimelech the same king. It is probable this was a name of some dignity among them; like that of Tribunus or Dictator among the Romans; which passed from one to another.

Ver. 28. *We saw certainly the Lord was with thee,* &c.] We have observed such a special providence over thee, that we come to establish a perpetual friendship with thee, by a solemn oath, if thou wilt consent to our desire. They were afraid, it seems, lest, being disobliged by their sending him out of their country, he should fall upon them one time or other; being mightier than they, as they acknowledged, (ver. 18.)

Ver. 29. *Have sent thee away in peace.*] They remember him how they dismissed him peaceably; and did not go about to seize upon his estate, while he lived among them: which they make an argument, why he should contract a nearer friendship with such civil people.

*Thou art now blessed of the Lord.*] This looks like a high compliment, or flattering expression.

Ver. 30. *He made them a feast,* &c.] So covenants were made, by eating and drinking together.

Ver. 32. *Told him concerning the well they had digged,* &c.] They had begun to dig before Abraham and Phicol came, (ver. 25.) and now they came at a spring of water.

Ver. 33. *He called it Sheba.*] From the *oath* which was lately made between him and Abimelech. It had been called so before by Abraham, (xxi. 31.) but that name, perhaps, was forgotten, and so he revived it, as he had done others, (ver. 18.)

Ver. 34. *The daughter of Beeri the Hittite,* &c.] Josephus saith, these two men, Berri and Elon, whose daughters Esau married, were *Dynastæ*, powerful men among the Hittites: which is not improbable. But his father sure had given the same charge to him, that Abraham had done concerning his own marriage, (xxiv. 3.) and then it was a very undutiful, nay, an impious action, to marry with those people, who were under the curse of God. The Scripture might well call him *profane;* who seems not to have regarded either the curse or the blessing of the Almighty.

Ver. 35. *A grief of mind.*] His very marrying with them sorely afflicted his father and mother. Or, as others interpret it, their idolatry and bad manners extremely grieved them.

## CHAP. XXVII.

Ver. 1. *WHEN Isaac was old.*] A hundred thirty and seven years old, as many have demonstrated.

*He said unto him, My son,* &c.] It appears by this and what follows, that though Esau had displeased him by his marriage, yet he retained his natural affection to him, which he had from the beginning.

Ver. 3. *Thy quiver.*] Some take the Hebrew word to signify a *sword;* which was as necessary for a huntsman, as a bow and arrows.

Ver. 4. *Make me savoury meat,* &c. To raise his feeble spirits, and enable him to deliver his last and solemn benediction with the more vigour.

*My soul may bless thee before I die.*] It seems Isaac did not understand the Divine oracle (xxv. 25.) as Rebekah did; or, she had not acquainted him with it. For he intended to bestow upon Esau the promised land; which was that God told Abraham he would bless his posterity withal. For the last benediction of these great men was



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the settling of their inheritance; and making those their heirs upon whom they bestowed their blessing. Now the birthright which Esau sold Jacob gave him right only to the greatest part of Isaac's estate; but not to the land of Canaan, which was to be disposed of by Isaac, according to Divine direction.

Ver. 7. *And bless thee before the Lord.*] These words shew it was not a common blessing, but a solemn benediction, and by Divine authority or approbation, which Isaac meant to give his son Esau.

Ver. 8. *Obey my voice,* &c.] Rebekah, having just reason to conclude that Esau had forfeited the blessing which she was desirous to preserve in her family, by marrying with the people of Canaan, who were cursed by God, thought of this device to get Jacob preferred before him. And, indeed, it cannot be denied, that it was a profane thing (as I noted before) to marry with a daughter of Heth. And he seems afterwards to have had no good design in marrying with a daughter of Ishmael, (xxviii. 9.) for it looks as if he went about to set up the pretensions of that family against Isaac's.

Ver. 9. *Two good kids of the goats.*] Two fat sucking kids, as Aben Ezra expounds this phrase, "kid of the goats," (upon Exod. xxiii. 19.) which, in old time, were accounted very delicious meat: a present fit for a king, (1 Sam. xvi. 20.) and which Manoah prepared for the angel, whom he took for a noble guest, (Judg. xiii. 15.) and (which is most proper to be here considered) allowed to decayed and weak people, as an excellent nourishment.

Both these kids were not prepared for Isaac: but she took the most tender and delicate parts of both, and dressed them for him.

*And I will make them savoury meat.*] Dress it so as to please his palate; and not to be distinguished by him from venison. For we know the natural taste of things may be quite altered by various sorts of seasonings, as we call them; and ordered in such manner, that Bochartus says he knew skilful huntsmen take a pasty made of beef for venison.

Ver. 11. *A hairy man.*] In the Hebrew, *isch sair,* a rough man, hairy like a goat. For the same word, *sair,* signifies a goat, Gen. xxxvii. 31. Lev. ix. 15. and other places.

Ver. 12. *A deceiver.*] One that cheats his father; imposing on his age, and on his blindness: which, he wisely considers, would have been a high provocation if he had been discovered.

Ver. 13. *Upon me be thy curse.*] *i. e.* There is no danger: I will warrant the success.

Ver. 15. *Took goodly raiment,* &c.] His best clothes; which most suppose were laid up in a chest, among odoriferous flowers, or other perfumes: both to preserve them from moths, and to comfort the brain when they were worn: for their smell is mentioned ver. 27. It is a groundless fancy of the Jews, that these were sacerdotal garments, (and the very same that Adam wore, which descended to Noah, &c.) for, as there was no sacrifice now to be made, so the primogeniture did not make him a priest, more than Jacob, as was noted before. One may rather say, these were garments belonging to him, as heir of the family: between whom and the other sons, it is very probable, the affection of the parents was wont to make some difference in their apparel.

Ver. 16. *Put the skin of the kids of the goats.*] It is observed by Bochartus, that in the eastern countries, goats'-hair was very like to that of men: (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 51.) so that Isaac might easily be deceived, when his eyes were dim, and his feeling no less decayed than his sight.

Ver. 18. *Who art thou, my son?*] He suspected him, from his voice, and returning so soon from hunting.

Ver. 19. *I am Esau, thy first-born,* &c.] Here are many untruths told by Jacob, besides this, (for his father did not bid him go get him some venison, nor did God bring this meat to him, which he had prepared, &c.) which cannot be wholly excused: but it must be confessed, he and his mother were possessed with a false opinion, that they might deceive Isaac for the good of his family.

*Arise, I pray thee, and sit and eat,* &c.] He was lying upon his bed, one would guess by this, being aged and infirm: and he intreats him to raise himself up and *sit:* for so they did in those days (as we do now) at their meals. This appears afterwards, when Joseph's brethren *sat down* to eat bread, (xxxvii. 25.) and sat when they ate with Joseph in Egypt, (xliii. 33.) And so Homer makes all his heroes sit at their feasts, as Athenæus observes: which custom continued among the Macedonians in the days of Alexander, as Bochartus observes in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50.

Ver. 21. *Come near,* &c.] Isaac still suspected by this long discourse with him, wherein he observed his voice, that it was not Esau. And the Hebrews, in Bereschith Rabba, say, that he fell into a great sweat, and his heart melted in him like wax, while he talked to him: so that an angel came to support him from falling down.

Ver. 23. *So he blessed him.*] After he had once more asked him whether he was his very son Esau, which Jacob affirmed, (ver. 24.) who was punished for this deceit, when he was cheated himself by Laban, in the business of his wives, as well as in other things: and (as the Hebrews observed) he that deceived his father by the skins of the kids of goats, was deceived himself into the false opinion that Joseph was killed, by his brethren dipping his coat in the blood of a kid of the goats, (Gen. xxxvii. 31.)

Ver. 26. *Come now, and kiss me.*] Some think he had a desire to be satisfied that way, whether he was Esau or not. But I take it rather to be a token of his great love and affection, wherewith he bestowed his blessing upon him.

Ver. 27. *He smelled the smell of his raiment.*] As he embraced him, he perceived the fragrancy of his garments: which he could not before, while he stood remote; his senses being weak and dull. The Jews, who fancy these to have been the garments wherein Adam ministered, imagine also that they retained the scent which they had in paradise. So Bereschith Rabba, and R. Sol. Jarchi, as Braunius observes, lib. i. de Vestib. Hebr. Sacerd. cap. 4.

*See, the smell of my son.*] The apprehension of one sense is, in this language, often used for the apprehension of another, (as Maimonides speaks, par. i. More Nevoch. cap. 46.) as, "See the word of the Lord," (Jer. ii. 31.) *i. e.* Hear his word. And so in this place, "See the smell," is as much as, Smell the odour of my son, &c. But it may simply signify, "Behold, or observe; no field that God hath adorned with the greatest variety of the most fragrant flowers, smells sweeter than my son."

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Ver. 28. *Therefore God give thee*, &c.] I take it for a sign that God will give thee (for so it may be translated, as a prophecy as well as a prayer) the greatest abundance: which proceeds from a rich soil, well watered from heaven. These two are the causes of plenty.

*The dew of heaven.*] Rain fell only at certain seasons in that country: but there was a recompence for it by large dews; which very much refreshed the earth; and are represented in Scripture as a Divine gift, (Job xxxviii. 28. Micah v. 7.) which God threatens sometimes to withhold, because of men's offences, (1 Kings xvii. 1.)

Ver. 29. *Let people serve thee*, &c.] As the former part of the blessing relates to wealth, so this to dominion and empire: which was signally fulfilled in the days of David, when the Moabites, Ammonites, Syrians, Philistines, and Edomites also, were subdued under him.

*Let thy mother's son bow down to thee.*] This is a third part of the blessing, giving him a prerogative in his own family: and in the next words he pronounces a blessing upon all that should be friends to him; as on the contrary, a curse upon his enemies.

Ver. 33. *Isaac trembled very exceedingly.*] What the Hebrews say upon ver. 21. (see there) had been more proper here, that his heart melted, and he was ready to swoon away.

*Who?*] A broken form of speech.

*Yea, and he shall be blessed.*] He had blessed him so seriously, and with such affection, and (it is likely) extraordinary confidence of God's approbation, that he would not revoke it. For he felt, as I take it, the spirit of prophecy upon him, when he pronounced this blessing: and it enlightened him to understand the oracle formerly delivered, (xxv. 23.)

Ver. 35. *Taken away thy blessing.*] Which I intended to have bestowed on thee; looking upon it as thine, by the right of being my first-born.

Ver. 37. *All his brethren.*] His kindred.

*What shall I now do unto thee, my son?*] Having given Jacob so much, it was but a small matter he could do for him.

Ver. 39. *Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness*, &c.] Some have translated it, "Thy dwelling shall be without the fatness of the earth, and the dew from above: but by thy sword shalt thou live," &c. *i. e.* he prophesies that he should inhabit a poor country, but maintain himself plentifully by his sword. For otherwise (they think) his blessing would be the same with Jacob's, ver. 28. But if we retain our translation, there is a manifest difference between this and Jacob's benediction. For here he makes no mention of plenty of corn and wine; and gives him no such dominion as he did to Jacob (the Jews observe other differences); and whatsoever fatness was in the soil of his country, it did not last, as appears by Mal. i. 3.

Ver. 40. *By thy sword shalt thou live.*] Live upon spoil. Or, as others interpret it, be in perpetual war to defend thy country.

*And shall serve thy brother.*] Here Isaac speaks out the very words of the oracle mentioned before, (xxv. 23.) which was fulfilled in the days of David, 2 Sam. viii. 14. and 1 Chron. xviii. 15. (the circumstances of which conquest are more fully described, 1 Kings xi. 15, &c.) And again, after they had recovered some strength, Amaziah made great slaughters among them, (2 Kings xiv. 7.) as the Maccabees did afterwards, (1 Mac. v. 65.) and at last were utterly disabled by Hircanus, the son of Simon Maccabæus, as we read in Josephus, lib. xiii. Antiq. cap. 17.

*When thou shalt have the dominion.*] St. Jerome and the LXX. do not understand this of their having any dominion over the seed of Jacob (which we never read of), but only of their regaining power to shake off subjection to them, as it follows in the next words.

*Thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.*] Which they did in the days of Joram, as we read, 2 Kings viii. 20, 22. 2 Chron. xxi. 8, &c.

Ver. 41. *And Esau said in his heart.*] Designed and resolved within himself: and, as it should seem, was so full of it, that he could not contain his purpose within his own breast, but in his anger blurted it out to somebody, who told it to Rebekah.

*The days of mourning for my father*, &c.] He will die shortly (in which he was deceived, for he lived three-and-forty years after this), and then I will be revenged. He had some regard to his father still remaining (whom he would not grieve), but no consideration of his mother, who had helped Jacob to supplant him.

Ver. 44. *Tarry with him a few days.*] A year or two. But herein she also was mistaken, for he did not return in twenty years' time.

*Until thy brother's fury.*] Time, in which various things happen, very much allays fury and rage.

Ver. 45. *And he forget*, &c.] The memory of it be much worn out, and grown weak.

*Why should I be deprived of you both in one day?*] She had reason to think, that if Esau killed Jacob, and the public justice did not punish it (according to the precept ix. 6. which had settled courts of judicature), God himself would prosecute Esau with his vengeance, as he did Cain.

Ver. 46. *I am weary of my life, because of the daughters of Heth.*] The two wives of Esau, who were Hittites, were such a continual vexation to her, that she wished rather to die, than to live among them.

*If Jacob take a wife*, &c.] She pretends only this reason for sending Jacob among her kindred, and says not a word of the danger his life was in; for she would not afflict her husband, but only preserve her son.

*What good shall my life do to me?*] I had rather die, than live in such perpetual vexation; therefore let him go and take a wife, as Abraham did for thee, of our kindred.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Ver. 1. *AND Isaac called Jacob.*] Sent for him to come to him.

*And blessed him.*] Renewed and confirmed the blessing he had already given him; that it might not be thought to be of less force, because procured by artifice and subtilty, (xxvii. 35.)

Ver. 2. *To Padan-Aram.*] See xxv. 20.

Ver. 3. *And God Almighty bless thee*, &c.] This is the solemn blessing mentioned ver. 1. wherein he ratifies what he had done, and more fully and distinctly settles the land



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of promise upon him, and makes him the father of the promised seed.

Ver. 4. *Give thee the blessing of Abraham.*] The blessing of Abraham was, that he should inherit the land of Canaan, and that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed, (Gen. xv. 18. xxii. 18.) Both which he now confirms to Jacob.

Ver. 5. *And Isaac sent away Jacob.*] In some haste, as the LXX. translate ver. 2. *Arise, flee, i. e.* depart without any delay. Which looks as if Rebekah had at last suggested something to him of the danger he was in.

*And he went to Padan-Aram.*] Prepared himself to go, and set forward. Or else it is spoken by anticipation; for he did not come thither till after several passages which are related in this and in the next chapter.

*Son of Bethuel, the Syrian.*] See xxv. 20.

*Jacob's and Esau's mother.*] Now Jacob is put first, as being lately declared Isaac's heir, and heir of all the promises.

Ver. 9. *Then went Esau unto Ishmael,* &c.] To the family of Ishmael, for he himself died fourteen years ago. And therefore Nebaioth (his eldest son, xxv. 13.) is here mentioned as the present head of the family, whose sister Esau married. Whereby he shewed himself not to have any great regard to the Divine revelation; otherwise he could not but have known, that this family, being descended from a bond-woman, was not to inherit the promises made to Abraham and Isaac.

Ver. 10. *Jacob went out from Beer-sheba,* &c.] Quite alone, without any servants to attend him, and without any presents to court a wife, or gain the kindness of Laban, neither of which were wanting, when Abraham sent Eliezer to take a wife for Isaac. But as he was sent away *in haste,* (as I noted before, ver. 5.) so hereby the anger of Esau was mitigated, who at present was left the sole possessor of all Isaac's riches, and saw Jacob depart in a poor condition. This also was an act of Divine faith, that God would take a singular care of him, and let him want nothing. And, as they could not but hope that Laban, being so near a relation, would be glad to see him and entertain him; so it is probable he might carry letters of credence with him, that he was to be heir to Isaac; as Eliezer assured them Isaac was to be to Abraham, (xxiv. 36.) We are to suppose, likewise, that he was not sent without money to bear his charges (as we speak), and had some provision with him, for we read of oil, (ver. 18.) which he poured on the top of the pillar.

Ver. 11. *And he lighted upon a certain place,* &c.] A convenient place (shaded with lovely trees, see ver. 19.) to lodge in; unto which he did not go by design, but happened (as we speak) upon it, when he did not think of it.

*And he took of the stones of that place.*] One stone from among many others that were there, as appears from ver. 18. The same form of speech was observed before, (xix. 29. xxi. 7.)

Ver. 12. *And he dreamed.*] He had the following representation made to him in a dream.

*Behold, a ladder,* &c.] It is judiciously observed by Maimonides, in his preface to his More Nevochim, that there are two sorts of prophetic parables (as he calls them), in one of which every word hath some peculiar signification: in the other, the whole parable represents the thing intended, but every word hath not its weight; some serving only for elegance. Among the first sort he reckons this; in which the ladder may be thought to represent the Divine Providence, which governs all things, and particularly now directed Jacob in his journey, every step of which was under God's guidance. It being "set upon the earth" denoted, he thinks, the steadfastness of Providence, which nothing is able to shake. And "the top of it reaching to heaven," signifies that it extends itself all the world over; to every thing, great or small, high or low; and the several steps in the ladder, the motions and actions of Divine Providence. The angels which went *up* and *down,* signify that they are the great ministers of God's Providence, by whom he manages all things here below; and that they are never idle, but always in motion to serve those especially who serve God faithfully. Their *ascending* represents their going to receive the Divine orders and commands; and their *descending,* the execution of his orders. Or (with a peculiar respect to Jacob's present condition) the one signified their safe conduct of him in his journey to Padan-Aram; and the other, their bringing him safe home again.

This is infinitely more solid than the conceit of almost all the ancient rabbins, that God represented in this ladder the rise and the fall of the four great monarchies. For where is there any mention in this dream of four angels? or, of seventy steps representing the seventy years' captivity in Babylon? or, of two-and-fifty steps representing the time of the reign of the four kings of Persia and Media, according to their computation? &c. All this is the pure invention of idle men, who dream upon the Holy Scriptures.

Ver. 13. *And behold, the Lord stood above it.*] Finally, he saw the Divine Majesty, or Glory, (so the Targum here expounds it) as the immoveable mover of all things: from whom all comes as the first cause, and to whom all returns as the last end.

*I am the Lord God,* &c.] This is the first time that we read of God's appearing to Jacob; and it was only in a dream. But it made such a deep impression upon him, that he doubted not of the truth of what was now expressly promised him by God himself; that he should have the *blessing of Abraham,* as his father had told him, (ver. 4.)

Ver. 15. *Behold, I am with thee.*] Or, will be with thee; *i. e.* My peculiar providence shall be over thee, and take care of thy safety, as Maimonides well expounds it, in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 18.

*I will not leave thee,* &c.] This shews the intent of the dream was to comfort Jacob in his solitary and poor condition, by an assurance that God's watchful providence should attend him till he had accomplished all his promises to him.

Ver. 16. *Surely the Lord is in this place.*] By his special extraordinary presence; for here he had manifested himself to him, and given him singular assurances of his favour, and that the very first night after he went from home; which made this place more acceptable to him than his father's house. For now he was become a prophet, as Maimonides observes, (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 45.) where he says, that they who prophesy in a dream, do not call it a dream after prophecy is come to them in a dream, but simply say, it was a prophecy. Thus the patriarch Jacob, after he awakened out of his prophetic dream,

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(wherein he heard the Lord speak to him, ver. 13, 14.) he doth not call it a dream, but roundly says, *Surely the Lord is in this place*, &c.

*And I knew it not.*] I did not expect to meet with such a Divine appearance and revelation to me.

Ver. 17. *And he was afraid.*] Possessed with a religious, awful apprehension of God, which made him say,

*How dreadful is this place!*] With what reverence ought I here to behave myself!

*This is none other but the house of God.*] The Divine Majesty dwells here; this is not a common place, but a sacred, having a Divine presence in it.

*And this is the gate of heaven.*] Here God keeps his court, attended by his holy angels, whom he had seen come from heaven hither, and go up from hence thither. So Mr. Mede explains it, (book ii. p. 436.) The presence of God in one place more than another, consists in his train or retinue. A king is there, where his court is; and so God is there specially present, where the angels keep their station; which is the meaning of the *gate of heaven, i. e.* heaven's court; for the gate was wont to be the judgment-hall, and the place where kings and senators used to sit, attended by their guards and ministers.

Ver. 18. *Took the stone and set it up for a pillar.*] Upon the top of some other stones, which he heaped up together, that it might remain as a monument of the Divine mercy to him, and preserve the memory of this heavenly vision; and that by this token he might know this place, when God brought him back again, and commemorate his goodness to him here.

This stone was held in great veneration by the Jews in future times, and translated to Jerusalem. After the destruction of which by Titus, they were wont (upon that day when it was taken, which was the only day they were permitted to come thither), with great lamentation and rending their garments, to go and anoint this stone. Such is the power of fond superstition. (See Vossius, de Idolol. lib. vi. cap. 38.)

*Poured oil on the top of it.*] Not in honour of this stone (as Bonfrerius himself confesses), much less of any idol to which it was dedicated; but to consecrate it as a monument of God's great mercy to him in the beforementioned celestial vision. Oil, it appears by this, was anciently used in consecrating things, before the law of Moses; and not only in this family, but in others also, it is probable: from whence the pagan custom came of anointing stones, which by Theophrastus are called Λιπαροὶ Λίθοι, upon which superstitious people were wont, when they met with them in the highways, to pour oil, and fall down and worship. A great many authors mention them, which are collected by Elmenhorstius in his observations upon Arnobius, p. 37. They that would be satisfied how wretchedly some of the Romish writers plead for the worship of images from this very place, may read Dr. Jackson's Treatise of the Original of Unbelief, (chap. xxxv.) where he excellently explains this action of Jacob, n. 5, 6, 7.

Ver. 19. *And he called the name of that place Bethel.*] From this word *Bethel*, came the word Βαιτύλια (as Scaliger, in his Animadv. upon Euseb. p. 198. and others think) among the heathen; whereby they denoted rude stones, which they worshipped either as symbols of Divinity, or as true Gods, animated by some heavenly power. Of which worship, see Photius in his Bibliotheca, (ccxlii.) but especially Bochartus, (lib. ii. Canaan, cap. 1.) where he shews the Phœnicians (at least, as the Jews think) first worshipped this very stone which Jacob anointed; and afterward consecrated others, which they called *Bætylia*, and *Bætyli*, in memory of this stone anointed at *Bethel*; (see p. 785, 786.) Certain it is, this idolatrous practice came very early into the world; which made Moses forbid the erecting of such pillars, they being, in his time, converted to a profane use, (Lev. xxvi. 1. Deut. xii. 3. xvi. 22.)

*But the name of that city.*] Which was near to the place where this pillar was set up.

*Was Luz at the first.*] So called, perhaps, from the many almond-trees which grew there, (for *Luz* signifies an *almond*, see xxx. 37.) among which, it is probable, Jacob took up his lodging, because they were a kind of covering to him. Both this Luz, in the tribe of Benjamin, and the other among the Hittites, in the tribe of Ephraim, (Judg. i. 26.) Bochart doubts not had their name from this original, (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 35.)

Ver. 20. *Jacob vowed a vow.*] This is the first vow that we read of in Scripture; which all men allow is a part of religion, and so was acknowledged by the law of Moses, (Deut. xxiii. 21. Psalm l. 12. Psalm lxv. 2, &c.)

Perhaps Jacob was the first that in this manner expressed his devout affection towards God.

*If God will be with me*, &c.] Perform his promise to me, (ver. 15.)

*Give me bread to eat*, &c.] Support and maintain me, which is the explication of the promise.

Ver. 21. *Then shall the Lord be my God.*] I will most righteously worship and serve him: which doth not imply that he would not worship him, if he did not bring him home in peace; but that, if he did, he would perform some special service to him, and worship him with extraordinary devotion; consecrating (as it follows) this place to his honour, offering him sacrifice, and giving him the tenths of all he had, to maintain his worship.

Ver. 22. *And this stone, which I have set for a pillar.*] All pillars were not unlawful, but such only as were for idolatrous uses; as Maimonides resolves, (lib. de Idol. cap. 6. §. 8.) And therefore the Jews so expound those words beforementioned, "Thou shalt not set thee up any statue (or pillar), which the Lord thy God hateth," (Deut. xvi. 22.) concerning pillars set up for worship, not of those from memorial.

*Shall be God's house.*] Here will I set apart a place for God's solemn worship and service; build an altar, and offer sacrifice, &c. See xxxv. 3.

*Give the tenth unto thee.*] Δεκάτην τῶν πεπορισμένων, saith Josephus, *the tithe of all his income*, for the maintenance of burnt-sacrifices, and such-like pious uses, and, perhaps, for the relief of the poor. As for the priests, we do not yet read of any tithe given to them; though Mr. Selden (in his History of Tithes, p. 4, &c. and Review, p. 451.) thinks they were paid to Isaac, who was then priest of the family. And so Bishop Mountague, in his book against him; (p. 199.) who observes, that we read only of Abraham and Jacob paying tithe, not of Isaac; because Isaac was a more special type of Christ than either of these. And Abraham and Jacob were types of those two people who were to have part in the true Isaac;

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for Abraham was father of all the faithful, and Jacob was the type of the synagogue; as St. Ambrose handles these matters in the life of Abraham. Yet the same Bishop confesses, that many doubt whether Jacob paid the tenth of all to Isaac, or immediately to God; because Jacob also was a priest himself. (See p. 205, &c.)

This, I think, we may certainly conclude from this place, that Jacob, the grandchild of Abraham, vowing the tenth of *all*, as Abraham had given the tenth of the *spoil*, he was induced to it by the custom which was then among religious people. How they came to pitch upon this portion, rather than a fifth, sixth, or any other, is not so easily to be resolved. But they seem to speak with much reason, who observe, that in this number ten, all nations in a manner end their account, (Aristotle in his Problems, lib. 3. §. xv.) and then begin again with compound numbers; or, as others phrase it, this is the end of less numbers, and the beginning of greater. So that it was looked upon as the most perfect of all other, and, accordingly, had in great regard. But, after all, it seems most likely to me, that they had some Divine direction for it, as they had for sacrificing. And it may be further noted, that what they gave to their kings was the tenth part, as well as what they gave to God. And nothing more common among the gentiles than tenths paid to their kings, and that very anciently; for it appears from 1 Sam. viii. 14, 15. 17. that it was part of the *jus regium* among the eastern people. Aristotle himself mentions it under the name of Παλαιὸς νόμος, *an ancient law in Babylon:* and it was also used in Athens, which was a commonwealth, as Dr. Spencer shews, in his learned work, de Leg. Hebr. Ritual. (lib. iii. cap. x. §. 1.) And Bishop Mountague shews they were paid among the Romans, p. 248, &c.

## CHAP. XXIX.

Ver. 1. *AND Jacob went on his journey.*] Because the Hebrew phrase for *went on*, is *lift up his feet*, some will have it that he proceeded most cheerfully in his journey, after this glorious vision; which we may believe to be true, though not signified by this manner of speaking.

*To the people of the east.*] To Mesopotamia, which lay eastward from Canaan.

Ver. 2. *A great stone upon the well's mouth.*] To keep the water clean and cool.

Ver. 5. *Laban the son of Nahor.*] Grandson of Nahor, who is mentioned rather than Bethuel, because he was the head of the family.

Ver. 6. *Rachel his daughter.*] Her name in Hebrew signifies a *sheep*. For it was anciently the manner to give names, even unto families, from cattle, both great and small. So Varro tells us, (lib. ii. de Re Rustica, cap. 1.)

"Multa nomina habemus ab utroque pecore, &c. à minore PORCIUS, OVILIUS, CAPRILIUS; a majore, EQUITIUS, TAURUS," &c. (See Bochart. par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 43.)

Ver. 7. *It is yet high day*, &c.] A great deal of the afternoon yet remains. It was the custom of those eastern countries, where the sun had great power in summer-time, to bring their flocks towards noon into shady places, where there was water to refresh them; otherwise the extreme heat would have killed them. There they rested (it appears by many places of Scripture, particularly Cantic. i. 7.) till the heat of the day was over, and then, having watered them again, they carried them out to feed till sunset.

Ver. 9. *For she kept them.*] It was a noble employment in those days to keep sheep; whence God himself hath the name of the *Shepherd of Israel*. She had those under her, we are to suppose, who took the greatest pains about them; but she was the chief shepherdess, who inspected them all.

Ver. 10. *Went near, and rolled the stone.*] He was stronger, or more dexterous at such things, than any body there; or, the meaning is, he assisted in this work; and, perhaps, was the first that set to his hand about it.

Ver. 11. *Jacob kissed Rachel.*] Having told her who he was, and satisfied her of the truth of it, then (after the custom used among near relations at their first meeting) he saluted her; and that with more than ordinary affection, for he wept for joy to see her. Laban in like manner kissed him.

Ver. 12. *Her father's brother.*] So all near relations are called, (ver. 15.)

Ver. 13. *He told Laban all these things.*] Which are mentioned in the foregoing and this chapter. The reason of his coming from home, God's providence over him in his journey, and his happy meeting with Rachel.

Ver. 14. *Surely thou art my bone and my flesh.*] So very near of kin to me, that I can deny thee nothing.

Ver. 15. *Because thou art.*] Or, as De Dieu translates the word *Haci* (and gives many instances of it), *Art thou not my brother?* Is it fit then that thou shouldst serve me for nothing?

Ver. 17. *Leah was tender-eyed.*] Some translate it, *had delicate eyes*. So the Chaldee; and then the meaning is, *All her beauty lay in her eyes.*

*Beautiful and well favoured.*] Was every way amiable, being well shaped, having good features, and a fine complexion.

Ver. 18. *I will serve thee seven years for Rachel*, &c.] He had not brought money enough with him to purchase a wife (as the manner was in those days), and therefore offers his service for seven years, instead of it.

Ver. 19. *It is better that I give her thee*, &c.] He seems to answer cunningly; and yet one cannot but take it for a contract, as it appears to have been by ver. 21.

Ver. 20. *They seemed unto him but a few days.*] He valued Rachel so much, that the price at which he purchased her seemed inconsiderable.

Ver. 21. *Give me my wife.*] So she had been by contract ever since it was made, (ver. 19.) and he doth not now demand that he might have her to wife, but that he might enjoy her; being already his wife by that solemn agreement made seven years ago.

Ver. 22. *Laban gathered together the men of the place.*] All such private contracts were completed by the elders or governors of the place, in the presence of all the people. We had an instance of this before in Abraham's purchase of a sepulchre for his family; (xxiii. 11. 18.) which was a sacred and religious thing, as well as the rites of marriage; and therefore both of them *publici juris*, as Cornel. Bertram speaks, part of the public care.

Ver. 23. *In the evening.*] At bed-time.

*Brought her to him.*] The modesty of those times made them bring the bride to her husband's bed veiled, and with-

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out lights; so that it was the easier for Laban to deceive Jacob by bringing Leah to him; whom he could not hope so readily to dispose in marriage as Rachel, because she was homely.

Ver. 24. *Gave unto his daughter Zilpah, his maid,* &c.] A very poor portion; yet all that he gave to Rachel afterward: (ver. 29.) which made them say, that he used them as strangers, not as his children; putting them off without any portion, (xxxi. 14, 15.)

Ver. 26. *It must not be so done in our country,* &c.] We do not read of any such ancient custom; and, therefore, this seems a mere shift, or a jest: or, if it had been true, he should have told it Jacob beforehand.

Ver. 27. *Fulfil her week,* &c.] Perfect this marriage with Leah, by keeping a seven days' feast (as the custom was), and then thou shalt have Rachel also. For he doth not speak of a week of years, but of days, as Mr. Selden shews out of many authors, (lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 5.) where he hath this plain commentary upon these words:

"Marriages are to be celebrated, according to custom, by a seven days' feast: complete this marriage thou hast begun with Leah, and then, upon condition of another seven years' service, thou shalt marry Rachel also, and keep her wedding-feast seven days."

Ver. 30. *And served with him yet other seven years.*] After he had solemnly married Rachel, and bedded her (as we speak), for that he did seven days after his marriage with Leah was accomplished. So this verse begins, "And he went in also unto Rachel," and then began his other seven years' service. There was no positive law, as yet, against such marriages as this (with two sisters), which were afterwards expressly condemned; but at present indulged; as the marriage of a man's own sister was in the beginning of the world. Whence that saying of the Jews in the Gemara Hierosol. upon the title Sanhedrim, "The world was built by indulgence." And Jacob, it is very likely, thought there was an unavoidable necessity for his marrying these two sisters. For Rachel was his true wife; Leah being imposed upon him by a cheat. But, having known her, he concluded he could not honestly leave her; no more than he could Rachel, to whom he was first contracted.

Ver. 31. *Leah was hated.*] Comparatively, not absolutely. For Leah having joined with her father to deceive him, he could not love her so well as Rachel; to whom he had engaged his first affection.

Ver. 32. *Reuben.*] The name of this son, and of all the rest that follow, are derived from the Hebrew tongue: which shews that Laban's family spake the same language with Abraham's with some little variation, as appears afterward, xxxi. 47.

## CHAP. XXX.

Ver. 1. *ENVIED her sister.*] Was so grieved, that it made her fret into impatience and rage, for it is a frantic speech which follows.

*Give me children, or I die.*] I shall make myself away, (as we now speak) or die with grief. See here the great danger of too eager and impatient desires: the fulfilling of which was her death indeed.

Ver. 2. *Jacob's anger was kindled.*] He conceived a just indignation against her impatience, which he expresses with some heat.

*Am I in God's stead,* &c.] Is it in my power to give what God thinks fit to deny? Thus he puts her in mind of what the Psalmist said afterwards, "Children are a gift that cometh of the Lord," as the old translation hath it, cxxvii. 3.

Ver. 3. *Behold my maid Bilhah, go in unto her.*] She followed the steps of Sarah, Jacob's grandmother, (xvi. 1.) in adopting the son of her maid-servant; whom she gave to Jacob out of the same principle, that Sarah gave Hagar to be Abraham's wife; a vehement desire to fulfil the promise, that their seed should be as the stars of heaven; and especially the promise of the Messiah; which made them so extremely troubled at barrenness.

*She shall bear upon my knees.*] Bring me a child, whom I may set upon my knees, as my own. For so it follows.

*That I may have children.*] Though not by my own body, yet *by her.* For she being Rachel's servant, the children that were born of her, were Rachel's children, not her own.

Ver. 4. *And she gave him Bilhah her handmaid to wife.*] Of such kind of wives as this and Zilpah, ver. 9. see xxv. 6.

Ver. 6. *God hath judged me.*] Decided the controversy between me and my sister; and given sentence on my side.

*She called his name Dan.*] The mothers sometimes gave names to their children (as Leah had done to her's, mentioned in the foregoing chapter); but with the approbation of the father, who sometimes controlled them, (xxxv. 18.)

Ver. 8. *With great wrestlings,* &c.] I have struggled exceeding hard (*i. e.* in incessant, vehement desires, and perhaps in prayers to God) to have another child, before my sister; and have prevailed.

Ver. 9. *Took Zilpah her maid, and gave her to Jacob to wife.*] Imitating her sister, and perhaps out of the same principle; hoping some or other of her children might be the father of the Messiah: and therefore the more children she had, the more likely some of them might be so happy.

Ver. 11. *A troop cometh.*] The Hebrew writers generally expound it, "Good fortune cometh:" as Mr. Selden shews in his Syntagm. de Diis Syris, cap. 1. And the LXX. translate it ἐν τύχῃ, *in a lucky hour:* and other Greek versions τετύχηκα, as in St. Chrysostom, (Hom. lvi. on this book) who expounds it ἐπέτυχον τοῦ σκόπου, *I have obtained my aim.* Others have εὐτύχημα, which is the same: whence the Latin anciently had it, *beata facta,* or *fœlix sum,* as in St. Austin, Q. xci. in Gen. And this seems to some to be nearer to the Hebrew than any other translation; because, what other way soever we expound the word *gad,* either for a *troop,* or *fortune,* we must make two words of *bagad,* as the Masorites do, and take ב to signify as much as את, according as we translate it, *A troop cometh,* or *Good fortune cometh.* But I see no necessity of this; for, taking *gad* for a troop, it may be simply translated, *With a troop;* a troop shall follow this, *i. e.* a great many more children. And it must be confessed that Jacob in his blessing (xlix. 19.) doth allude to this signification of the word, which I doubt not is the truest. For *gad,* or *gada,* never denotes *fortune* any where but in the Targum of Onkelos and Jonathan, and among the rabbins who follow them: and therefore this may be looked upon as a later not the ancient signification of the word.

Ver. 14. *In the days of wheat-harvest.*] Which began at

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Pentecost, when the first-fruits of it were offered; as barley harvest began at the passover.

*Mandrakes.*] In the Hebrew the word is *dudaim:* which here signifies, the *fruit* of a tree or plant (whatsoever it be); and in the book of Canticles, vii. 13. it signifies the *flowers;* and these are the only two places where this word is found in the Bible. Which Job Ludolphus gives many reasons to prove, cannot signify a *mandrake:* for the flowers of that have a bad smell, and the fruit of it a bad taste. And therefore, after great variety of opinions, he concludes it to be that which in Syria they call *mauz:* which is an excellent sort of fruit, growing upon a plant, in the top of which there are great bunches of it like a cucumber. From whence he fancies this fruit was anciently called *dudaim;* from the Hebrew word *dud,* which signifies, *propinquus, cognatus, amicus;* which signifies a *neighbour, kinsman,* or *friend.* Such were these *dudaim,* which he calls *cognatos aut patrueles ab una stirpe profectos.* (Vide Comment. in lib. i. Histor. Ethiop. cap. xix. n. 72.)

Ver. 15. *Taken away my husband.*] It seems he had estranged himself, for some time, from Leah's bed, out of his great love to Rachel, or because he took little delight in her. Or Rachel's envy at her having so many children, when she herself had none, made her contrive ways to keep him from Leah.

Ver. 16. *Thou must come in to me,* &c.] I cannot think of any good reason, either of this contention among Jacob's wives for his company, or their giving him their maids to be his wives, or for Moses's taking such particular notice of all this; but only the earnest desire they had to fulfil the promise made to Abraham, That his seed should be as the stars of heaven for multitude; and that in one seed of his (the Messiah) all the nations of the earth should be blessed. It had been below the dignity of such a sacred history as this is, to relate such things, if there had not been something of great consideration in them. And what can that be, but chiefly the birth of the blessed Seed? which was the object of the hopes of all pious people in those days. For it is evident, both by Rachel and her sister, that it was children they desired, and not merely the company of their husbands: as it here follows, ver. 17.

Ver. 17. *God hearkened to Leah.*] To her earnest prayer, or vehement desire: and gave her another son.

Ver. 18. *God hath given me my hire.*] I purchased my husband's company, and God hath repaid me, by the gift of another son. Unto which she adds a further reflection; as if this was the reward of her kindness to her husband, in bestowing her maid upon him to be his wife.

Ver. 19. *Conceived again.*] The birth of this son begat a greater kindness between them; and made him less a stranger to her bed.

Ver. 20. *God hath endowed me with a good dowry.*] By restoring her husband to her, and bestowing new fruitfulness upon her: for she had ceased to bear, (xxix. *ult.*)

Ver. 21. *Dinah.*] No reason is given of her name: but it seems to have the same with that of Rachel's first-born by Bilhah, (ver. 6.) For, as if she had now got the better of Rachel, she calls this child by a name importing *judgment.*

Ver. 22. *God remembered Rachel.*] He would not have Leah insult over her, nor triumph too much; and therefore blessed Rachel with a son out of her own womb, for that was to *remember* her.

Ver. 24. *Joseph.*] His name seems to have been taken both from *ending* her reproach, which she mentions before, ver. 23. "The Lord hath taken away (*asaph* the Hebrew word is) my reproach," and from *adding* another son to this.

*God shall add to me another son.*] This was a great expression of her faith; more than we find in all the former births.

Ver. 25. *Send me away.*] It is plain, by this, that the seven years' service for Rachel was now finished, just when Joseph was born: and therefore he desires to be dismissed, having lived with him fourteen years.

*To my own place, and to my country.*] *i. e.* To his father's house in Canaan: which was his country, because he was born there.

Ver. 26. *For thou knowest what service I have done thee.*] He appeals to himself, whether he had not served him with all diligence and fidelity: and therefore deserved to be dismissed after such long labours.

Ver. 27. *I have learned by experience.*] Or, as the ancients understood the word *nichashti,* I have *found by divination:* and Aben Ezra thinks he learnt it by consulting with his Teraphim. But there needed no such advice with them; the thing was plain in itself, that he had brought prosperity along with him into his house.

Ver. 29. *Thou knowest how I have served thee.*] With how much care and fidelity, as he had admonished him before, (ver. 26.)

*And how thy cattle was with me.*] How they prospered under my care.

Ver. 30. *Blessed thee since my coming.*] So St. Jerome explains the Hebrew phrase, *at my foot:* ever since I set my foot within thy doors; or, since I entered into thy service. Others expound it, *wheresoever I went,* or, *by my leading thy flock.* But Maimonides says, this phrase, *leragli (at my foot)* signifies *because of me; for my sake.* And so he explains the like phrase, xxxiii. 14. par. i. More Nevoch. cap. 28.

Ver. 31. *Thou shalt not give me any thing,* &c.] I will take nothing of thee at present; but make this following bargain with thee, for the future.

Ver. 32. *All the speckled and spotted.*] In this place, and in xxxi. 10. there are four distinct words used to express what should be his.

The first of them is *nakod,* which we well translate *speckled.* For the word signifies little *points* or *pricks,* which the Greeks call στίγματα: as many have observed; particularly Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45.

The next is *talu,* which signifies, broader and larger spots; which we frequently see in cattle.

The next is *akod,* which signifies, spotted with divers colours: but most properly *spots,* or rather *circles,* or *rings* about the feet or legs (which we translate *ring-straked*): so Symmachus renders it λευκόποδας, *white-footed:* and Onkelos and Jonathan, having *marks on their feet;* rather *lists round their legs or feet;* for the word denotes, *binding* or *twisting* about any thing.

And then the last word *barud* signifies, *whitish spots* like hail. For *barud,* in Hebrew, is *hail.*

*This shall be my hire.*] He doth not mean, that those

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cattle which were already *speckled and spotted*, &c. should be given him: for that doth not agree with what went before, "thou shalt not give me any thing" (*i. e.* I will take nothing that is now thine); and besides, it would have been no wonder, if those that were *spotted* already should bring forth others like to themselves. Therefore the sense is, that he would separate all the spotted sheep and goats; and then out of those which were of one colour, he would have all that should prove hereafter at all marked with any of the forementioned variety. Now this was a thing so unlikely to happen, that Laban, in the next verse, embraces the motion very greedily: thinking that white or black cattle would bring forth none but such as were like themselves.

Ver. 33. *So shall my righteousness*, &c.] This separation being made, it would appear, that if he had any *spotted*, they were not taken from Laban's flock; but given to him by God out of them, as a reward of his honest diligence.

Ver. 34. *I would it might be according to thy word.*] He thought this so good a bargain, that he was afraid Jacob would not stand to it.

Ver. 35. *Into the hands of his sons.*] *i. e.* Of Laban's sons, who were now grown up: though, perhaps, when Jacob first came to him, they were so little as not to be able to look after the flocks; which his daughter therefore fed: (xxix. 9.) as for Jacob's sons, the eldest of them was scarce seven years old; and therefore could not be fit for such employment. Laban therefore went and separated the *spotted* cattle from the rest; and then, lest Jacob should get any of them to mix with those of one colour, he committed them to his own sons, to be fed apart by themselves. And, as it follows in the next verse, made a distance of *three days' journey* between the one and the other; that none might be in danger to stray to the flock which was fed by Jacob: unto whose care were committed all that had no spots at all.

Ver. 36. *Set three days' journey*, &c.] That they might be sure not to come near, so much as to see one another.

Ver. 37. *Of the hazel.*] The Hebrew word *luz* signifies an *almond*, as Bochart proves at large, out of a great many authors. And therefore St. Jerome here rightly translates it, *virgas amygdalinas*. And the Hebrew interpreters, who will have it signify a *hazel-tree*, confess that herein they depart from the opinion of those that went before them. So Aben Ezra and Kimchi, who both acknowledge that the ancient doctors expound it, *almond-rods*.

*And pilled white strakes in them.*] He had three artifices to compass his end. The first was this: to peel off the bark from the rods, at certain distances, till the white appeared between the bark, which was of a different colour. And these rods, thus discoloured, he laid in the channels of water, at that time when the cattle were wont to couple (as it follows in the next verse), that their fancies might be painted with such divers colours as they saw in the rods. (See ver. 40, 41.)

Ver. 39. *And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth*, &c.] The Greek fathers ascribe this to the miraculous operation of God, as Bochart observes in his Hierozoic. (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 49.) But the Latin fathers, particularly St. Jerome, look upon it as done by the natural operation of the imagination. For which he alleges the like thing done in Spain among horses and mares: and brings Quinctilian and Hippocrates to justify the like conceptions in women. Which he backs with a great number of authorities, out of Galen and other writers; who have observed indelible marks to have been impressed upon children, by the objects that were presented to their mother's imagination at the time of her conception.

And St. Austin says, the Egyptians, by the like device with this of Jacob's, had still a new *apis*, or *pied-bull*, to succeed that which died: to whom they gave Divine honour. But whatsoever power there might be in natural imagination to produce such effects, it must be acknowledged that God gave an extraordinary blessing to this contrivance: as appears by the vision which Jacob says he had, wherein God (who had directed him to this invention) promised to give it success, (xxxi. 10—12.) For beasts have very rarely such a strong and vehement imagination as produces such effects; unless it be moved by some unusual passion. And therefore we must confess that God excited and stirred up their imagination; which otherways would not have wrought in that manner; at least, not in all the cattle. For, let any shepherd now try this device, and he will not find it do what it did then by a Divine operation. (Vide G. Vossius, lib. iii. de Idolol. cap. 22.)

Ver. 40. *And Jacob did separate the lambs*, &c.] One species is put for all: and the meaning is, that those young cattle (whether lambs or kids of the goats, &c.) which were thus brought forth spotted, he did not suffer to remain with the flock of Laban; lest he should say that he did him wrong by letting them mix together, and so bring forth spotted cattle, (and perhaps he might also think that they, looking upon Laban's one-coloured cattle, might bring forth young ones like to them.) But, instead of this way of intrenching himself, he had a second artifice; which was to put the spotted cattle (produced by the former device) foremost; so that Laban's flock should always look upon them, and thereby be the more apt to conceive the like. And then it follows, in the end of this verse,

*He put his own flocks by themselves, and put them not to Laban's cattle.*] Which looks like a repetition of what was said in the beginning of the verse: but the meaning is, that those which brought forth spotted, by this second artifice, he also put by themselves; and suffered them not to be mingled with Laban's cattle: as before he had separated those that were brought forth spotted, by looking upon the rods.

Ver. 41. *And it came to pass, when the stronger cattle did conceive, that Jacob*, &c.] This was his third artifice: which is thus expounded by the Chaldee and a great number of other authors, (which may be seen in Bochart, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 46.) that he laid the rods before the cattle only in the spring-time, when the sun was ascending, and the cattle lusty and vigorous: but let them alone when the cattle came together in September, or the declension of the year (for they bred twice a year in those countries), at which time they were become more feeble. If he had always laid the rods before the cattle, there might have been none but spotted, and so Laban have been quite impoverished. Therefore he chose to do it only in their first and prime copulation, which was in the spring-time; and omitted it in the later, which was in the autumn. Our famous Mr. Mede follows this interpretation, (Discourse xlv.



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p. 355.) But there is no certainty in it: for Pliny and Columella prefer those begot in autumn, to those begot in the spring. And therefore our translation is most proper, which represents Jacob as using this artifice, of laying the rods before them, only when the stronger cattle came together, and not when the weaker. And so the LXX. understood the words, without respect to the former or later breed: and so the Hebrew words import, as Bochartus shews in the place beforenamed, (p. 514.)

Ver. 43. *And the man increased exceedingly,* &c.] Some have made it a question, whether he got all these riches honestly; because Laban did not think of his using any art, but only of bare casual productions. But, as what was not directly against the contract, may be thought to be allowed by it; so it is certain that Jacob might lawfully take what God bestowed upon him: who seems to have directed him by an angel to use this artifice; or, at least, testified his approbation of it: intending to transfer unto Jacob the wealth of Laban, as he gave the riches of the Egyptians to the Israelites. For the world is his, and the fulness thereof: and he may dispose of every thing in it as he pleases.

*Maid-servants,* &c.] To look after his cattle; and after his camels and asses, which he also purchased.

## CHAP. XXXI.

Ver. 1. *He heard the words of Laban's sons.*] Who uttered such discontented or threatening speeches, as made him fear they would fall upon him and do him mischief. This was the first cause of his resolved flight.

*Hath taken away all that was our father's.*] They speak of him as if he had been a thief: which made him suspect they would use him accordingly.

*All this glory.*] All these riches, (ver. 16.)

Ver. 2. *And Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban,* &c.] This was the second cause of his resolution to be gone; that he saw by Laban's looks things were not likely to go well with him, if he stayed any longer.

Ver. 3. *And the Lord said unto Jacob,* &c.] This was the third cause, the Divine Majesty appeared to him, and bade him be gone. And as he had his warrant, so he seals it with his promise to protect him in his return to his own country.

Ver. 4. *Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah.*] Rachel is first mentioned as his chief wife; for so she was in his designment; and so the posterity of Leah afterward acknowledged, naming her first in the blessing of Ruth, iv. 11.

*To the field unto his flock.*] That he might discourse with them privately: fearing also, it is likely, that he might be seized by Laban and his sons, if he went to the house.

Ver. 5. *The God of my fathers hath been with me.*] Hath appeared to me, (ver. 3.) and bid me not fear your father.

Ver. 6. *With all my power.*] I have omitted nothing that I could do to promote his interest.

Ver. 7. *Hath deceived me.*] Dealt unjustly with me, in not standing to his agreement.

*Changed my wages ten times.*] *i. e.* Very often; as many interpret it from the like expression in other places, particularly Levit. xxvi. 26. where *ten women* are put for a great number of women. But others think that he really changed his wages just *ten times*. For he served him six years, after he made the agreement with him, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, ver. 31, &c. And the first year he stood to his bargain: but seeing him thrive exceedingly, he altered the form of their covenants, at the end of that year. And in like manner, every half year, when the ewes brought forth young ones (which they did twice a-year) and he saw them spotted, he broke his contract, and made a new one, less advantageous to Jacob: sometimes restraining it to one sort of cattle, sometimes to another; and not letting him have the whole benefit of his contract. Which is not at all improbable: for Jacob mentions his ill dealing with him in the very same words, (ver. 41.) And in the next verse to this he relates how Laban would sometimes let him have only the *speckled;* at another time, none but the *ring-straked;* and so we may suppose of the rest. See this explained by St. Jerome in Quæst. Hebr. and by St. Austin, Q. xcv. in Gen.

*But God suffered him not to hurt me.*] To defraud me of my wages, by these changes which he made in them.

Ver. 9. *Thus hath God taken away,* &c.] He prudently conceals his own artifice, and only relates what hand God had in the business (which indeed was the chief, for without his blessing it could not have prospered), for fear perhaps that they should any way divulge it, and bring him into danger with Laban. For every body cannot keep a secret (the Hebrews make too severe and foolish reflections on women upon this occasion); and his whole estate depending on this, he thought it best to keep it to himself for the present.

Ver. 10. *It came to pass, at the time the cattle conceived,* &c.] To confirm them in the opinion, that the hand of God had transferred all the riches of their father unto him, he relates what was represented to him in a dream.

*The rams that leaped,* &c.] He beheld them such as he had agreed to have for his hire; and therefore likely to produce others *spotted,* and *straked,* like themselves. According to the common observation of the poet:

"Sic catulos canibus similes, sic matribus hædos."

For in the Hebrew, the words *ring-straked* and *speckled,* may be referred to the ewes as well as to the rams. And it is probable he had this vision before he made his agreement with Laban; whereby he was directed to the artifice of which he made use: or else God represented to him afterward that he approved it, and would make it successful.

*Grisled.*] This word *(barud)* is not used before: but I took notice of it in the foregoing chapter, (ver. 32.) that it signifies as much as *great white* or *grey spots,* like to *hail-stones.* It is just the quite contrary to *nakod,* speckled or sprinkled with little black spots, which were upon the sheep that were white: as they were *whitish* or *grisled* spots upon those that were black.

Ver. 11. *And the angel of God spake unto me,* &c.] In the name of God, as his ambassador: God being supposed to be present, where his angels, who are his retinue, are said to appear; as I have often noted. (See xxviii. 17.)

Ver. 12. *Lift up now thine eyes.*] He said (ver. 10.) that he did *lift up his eyes:* therefore the meaning here is, *Observe now,* and *mark* what thou seest.

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*I have seen all that Laban doth unto thee,* &c.] Taken such notice of it that I will do thee right.

Ver. 14. *I am the God of Bethel.*] It is plain by this, that though the angel only appeared, (ver. 11.) yet God himself was present and remembered him, how he had appeared unto him in Bethel, (xxviii. 11, 12, &c.) and how "Jacob had anointed the pillar, and vowed a vow unto him." So Maimonides expounds it; for Jacob, no doubt, saith he, made the vow to God, and not to the angel: and therefore the angel (as he understands it) speaks here in the name of God and not of himself, (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 27.) See chap. xxii. 11. 15. But I see no reason why we should not suppose the Divine Majesty himself to have appeared also, as he did at Bethel: when Jacob saw the angels ascending and descending upon the ladder, and the Lord himself standing at the top, and speaking to him, as he doth here. For upon a serious consideration of all the circumstances, this vision, here mentioned, seems to me to be distinct from what was represented by an angel in a dream, (ver. 11.) For he had *that,* it is evident, at the beginning of his last six years' service; *this,* at the conclusion of them: but he puts them both together, because they belong to the same matter.

And God now remembers his vow, to shew him that he was well pleased with it; and to excite him to perform it, when he had brought him (as he assures him he would) to that place again.

Ver. 14. *Rachel and Leah answered,* &c.] They immediately consented to go along with him; and not so much as to acquaint their father with it: for they knew he would give them nothing.

*Is there any portion,* &c.] We shall get nothing by staying with him: the reason of which follows.

Ver. 15. *Are we not counted as strangers?* &c.] He hath not dealt with us as if we were his children: but as if we were of some other family; whom he had bought, and sold again.

*Sold us.*] Not so much giving us in marriage, as selling us for the price of Jacob's labour.

*Quite devoured our money.*] Kept to himself all the money he got by thy service; and given us not a farthing of it.

Ver. 16. *For all the riches,* &c.] God hath but given us that which was our own: and therefore thou mayest lawfully keep it, and go away with it.

Ver. 17. *Jacob rose up.*] Prepared himself for the journey.

*And set his sons.*] As was but needful: Reuben, his eldest, being scarce fourteen years old; and Joseph, his youngest, scarce six.

*Upon camels.*] They used to ride upon camels in the east country; especially when they made long journeys. (See xxiv. 10.)

Ver. 18. *He carried away all his cattle.*] But nothing of Laban's, as Josephus, without any reason, fancies.

Ver. 19. *Laban went to shear his sheep.*] Which gave Jacob the better opportunity to escape, whilst he was busy about that; and feasting, perhaps, his shearers.

*And Rachel had stolen.*] In all likelihood his wives returned to the house, to fetch what they had left there, when Jacob sent to speak with them in the field, (ver. 4.) and then Rachel took away these images.

*The images that her father had.*] These images in the Hebrew are called *teraphim:* of which we read very often afterward, in the Holy Scripture. Mercer and Simeon de Muis. take it for an exotic word; but others derive it from the Hebrew word *rapha,* which signifies, to *cure* or *heal;* as if these were looked upon as *salvatores,* saviours and deliverers, or preservers from mischief.

There are other derivations, of which there is no certainty: but most agree they were a kind of *penates,* as the Romans called them, *household gods:* in which style Laban speaks of them, when he says, (ver. 30.) "Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?" But it is a great question among the Hebrew doctors, whether, in these ancient times, they worshipped them as gods, or only used them as instruments of divination; as Mr. Selden observes, (de Diis Syris Syntagm. i. cap. 2.) where he shews, that several of the Hebrew doctors take them to have been figures in human shape, (1 Sam. xix. 13.) made by astrologers to be capable (as they fancied) of the heavenly influences. And for this reason, they think, Rachel stole them—that Laban might not inquire by them, which way Jacob and his family were gone. Hottinger also hath many ingenious arguments to prove, that they were the same with the Arabian talismans in aftertimes: which were images made under such or such constellations, to receive the heavenly influences; either to be a phylactery, or an oracle. (See lib. i. Histor. Orient. cap. 8.)

But the conjecture of Lud. de Dieu upon this place seems to me far more probable, that they were the representations of some angelical powers (teraphim and seraphim being the very same, by the change only of a letter), who, they imagined, declared the mind of God by them. For, in those countries where the Schechinah, or presence of the Divine Majesty, did not appear, as it did in Abraham's family, they had at least some tradition of it, and of the angels that were its attendants: the resemblance of which they made, in hope they might by that means have a communication with them, and gain intelligence from heaven. Of which evil spirits made their advantage; and abused mankind by the lying answers they gave to their inquiries. For there is no reason to think that God allowed, much less appointed, the making of these teraphim: which Gaffarel adventures to say, were piously used before the law of Moses, and God manifested his mind and will by them. This had been to lead men into idolatry, by image-worship: unto which they were too prone of themselves.

Expositors differ very much about Rachel's intention in stealing them. Some fancy, she still retained a tang of superstition: but I take it to be more likely, that Jacob, who loved her extremely, and was no less beloved by her, had brought her off from the false notions and bad customs of her country. And then, she did not carry them away, for fear Laban should inquire by them, which way they were gone (for she knew they were but vain idols, which could give no direction): but rather designed to convince her father of his superstition; by letting him see, that his gods (as he called them) could not preserve themselves, much less do any service to him. Or, perhaps, she intended to give herself some portion of his goods, which she thought justly belonged to her: and so took these teraphim, which were of some value (though small



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images) because they are generally supposed to have been made of silver.

Ver. 20. *Jacob stole away unawares.*] Without the knowledge of Laban. For the word *heart* (as it is in the Hebrew) is here put for the *understanding and will.*

*Laban the Syrian.*] There being no necessity of mentioning his country (which was well known from the preceding story), some think he is here called *the Syrian,* to denote that, as cunning as he was, Jacob was too hard for him. For the Syrians, in ancient authors, are observed to have been a very crafty, subtle people. But there is no certainty of this; there being a frequent redundance very obvious in this language. (See ver. 25.)

Ver. 21. *So he fled,* &c.] Packed up his baggage (as we now speak) and made all ready for a speedy flight: and (as it follows) *rose up,* and made all the haste he could to get over the river.

*And passed over the river.*] *i. e.* Euphrates, frequently called in Scripture, *the river,* in regard of its eminence.

*Mount Gilead.*] So called afterward from what Jacob and Laban did there, (ver. 48.) It joined to Mount Libanus.

Ver. 22. *On the third day.*] There was such a distance between Jacob's flock and his, (xxxii. 36.) that he could not hear sooner: especially when he was taken up with other business, (ver. 19.) and did not make inquiry.

Ver. 23. *Took his brethren.*] Some of his near kindred.

*They overtook him.*] The Hebrew word imports, *they came close up to him.*

Ver. 24. *And God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream,* &c.] See concerning this expression, xx. 3.

*Speak not to Jacob either good or bad.*] About his return to thee. Unto which God charges him he should neither allure him by promises, nor affright him by threats.

Ver. 25. *Then Laban overtook Jacob.*] This is a different word from that in ver. 23. signifying he came near, or approached just to him: so that they might confer one with another.

*Now Jacob had pitched his tent,* &c.] For Jacob and Laban had both pitched their tents in the same Mount; not far from one another. This Josephus thinks they had done in the evening; when Laban came up so close to him, that if the night had not parted them, they might then have discoursed together: which they did next morning, when they came nearer one to another; after God had warned Laban not to stop his journey.

Here *Gilead* is redundant, as the word *Syrian* was before in ver. 20. 24.

Ver. 26. *As captives taken with the sword.*] As prizes in war, which are wont to be carried off with force and violence.

Ver. 28. *Thou hast now done foolishly in so doing.*] He seems to pretend, that he would have been very kind to him, if they had parted with mutual consent: and would have him think he had lost, by stealing away, not only the music and merriment, (beforementioned, ver. 27.) but such gifts as he would have bestowed upon him.

Ver. 29. *The God of your father spake unto me,* &c.] There is no ground to think that the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, appeared to him; for we do not read either here or ver. 24. of his seeing any thing, but hearing one speak to him, and that in a dream: who told him, I suppose, that he was the God of Isaac, and of Abraham. Or, if he saw a glorious appearance, it was in his sleep only; not when he was awake.

Ver. 30. *Stolen my gods.*] See ver. 19.

Ver. 31. *Because I was afraid.*] This is an answer to the first part of Laban's expostulation, (ver. 26, 27, &c.)

Ver. 32. *With whomsoever thou findest,* &c.] This is an answer to the last part of it. From which some gather, that theft was punished with death in those days. Sacrilege perhaps was.

Ver. 33. *Laban went into Jacob's tent,* &c.] This shews that men and women had every one of them their distinct tents, apart by themselves; as was noted before, xxiv. ult.

Ver. 34. *Camel's furniture.*] The saddle upon which they rode, or laid their carriage.

*Searched all the tent.*] Except that place where she sat.

Ver. 35. *Let it not displease,* &c.] She begs his pardon that she did not stand up to do him reverence, as became a child to her father: and excuses it, by an infirmity which was upon her.

*And he searched.*] He looked all about the place where she sat.

Ver. 36. *Jacob answered and said,* &c.] He proceeded farther in his answer; and expostulates with Laban, as he had done with him: setting forth the causelessness of his pursuit, the injustice of charging him with theft, and all his unkind usage of him, from the time he came to him, till his departure; notwithstanding his faithful services, which he represents most admirably.

Ver. 38. *The ewes and she-goats have not cast their young.*] I looked so carefully after them, and such was the blessing of God upon my care, none of them miscarried. A most high commendation of his service. Who would not have valued such a servant, for whose sake God bestowed such an unwonted fecundity upon Laban's flock?

*The rams of thy flock have I not eaten.*] Under *rams* are comprehended the lambs also: for if he had eaten any of them, it had been no great commendation to abstain from the rams. But he contented himself with pulse, or such-like mean diet, to promote his master's profit.

Ver. 39. *That which was torn of beasts,* &c.] And that also which was stolen by theft, was not brought to Laban's account; but Jacob made them good. Which was not only an unjust exaction, but an inhuman: for the most careful shepherd in the world could not have his eye every where to prevent such things, especially in the dark; as it follows.

*Whether stolen by day or by night.*] A most barbarous usage of a nephew, and a son-in-law, to make him pay for that which wild beasts devoured, or thieves stole, against his will; when nobody could see their approach in the night. Some question where Jacob got money to pay for them. But it is to be considered, that he did not come quite unprovided from his father's house; with which also, we may reasonably think, he still held some correspondence.

Ver. 40. *Thus was I; in the day the drought,* &c.] While I served thee, the heat consumed me in the daytime, and the frost nipped me by night. For in those countries shepherds were wont to watch their flocks; especially about the time that ewes were likely to yean: as we read Luke ii. 8. (See Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 44.)

*My sleep departed from mine eyes.*] Many times he took no rest; being awakened by wild beasts, or by thieves, or kept awake by his great solicitude for his flock.

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Ver. 41. *Thus have I been twenty years in thy house.*] This hath been my manner of life, for no less than twenty years, that I have been a servant in thy family.

Ver. 42. *The fear of Isaac.*] The God whom Isaac feared; that is, worshipped: as the Chaldee interprets it.

*Thou hadst sent me away now empty.*] Without goods, wives, or children: for he seems to have been so barbarous, that if he had been left to himself, he would have made them all his slaves.

*God hath seen my affliction.*] How ill thou hast treated me; and taken care to relieve me. For so the word *seen* signifies in many places; particularly xvi. 13.

Ver. 43. *These cattle are my cattle,* &c.] Because they belonged to his daughters, and their children, therefore he calls them his. That is, now he is in a good mood, and pretends the same care of every thing that Jacob had, as if it were his own. So it follows.

*And what can I do this day unto these my daughters?* &c.] How can I do them any harm, when they are so very dear to me?

Ver. 44. *Let us make a covenant,* &c.] Enter into a strict league, by some monument or other; that shall remain as a testimony of our friendship.

Ver. 45. *Set it up for a pillar.*] For a monument of what Laban desired.

Ver. 46. *Jacob said to his brethren, Gather stones,* &c.] He prays every one, whom Laban had brought with him, to bring a stone; and they did so, and laid them together on a heap; which was flat at the top like a table: so that they did eat upon it the next morning, (ver. 54.)

Ver. 47. *Laban called it Jegar-Sahadutha,* &c.] One of them gave it a Syriac name, signifying *the heap of testimony;* the other a Hebrew, signifying *the heap of witness.* For *gal* is a *heap* in Hebrew, and *ed,* a *witness.* These two languages were different: but not so much that they did not understand one another, as appears by the whole story.

Ver. 48. *This heap is a witness between me and thee this day.*] It shall remain as a monument, that we agree not to transgress these bounds; as it is explained, ver. 52.

Ver. 49. *Mizpah.*] A watch-tower. This shews that Laban understood Hebrew as well as Syriac: or, rather, that these were two dialects: which differed in pronunciation, and in many words, (as those mentioned ver. 47.) but in most had the same common to them both.

*The Lord watch between me and thee.*] Observe how we behave ourselves, when we cannot see one another. Here he uses the name of Jehovah; which shews he was acquainted with the religion of Jacob, as well as his language; and worshipped, it is likely, the Lord of heaven and of earth; though not without some superstitious mixtures.

Ver. 50. *If thou shalt afflict my daughters,* &c.] It seems to be a short form of speech, importing, God who observes all things will punish thee for it.

*If thou take other wives besides my daughters.*] Which might have been worse for them and their posterity; and therefore he lays this restraint upon him.

*No man is with us,* &c.] Though here be no man besides ourselves, to be witness of this agreement; yet consider that God (which is infinitely more) knows it, and will punish him that transgresses it.

In these two last verses, he discourses very religiously; which revived also his natural affection to his children.

Ver. 52. *This heap be witness, and this pillar be witness,* &c.] It seems that Laban and his company set up a heap, made of the stones which every one brought; and Jacob set up one single large stone (ver. 45.) in the form of a pillar. And it is likely his pillar looked towards the land of Canaan; and their heap towards Haran.

*That I will not pass over this heap,* &c.] As stones were set in the confines of fields to be boundaries, and landmarks (as we call them) to distinguish men's possessions, and limit them from encroaching one upon another; so were this heap and this pillar intended to be in the nature of such boundaries; beyond which neither of them should pass armed, to offend the other.

Ver. 53. *The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor.*] These two were brethren, (for he doth not mean, sure, their grandfather, the father of Terah, xi. 24.) and before Abraham was called out of Ur, they both worshipped other gods, (Josh. xxiv. 2.) But then Abraham renounced those gods; and worshipped only the Creator of heaven and earth; as Nahor, I have formerly conjectured, also did; when he followed him to Haran. Therefore, I think, we need not make a question by which of Abraham's gods Laban now swears: for I take him to have been bred up in the true religion, which made Abraham desire his son should have a wife out of this family; for which reason Isaac also sent Jacob hither.

*The God of their father.*] As much as to say, by the God of our ancestors: who, after God's appearing to Abraham and calling him out of his own country, became the worshippers of the Lord of heaven and earth alone. (See xi. 31.)

*Jacob sware by the fear of his father Isaac.*] By Him whom Isaac worshipped, (ver. 42.) He mentions the *fear of Isaac* rather than the *God of Abraham,* to declare more plainly and undoubtedly by what God he sware. For Abraham had been an idolater; but Isaac never was.

Ver. 54. *Jacob offered sacrifice.*] Peace-offerings (as they were afterward called), part of which were eaten by him that offered them, and by his friends. This further shews they were of the same religion, by their partaking of the same sacrifice: which Jacob no doubt offered to the true God.

*Called his brethren to eat bread.*] Invited them to feast with him upon that sacrifice: whereby they confirmed the covenant lately made between them.

Ver. 55. *Laban blessed them.*] Prayed God to preserve and prosper them.

*Returned to his place.*] *viz.* Haran.

## CHAP. XXXII.

Ver. 1. *THE angels of God met him.*] To encourage and comfort him, with the assurance that God was with him. This is a remarkable passage, shewing the singular care God had of him: who, as he appeared to him when he went from Canaan, so now appeared to him again in his return thither; that he might depend upon the promise he then made him, (xxviii. 13—15.)

Ver. 2. *This is God's host.*] Which attend upon the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, to execute his commands.

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*Mahanaim.*] *i. e.* Two hosts, or camps, as it is in the margin. Either, because there were several squadrons (as we speak) of the angels, drawn up like an army, ready for his defence: or, because, besides his own family, which was pitched here in order like a camp, there was that of the angels also. The former seems most probable, because this name relates to *God's host*, mentioned before; which consisted of several troops of angels.

Ver. 3. *And Jacob sent messengers before him,* &c.] As he was about to pass over Jordan, (ver. 10.) he sent some to wait upon his brother.

*Unto the land of Seir.*] Which Esau, it seems, had conquered in Jacob's absence, according to the blessing of his father, (xxvii. 40.) "By thy sword shalt thou live." This Jacob thought fit to congratulate to him; and at the same time to try how he stood affected towards himself.

*The country of Edom.*] So it was called in Moses's time.

Ver. 4. *Thus shall ye speak to my lord Esau.*] He calls him his lord, that he might mollify his anger, if any remained, by humble language. Which sounded as if he had no thoughts of the birthright he had purchased of him. This also was the style wherein others addressed themselves to Esau, after he had won the principality of Seir.

*Thy servant Jacob.*] These are submissive words also; importing his inferiority.

*I have sojourned with Laban,* &c.] This hath the same design with the foregoing words; to insinuate that he was much inferior to Esau; having been a servant a long time to Laban.

Ver. 5. *And I have oxen,* &c.] Yet he adds this, that he was plentifully provided for, lest Esau should think he came a begging, and might prove a burden to him; so the Hebrews understand it. And Maimonides observes, that he mentions only oxen, asses, and flocks (*i. e.* of sheep and goats), because these were the common possessions of all men, and in all countries, that had any thing. But horses and camels were not ordinary goods, but the possessions of a few great persons, and in some countries only: (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 39.) Jacob indeed had camels, (ver. 7. 15. and xxxi. 17.) but, it is likely, they were not many, and he had no great breed of them.

*Men-servants and maid-servants.*] These were a part of their possessions, as oxen and sheep were; which they bought and sold; and were no where more plentiful than in Syria (from whence Jacob came), if it were then such a country as it was in aftertimes, when the Roman writers say, they were "servituti nati," *born to slavery.*

*That I may find grace in thy sight.*] He courts his friendship, and desires he would favour him, and not hinder him in his passage to their old father.

Ver. 6. *We came to thy brother Esau, and also he cometh to meet thee.*] They reported, no doubt, what he replied to Jacob's message; and this *coming to meet him* signifies, that he gave them a civil reception: and pretended, at least, to be glad to hear of his brother's return; and therefore prepared to come and welcome him into his own country.

*Four hundred men with him.*] Nobly attended; partly to shew his greatness, and partly to do honour to Jacob by a public salutation.

Ver. 7. *Then Jacob was greatly afraid,* &c.] Being conscious to himself what cause Esau had not to love him. He interpreted his coming to meet him, with such a number, otherwise than it was represented. The vision of angels, indeed, who met him, (ver. 1.) might have fortified him against all fear of Esau's meeting him: but the first motions of such passions cannot always be prevented.

*He divided the people that were with him,* &c.] Put his family and all belonging to him in as good a posture as he was able.

Ver. 9. *O God of my father Abraham,* &c.] As he had prudently disposed all things for the preservation of his family, at least of some of them; so he addresses himself to God (of whose goodness both Abraham and Isaac had very long experience), without whose favour he knew the angels themselves could do nothing for him: for they are his *host*, (ver. 2.) and act only by his command.

*Return unto thy country.*] He represents to God that he was in the way of obedience to his orders: and then remembers him of his gracious promise, "I will deal well with thee."

Ver. 10. *I am not worthy,* &c.] Next, he acknowledges what God had done for him already; and how unworthy he was of the smallest part of it.

*With my staff.*] As a poor traveller, having no more than I could carry about me. Travellers used staffs then, as they do now, for their ease, and for their defence.

Ver. 11. *The mother with the children.*] *i. e.* My whole family: which could not consist with God's promise, mentioned in the next verse.

Ver. 12. *As the sand of the sea.*] The words of God's promise are *as the dust of the earth,* (xxviii. 14.) But that signified the same with what God had said to Abraham, (xxii. 17.) which this promise authorised him to apply to himself, as the seed whom he intended to bless.

Ver. 13. *He lodged there.*] *i. e.* In Mahanaim, or thereabouts: where he hoped God would command the angels, which he had seen, to protect him.

*And he took of that which came to his hand,* &c.] According to this translation, he took what he first lighted upon, without any choice; being still in a passion of fear. But the Hebrew phrase בידו, *that which was in his hand,* signifies what was in his power to present him withal, *viz.* such cattle as are after mentioned; though he had no jewels or precious raiment. And it appears that he chose them with great consideration, in exact proportions: for having commended himself, upon such good grounds, to the protection of the Almighty, his fear vanished.

Ver. 14. *Two hundred she-goats, and twenty he-goats,* &c.] The *males* bare the proportion of *one* to *ten females.* And so it was in the *rams* and *bulls;* which was the proportion Varro saith was observed in his days and country. (See Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 54.)

Ver. 15. *Milch camels.*] Who had lately foaled: for nothing was more delicious in those countries (as Bochart observes out of Aristotle, Pliny, and many other authors, Ib. lib. ii. cap. 2.) than camels' milk.

Ver. 18. *It is a present.*] With which he hoped to sweeten him; there being a great power in gifts to win men's hearts, even when they are disaffected: as the wise man observes in many places, (Prov. xvii. 8. xviii. 16, &c.)

*And behold, he is behind us.*] He would not have Esau think that he was afraid to see him.

Ver. 19. *And so he commanded the second,* &c.] He there-

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fore distributed them into several droves, that they might make a greater appearance; and that he might still be more and more pleased, with the respect which was shewn him, and the present intended him. For every new drove, and new speech, made a new impression upon him.

Ver. 21. *Lodged that night in the company.*] Or, camp, *i. e.* where he pitched the tents for his family.

Ver. 22. *He arose up that night.*] Before it was day; in the last watch of the night.

*His eleven sons.*] *i. e.* All his children: for the daughter is comprehended.

*Passed over the ford Jabbock.*] This was a little river, flowing from the country of the Ammonites, and falling into Jordan, where it comes out of the lake of Genesareth. It was in one place fordable; and there Jacob first passed over himself, to try the depth of it.

Ver. 23. *And he took them and sent them over,* &c.] Having tried the ford, he returned; and caused them all to pass over: and so (as it follows) *was left alone,* on the east side of the brook.

Ver. 24. *And there wrestled a man with him.*] He stayed alone, in all likelihood, that he might commend himself and his family to God, by earnest prayer: which seems to be confirmed by the prophet Hosea, xii. 4. And as he was praying, or when he had done, a man encountered him, with whom he grappled; taking him, perhaps, for some of Esau's attendants come to surprise him. For it was so dark, that he could not see what kind of countenance he had: or, if he could, angels were wont to appear so like to men, that at the first they did not discern the difference. Maimonides fancies all this was done in a prophetic vision: (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 42.) but the whole narration confutes this. The only question is, whether this was a created angel, or the Eternal ΛΟΓΟΣ, as many of the ancient fathers understood it. Whose opinion is opposed by St. Austin, (as I observed upon the 18th chapter) and seems to me not so probable, as that this angel was one of God's host, mentioned ver. 2. sent from the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty: by whose order, and in whose presence, he strove with Jacob, in such manner as is here described. In short, I take him to be one of those, whom the Jews call *angels of the presence;* that wait continually upon the Divine Majesty, and make a part of his retinue. (See xxxv. 10.)

Ver. 25. *And when he saw that he prevailed not against him.*] Though Jacob, no doubt, was extraordinarily strengthened by God in this combat, (Hosea xii. 5.) yet the angel who represented God could have prevailed against him, if his orders had not been to let Jacob have the better.

*He touched the hollow of his thigh.*] The angel gave over the combat; but made him know, by this light touch, what he could have done, if he had pleased, *i. e.* quite overthrown him, as easily as he had made him go limping. This discovered to Jacob that he was more than a man who wrestled with him: and that he had not prevailed against him by his own strength; but by the power of God.

*The hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint.*] The thigh-bone slipped out of the cavity, or socket, into which it was inserted.

Ver. 26. *And he said, Let me go.*] Though the angel ceased to wrestle any longer, yet Jacob would not let go his hold: and, the more to set off his victory, the angel seems not to be able to break from him without his consent.

*For the day breaks.*] It is time for thee to follow thy family over the brook.

*And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me.*] By this it plainly appears, Jacob began to understand who he was.

Ver. 27. *What is thy name?*] The angel doth not yet own his quality; but speaks as if he were unacquainted with Jacob.

Ver. 28. *Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel.*] *i. e.* Not only Jacob, (as this expression is used 1 Sam. viii. 7.) or not so much Jacob as Israel. Which name abolished the other, in his posterity: who were called Israelites, but never Jacobites.

*For as a prince hast thou power with God and with men.*] These words explain the end and intention of this combat; which was to shew, that he, having such power with God as to prevail over one of his ministers, needed not fear his brother Esau. So the Vulgar Latin expresses it: *If thou hast been strong against God, how much more shalt thou prevail with men?* And it is the sense of our translation, which more literally renders the Hebrew words, *Thou hast behaved thyself like a prince* (so the word *Scharitha* imports) *with God, and with men,* &c. That is, hast shewed such an heroic spirit (as we speak) in this combat, that thou needest not fear Esau and all his followers: this victory is an assurance that thou shalt get the better of him.

There is nobody skilled in the original language, but easily sees no other derivation of the name of Israel is to be sought for, but what is contained in this word *Scharitha:* which gives the reason of it. For *sar,* as St. Jerome observes, signifies a *prince;* and the *jod* in the beginning, is the common note of a proper name. So the meaning of Israel is as much as a *prince with God.*

Ver. 29. *Jacob asked him and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name.*] Jacob having told him his own name, desires him to requite him in the same kind: that thereby he might more certainly know, whether he was an angel or a man. For these words seem to demonstrate, he did not think him to be God himself.

*Wherefore dost thou ask after my name?*] Do not inquire after it. Rasi thinks angels changed their names according to the offices and functions to which they were assigned.

*And he blessed him there.*] Renewed the blessing which God had promised to Abraham and his seed; whereby Jacob was fully satisfied who he was: for he pronounced this blessing in the name of God, from whom he came.

Ver. 30. *I have seen God face to face.*] Been admitted to the nearest familiarity with him. For he looked upon this angel as a part of the Schechinah; which now also, it is likely, visibly appeared, and made him call this place Peniel, *the face of God.* Which doth not import that the Schechinah appeared in a human figure (for it never did), but that he looked upon it as a token of the Divine Presence, and that it approached very near him; as when one friend speaks to another *face to face,* as the ancient phrase was.

*And my life was preserved.*] This is commonly interpreted by the opinion, which was in old time, that if they saw one of the heavenly ministers, they were to be no longer men of this world, but die presently. But it may refer (as Menochius observes) to the principal scope of the combat, which was to confirm Jacob against the fear of Esau: and

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so the meaning is, *I doubt not, I am safe, God will preserve me from any hurt by Esau.*

Ver. 31. *He halted upon his thigh.*] Because the hip-bone was out of its place. Many think this lasted only for a time; and some will have it, that the angel cured him before he got to Esau. But there is no certainty of either of these conjectures.

Ver. 32. *Therefore the children of Israel eat not of the sinew which shrank,* &c.] That sinew (or tendon) which fastens the hip-bone in its socket: which comprehends the flesh of that muscle which is connected to it. He that eat of this was to be beaten, as the Jewish masters tell us. (See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedriis, p. 552. Hottinger de Leg. Hebr. §. 3. Vorstius upon Pirke Eliezer, p. 221.)

## CHAP. XXXIII.

Ver. 1. *JACOB lifted up his eyes,* &c.] Being come to his family, (whom he sent before him over the brook, xxxii. 23.) and looking about him, he beheld Esau and his train at some distance: and put himself, his wives, and children, in good order to meet him.

Ver. 2. *Joseph hindermost.*] As more dear to him, than any of the rest: for he did not yet know that the Messiah was to proceed from Judah, one of the sons of Leah.

Ver. 3. *And he passed over before them.*] Put himself in the front of them.

*Bowed himself to the ground seven times.*] At some convenient distance he began to bow: and so, at every other step, or more, he bowed again (seven times) *till he came near to his brother.* This was to testify the great honour he had for him: and to take out of Esau's mind all suspicion, that he looked upon himself as the elder brother.

Ver. 4. *Esau ran to meet him.*] This declares the forwardness of his affection: which would not let him proceed so ceremoniously as Jacob did.

*Kissed him.*] This word is marked in the Hebrew text (as fourteen other words in the Bible are) with four unusual points over it: to denote, as the Hebrew doctors think, some remarkable thing; which some of them take to be, the sincerity of Esau's reconciliation to his brother. And truly, if he heartily pardoned the injury, which he conceived Jacob had done him, it is much to be noted; and ought to be looked upon as a sign he was become a good man. And so Mart. Bucer, I remember, understood it, in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Romans: where he makes this an argument that Esau was not a reprobate, as some are apt to imagine. If it be said that God deterred him from doing his brother any hurt, it is more than can be proved. For it is recorded indeed that God threatened Laban in such a manner, that he durst not meddle with him: but no such thing is said of Esau, though it would have been of more concern to have recorded the same here, if Moses had known of any such Divine apparition to him.

Ver. 7. *Joseph and Rachel.*] The Hebrew doctors here observe, that Joseph goes before his mother; but the mothers of all the rest went before their children: of which, I think, it is not needful to seek a reason. For it is likely Moses did not take care to place his words exactly. Or, if he did, no more ought to be made of it than this; that Joseph being a goodly child, his mother put him before her; as we commonly do, when we would shew a child to advantage. Or, he being very young and a forward child, stepped before his mother, as children are wont to do, when some fine show appears which they eagerly desire to behold.

Ver. 8. *What meanest thou by all this drove?* &c.] The servants, no doubt, had told him, (as their master had ordered, xxxii. 17, &c.) but he asks Jacob that he might have an opportunity to declare how little he needed or desired such a present.

*These are to find grace in the sight of my lord.*] To testify my respect to thee, that I may obtain thy favour and good-will towards me. For inferiors were wont to approach to their superiors with presents, to make themselves the more kindly accepted. And it is observable, that as he and all his made such obeisance to Esau, as signified he was his servant, (as he calls himself, ver. 5.) so he still honours Esau by the name of his lord.

Ver. 9. *I have enough, my brother,* &c.] In this he shews himself not to be of a covetous humour: but as free from that vice as from revenge.

Ver. 10. *If I have found grace in thy sight.*] If thou lovest me.

*As though I had seen the face of God.*] For Esau's kind reception of him, he could not but look upon as a token of the Divine favour towards him. Some think by *God* may be meant an angel, or great man: into whose presence, inferiors, as I said, were wont to approach with presents.

*And thou wast pleased with me.*] Received me kindly.

Ver. 11. *Take my blessing.*] *i. e.* My present, as we expound it in the margin of 1 Sam. xxv. 27.

*I have enough.*] It is a larger word in the Hebrew, than that used by Esau, ver. 9. signifying that he had enough to spare of all sorts of things: and therefore Esau needed not fear his impoverishment, by accepting this present.

Ver. 12. *And he said, Let us take our journey,* &c.] Esau invites him to go along with him, to the land of Seir, and there refresh himself.

*I will go before thee.*] Shew thee the way, and conduct thee.

Ver. 13. *And he said unto him,* &c.] *i. e.* Jacob said this in excuse, that he could not go so fast as Esau; and therefore desired to follow after by easy journeys.

*Children are tender.*] Joseph was not above six or seven years old.

*Flocks and herds with young.*] The Hebrew word *aloth* (in 1 Sam. vi. 7.) signifies kine that had sucking calves. Unto which sense Bochart inclines in this place; and so do Jonathan, Onkelos, and other ancient interpreters. (See his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 30.)

*Are with me.*] Must be looked after very carefully.

*All the flock will die.*] *i. e.* All that are big with young; or, have newly brought forth young.

Ver. 14. *I will lead on softly.*] Follow thee with a gentle pace; such as the flocks and children can bear.

*According as the cattle that go before me.*] It was observed before, (xxx. 30.) that Maimonides interprets this phrase, *leregel, for the sake:* and so he understands it here, *with respect to the cattle and children.* (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 28.) Or, *because of the cattle,* &c. that they may not be overdriven.

*Until I come to my lord, unto Seir.*] Moses omits this journey to Seir, as he doth his visit to his father: which

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one cannot think he deferred for so many years, as were between his return to Canaan, and the mention of his coming to Mamre, (xxxv. 27.) Or, Jacob was hindered, perhaps, by something which he could not foresee, from performing this promise to his brother: of which, no doubt, he gave him an account, that he might not be thought to break his word.

Ver. 15. *Let me now leave with thee,* &c.] He would have left some of his followers with Jacob, to shew him the way, and to be a guard to him; or honourably attend him.

*Let me find grace in the sight of my lord.*] In this also be so kind as to gratify my desire, (xxxiv. 11.)

Ver. 16. *Esau returned that day.*] The same day they met together; because he would not be a burden to Jacob.

Ver. 17. *Journeyed to Succoth.*] After he had been with his brother in Seir, if he did follow him thither; as it is likely he did, though not here mentioned: no more than the entertainment he gave him, and such-like things; which one cannot think were wanting at this meeting.

*Built him a house.*] Intending to make some stay in this place.

Ver. 18. *And Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem.*] Or, he came safe and sound (so the Hebrews generally understand the word Shalem) to that city called Shechem. And it may refer either to the soundness of his leg; which was perfectly well, so that he halted no longer: or, to the safety of his person; in that he was not at all hurt by Esau: or, rather, to the safety of every thing he had: no evil accident having befallen him, of any sort, since he left Laban. Which is the rather now mentioned, because in the next chapter Moses gives a relation of a very sad misfortune, which befel his family.

*When he came from Padan-Aram.*] Some think this needed not to have been added: whereas it expresses more fully what was said before, that he came safe all the way from thence hither.

*And pitched his tent before the city.*] Because it was the sabbath-day, saith Manasseh ben Israel, out of the Hebrew doctors (Probl. viii. de Creatione), which made him stop and rest here, and not enter the city, till it was ended. But this is a mere fancy, for the *rest from all labours* on this day was not commanded to be observed till they came out of Egypt: and the true reason of pitching his tent here, was for the convenience of pasturage.

Ver. 19. *And he bought a parcel of a field.*] He made a small purchase, that he might be the less imposed upon by the inhabitants of that country: who had disturbed Abraham and Isaac, about the wells they digged in the ground they hired of them.

*For a hundred pieces of money.*] The margin hath a hundred lambs. But this is the right translation, as appears from Acts vii. 16. And Bochart hath taken a great deal of pains to shew that *kesita* doth not signify a *lamb,* but some sort of money: though of what value is uncertain. (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. i. cap. 2. and lib. ii. cap. 48.) For a great while before this time money was in use; with which they trafficked, and not by exchanging one commodity for another. (See xxiii. 16.)

Ver. 20. *Called it El-Elohe-Israel.*] This altar is dedicated to God, the God of Israel; who had delivered him from Laban and Esau, and lately honoured him with a new name, importing his great power with him.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

Ver. 1. *WENT out.*] From her mother's tent, which was without the city, (xxxiii. 18.)

*To see the daughters of the land.*] Into the city of Shechem, to look about her with the young women (as the Hebrew word imports), who, as Josephus relates, celebrated a festival at this time, where some fine spectacles were presented.

Ver. 2. *And when Shechem.*] From whom the city, perhaps, had its name.

*Prince of the country.*] Or one of the prime nobility of the country, (ver. 19.)

*Took her,* &c.] By force (as both the Targums and many others understand it), and ravished her. From whence we learn, that this was done some years after Jacob's return into Canaan: for then Dinah was not much older than Joseph; and now we must suppose her, at least, fifteen. And indeed the bloody fact of her brethren shews as much, who must be grown up to be men: which they were not when Jacob returned to Canaan; the eldest of them being then scarcely a stripling of fourteen years old.

Ver. 3. *His soul clave unto Dinah.*] He could think of nothing else but her: for he loved her extremely, as it follows in the next words.

*Spake kindly to the damsel.*] Courted her to marry him, with such professions of sincere affection, as might gain her heart, notwithstanding the injury he had done her.

Ver. 4. *Get me this damsel to wife.*] Treat with her father about our marriage.

Ver. 5. *And Jacob heard,* &c.] By some of Dinah's servants or companions; for it is not to be thought, that she went out alone.

*Now his sons were with the cattle in the field.*] Which he had lately purchased, (xxxiii. 19.) or, in some hired ground remote from the city.

*Held his peace,* &c.] Took no notice of what he heard; till he could have their advice and assistance.

Ver. 6. *And Hamor went out.*] Of the city, to treat with Jacob in his tent, (xxxiii. 18.)

Ver. 7. *And the sons of Jacob,* &c.] As they were treating, in came Jacob's sons: who, hearing how their sister had been abused, were very much afflicted, and no less angry.

*Wrought folly in Israel.*] Or, *against Israel.* Committed a wickedness, highly to the disgrace and injury of Israel's family.

*Which thing ought not to be done.*] Contrary to the law of nations; that a virgin should be violated without punishment. So Rasi.

Ver. 8. *Hamor communed with them.*] With the whole family, Jacob, Leah, and Dinah's brethren.

*Longeth.*] Is extremely in love.

*For your daughter.*] The daughter of Jacob and Leah; unto whom he speaks in the presence of her brethren.

Ver. 9. *And make ye marriages with us,* &c.] Become one people with us, (ver. 16.)

Ver. 10. *And ye shall dwell with us.*] Settle yourselves among us.

*And the land shall be before you.*] In any part of our country.



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*Dwell ye.*] He repeats it again, to beget in them a confidence of a settlement among them; in the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges; as much as if they had been natives.

*And trade ye.*] Exercise what traffic you please up and down the country, without any let or impediment.

*And get you possessions therein.*] Purchase land.

Ver. 11. *Let me find grace in your eyes.*] Grant this petition, which my father makes in my behalf, (xxxiii. 15.)

*And what ye shall say unto me,* &c.] Make your own terms, I will agree to them.

Ver. 12. *Ask me never so much dowry and gift.*] This shews more fully, that the custom of those times was (as was noted upon xxix. 18.) for men to give money for their wives. But there was a greater reason for a dowry now, and a large one too; that he might make compensation for the wrong he had done. For there was a natural equity in those laws of Moses, (Exod. xxii. 16. Deut. xxii. 28.) by which men were bound to make satisfaction to the fathers; if, either by incitement or violence, they had abused their daughters.

*Dowry and gift* seem to be distinct things: the *dowry* being given to the parents, the *gift* to the kindred.

Ver. 13. *The sons of Jacob answered,* &c.] Hence some infer, that, by the custom of those days, the consent of the brethren was required, rather than the parents: for the sons of Jacob here make the contract, as Laban had done with Abraham's servant, (xxiv. 50.) But it is more reasonable to think, that Jacob left it to them to consider what was fit to be done in a matter which required great deliberation, and then to report their opinion to him, who had the greatest interest in her, and right to dispose of her.

Ver. 14. *We cannot do this thing.*] It is against our religion. Which was partly true; for though Jacob himself had married one whose father was uncircumcised (as Isaac had done before him), yet by degrees this opinion prevailed among them, till it was established by the law of Moses.

*For that were a reproach to us.*] They plead honour as well as conscience.

Ver. 15. *In this will we consent unto you.*] Upon these terms we will agree to the match.

Ver. 17. *We will take our daughter and be gone.*] By this it appears they treated in their father's name, as was noted before, ver. 13.

Ver. 18. *And their words pleased Hamor,* &c.] It may seem strange they should so easily consent to be circumcised, till we consider how passionately Shechem loved Dinah, and the great affection Hamor had to Shechem: who was his beloved son, (ver. 19.) Besides, this was but a poor prince, and his city little and mean: which he thought to enrich and strengthen by Jacob's family (who were very wealthy) being incorporated with them, (ver. 23.)

Ver. 19. *He was more honourable.*] In greater esteem with his father, and all the family, than any other belonging to it.

Ver. 20. *Came unto the gate of their city.*] Where all public affairs were transacted.

*And communed with the men of the city.*] Such great matters could not be concluded without the public consent. (See xxiii. 18. xxix. 22.)

Ver. 21. *These men are peaceable.*] They use many arguments to persuade the people to consent: and the first is, that the Israelites had hitherto lived inoffensively among them.

*Let them dwell in the land, and trade therein.*] By a public decree, or law.

*For the land is large enough.*] This is the second argument, there was land enough in their country uncultivated, which these men would improve.

Ver. 23. *Shall not their cattle,* &c.] This is the greatest argument of all; taken from the profit they should have by them; the gain of no less than all they had. Which is not to be understood as if they intended to overpower them, and seize upon all their stock; but that, by intermarriages, their estates would be inherited by them, as much as by the Israelites.

Ver. 24. *All that went out of the gate of his city.*] *i. e.* All the citizens (xxiii. 18.) who were met together in the common-hall (or place of public assemblies), and were soon persuaded to yield to the reasons which had persuaded their rulers.

Ver. 25. *On the third day, when they were sore.*] And began to be a little feverish. For the greatest pain and anguish, the Jews observe, was upon the third day after circumcision, which very much indisposed them. (See Pirke Eliez. cap. 29. and Vorstius's Annotations, p. 195.) And indeed Hippocrates observes the same of all wounds and ulcers; that they are then most inflamed, by a conflux of sharp humours to them.

*Two of the sons of Jacob,* &c.] With their servants: for they two alone could not destroy a whole city, though but small.

*Slew all the males.*] The women and children in those days were always spared in the most deadly wars: as when the Midianites were killed, Numb. xxxi. 7. 9. and the Edomites, 1 Kings, xi. 16. And so Moses commanded they should do even with the Canaanites, Deut. xx. 13, 14. See Bochart, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 56. Selden de Jure N. and G. lib. vi. cap. 16. p. 745. and de Synedr. lib. i. p. 81.

Ver. 26. *Took Dinah out of Shechem's house.*] Where it seems she remained, after the rape he had committed, in hope of a marriage.

*And went out.*] Carried her home.

Ver. 27. *And the sons of Jacob.*] The rest of his sons (who were able to bear arms) came after the slaughter, and helped to plunder the city. Thus they were all involved in the guilt, which was very great and manifold; as Bonfrerius, and, out of him, Menochius, have observed.

*Because they had defiled.*] Their prince had defiled her: whose fact, it seems, they did not disapprove: and therefore it is imputed to them all, as the cause of their slaughter.

Ver. 28. *They took their sheep,* &c.] It is a reasonable conjecture of Bonfrerius, that Jacob caused all these to be restored to the wives and children of the slain: whom he set at liberty.

*And spoiled even all that was in the house.*] Of Hamor and Shechem: which, perhaps, they kept to themselves, in compensation of the wrong he had done; and none of the family, perhaps, surviving to own them.

Ver. 30. *Ye have troubled me.*] Disturbed my quiet, and made it unsafe for me to live in this country; where I hoped to have settled.

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*Made me to stink,* &c.] Made me odious to all the country, as a murderer, a robber, and a breaker of my faith.

Ver. 31. *Should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?*] As with a common whore, that prostituted herself to his lust? If she had done so, there had been no ground for their quarrel (according to the Hebrew doctors), because Shechem had not then offended against the laws of the sons of Noah (as they speak), *i. e.* the right of nations: which was not violated by a man's lying with a single woman, by her free consent. But Dinah being forced and violently ravished (as they take the sense of ver. 2. to be), they tell their father they might right themselves by making war upon them. For there was no other way to deal with princes, whom they could not implead in any court; and therefore betook themselves to arms. (See Mr. Selden, lib. vii. de Jure N. et G. juxta Hebr. cap. 5.)

## CHAP. XXXV.

Ver. 1. *AND God said unto Jacob.*] There were several ways, as Maimonides observes, whereby God communicated himself to the prophets. Unto whom he is said sometimes, to speak by an angel in a dream, as he did to Jacob, xxxi. 11. Sometimes by an angel, without any mention how it was, whether in a dream or vision, or not: of which he takes this place to be an instance; and verse the 10th of this chapter, and xxii. 15. Thirdly, In other places there is no mention of an angel, but of God alone speaking; yet in a vision, or dream, xv. 1. And, lastly, God is said to speak absolutely, neither in a dream, nor vision, nor by angel, xii. 1. xxxi. 3. (More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 42.) In which classes I think he might have put this apparition to Jacob, as well as that last mentioned: for there is no difference between them but this, that in the former place (xxxi. 3.) it is said, *The Lord said unto Jacob;* and here, *God said unto Jacob.*

*Arise, go up to Bethel, and dwell there.*] By this advice God shewed he still took care of him; and delivered him from the fear he was in of the Canaanites and Perizzites. Who, one would think, detested the fact of Shechem; or, else it may seem strange that they did not immediately cut off Jacob and his family, who had taken such a terrible revenge for it; but let them remove quietly to Bethel. But Moses gives us the true reason of this, ver. 5.

*Make there an altar.*] Perform a vow which thou madest in that place, (xxviii. 20—22.) Some wonder Jacob made no more haste to this place, after his return to his own country (for now he had been about nine years in Canaan), and some of the Hebrew doctors fancy God punished him for deferring so long to go thither (where he promised to worship him, if he prospered his journey and brought him back again in safety), by suffering his daughter Dinah to be ravished. But it is more probable that he met with obstructions, which made it not safe for him, as yet, to go thither; or, that he waited till God, who had conducted him hitherto, should direct him to take his journey to that place. For, it is very probable, he inquired of him about his removal.

Ver. 2. *Then Jacob said unto his household,* &c.] Being to perform a solemn sacrifice to God, he calls upon his family to prepare themselves for it.

*And to all that were with him.*] Hired servants who lived with him.

*Put away the strange gods.*] Rachel had her father's teraphim, which now, it is to be supposed, she confessed. And he suspected there might be some among the men-servants and maid-servants he brought with him out of Mesopotamia, (xxxii. 5.) where there was much superstition: and that in the sacking of Shechem they might bring away some images with them (for the sake of the silver and gold) which they kept secretly among them.

*And be clean.*] Wash your bodies, as Aben Ezra truly interprets it: for this was the ancient rite of cleansing. Wherein he seems to have followed Jonathan, who thus paraphrases it, *Purify yourselves from the pollution of the slain, whom ye have touched;* referring it to the foregoing slaughter of the people of Shechem.

*And change your garments.*] Put on clean clothes. Which was but a reasonable injunction, being to appear before the Divine Majesty; in whose presence it was rudeness to be seen in sordid raiment: especially in those wherein they had newly defiled themselves by a bloody slaughter. These two, I doubt not, were pious customs, which their godly ancestors had observed, from the beginning of offering solemn sacrifices. It being very unseemly to appear before a great man in dirty apparel, or with a sweaty body. And I do not see why we should not look upon these as an external profession of the like purity in their minds and hearts. All nations retained these *washings* and *white raiment,* when they performed the solemn offices of religion: which were not derived from idolaters, but from the purest antiquity.

Ver. 4. *And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods.*] Which, it seems by this expression, were numerous.

*And the ear-rings that were in their ears.*] In the ears of the idols; for there was no harm in the ear-rings they wore themselves. So some interpret it; not considering that, besides the ear-rings which were ornaments, there were others worn in the nature of amulets; or for some other superstitious uses, having the effigies of some god or other; or some symbolical notes, in which they fancied there was some power to preserve them from several mischiefs. Maimonides, in his book of Idolatry, cap. 7. mentions such idolatrical rings, as were utterly unlawful to be used; and vessels marked with the image of the sun, the moon, or a dragon: which were symbols of divinity among the heathen; who made marks also in several parts of their bodies.

*And Jacob hid them.*] Buried them in the earth; after he had first broken them in pieces (as some think), or melted them, as Moses and Hezekiah did, Exod. xxxii. 20. 2 Kings xviii. 4. Which, if it be true, it is but a tale which is told of the Samaritans; that they digged up these idols and worshipped them. (See Hottinger, Smegma Orient. p. 359.)

*Under an oak which was by Shechem.*] It was so unknown under what oak this was, that there is no ground for their opinion, who think this was the same oak mentioned in Josh. xxiv. 26. For he intended to abolish the memory of these idols; and therefore hid them, where he thought nobody would find them.

It took up some time to do all this; and yet the people of the land did not fall upon Jacob's family: the providence of God watching over him, as it follows in the next verse.



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Ver. 5. *And they journeyed: and the terror of the Lord was upon the cities round about them,* &c.] Here is the true reason why the country did not, at least, fall upon the rear of Jacob's family, when they marched away; because God made a panic fear to fall upon them. Who otherwise (one would guess by this) had an inclination to be revenged for the destruction of Shechem. For though they could not justify the fact of Shechem; yet they might think Jacob's sons too cruel in the punishment of it: for their own father was of that opinion.

Ver. 6. *So Jacob came to Luz.*] See xxviii. 19.

Ver. 7. *Built there an altar,* &c.] And offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, for performing his promise to him, beseeching him still to continue his care of him.

Ver. 8. *Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, died.*] She went to attend Rebekah, when she was married to Isaac: which troubles the Jews to give an account how she came here, into Jacob's family. R. Solomon solves it thus: that Rebekah having promised Jacob when he went away, to send for him, (xxvii. 45.) she performed this promise by Deborah: whom she sent to Padan-Aram to invite him home and in her return she died here. But it is more reasonable to suppose that Jacob had been at his father's house, before this time; and Rebekah being dead (whether before or after is uncertain), Deborah was desirous to live with his wives, who were her countrywomen: and that her death is here mentioned (though we read nothing of Rebekah's) to give an account how this oak came by the name of Allon-Bacuth, in aftertimes.

*Under an oak.*] There were many about Bethel, near to which there was a wood, or forest; out of which the bears came, who devoured the children that cursed Elisha, (2 Kings ii. 23.) And under an oak also the old prophet found the man of God sitting, as he went from Bethel, (1 Kings xiii. 14.)

Ver. 9. *And God appeared unto Jacob again,* &c.] The Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, who bade him go to Bethel, (ver. 1.) appeared to him when he came there, in a most glorious manner: as he had done when he lodged there in his journey to Padan-Aram, (xxviii. 13.)

Ver. 10. *Israel shall be thy name.*] This is a far more honourable name than that of Jacob: and therefore by it thou shalt be commonly called. For the name of Jacob was given him from the supplanting of his brother, and getting the advantage of him: but this of Israel from his prevalence over the angel of God.

*And he called his name Israel.*] He solemnly confirmed that name, which was given him before by his angel, (xxxii. 28.)

This seems to me to prove, that it was no more than an angel who wrestled with Jacob, and told him his name should be changed. For, if it had been God himself, Jacob was as much satisfied then, as he could be now, that Israel should be his name. But I take it, God reserved the declaration of it from his own mouth, till this time: when he ratified what he had before spoken by his angel.

And thus I find (since I noted this) St. Jerome understood this passage; whose words are these: "Dudum nequaquam ei nomen ab angelo imponitur," &c. *This name was not heretofore imposed on him by the angel; who only foretold that God would impose it on him: that therefore which was there promised should be, we are here taught was fulfilled.*

Ver. 11. *I am God Almighty,* &c.] Here God renews his promise to him, as he had often done to Abraham. He had first blessed him by Isaac, (xxviii. 3.) when he sent him from home. Then he himself blessed him, when he appeared to him, the first night of his journey (ver. 13. of that chapter); and now again, when he was come back to the very same place, where he blessed him before. And he speaks to him by the name of El-Shaddai, *i. e. God all-sufficient:* the very same whereby his father had blessed him, (xxviii. 3.) and whereby God blessed Abraham, (xvii. 1.)

Ver. 13. *And God went up from him.*] It is evident by this, that a visible majesty, or glory, appeared to him at this time: from whence the foregoing words were spoken to him: which being done, it went up towards heaven. In the Hebrew the words are, *went up from upon him,* or *over him;* and the very same is said of Abraham, (xvii. 22.) as if the Schechinah appeared over his head in great lustre; whilst he perhaps lay prostrate upon the ground.

Ver. 14. *Set up a pillar in that place.*] To be a monument of the Divine Goodness; who there appeared to him; and made him such gracious promises, as those beforementioned, (ver. 11, 12.) And to serve for an altar whereon to offer sacrifice. For so the word *matzebath* signifies, (Hosea iii. 4.) And therefore Isaiah seems to make an altar and a pillar the same thing, (xix. 19.)

*Poured a drink-offering thereon.*] To consecrate it unto the solemn service of God. For which end he poured oil upon it, as he had done upon the stone, (xxviii. 18.) which, in all likelihood, was a principal part of this pillar. And having done all this, we are to suppose he not only offered sacrifice, but paid the tenth of all that God had given him, according to his vow, (xxviii. ult.)

Ver. 15. *Called the name of the place.*] Or, rather, *of that place;* that famous place, which God hath made so remarkable by his goodness to him. For the Hebrews, not without reason, make the *he* before *makom* to add an emphasis to that word.

*Bethel.*] *i. e.* The house of God. So he said he would make this place, (xxviii. 22.) and now he is as good as his word, by renewing the name he had given it thirty years before, when he first went into Mesopotamia.

Ver. 16. *And there was but a little way to come to Ephrath.*] When they were come within a little of Ephrath. The Hebrew word for a *little* is *chibrath:* whose precise signification is uncertain. Benjamin Tudelensis saith, this place was within half a mile and a little more of Ephrath. (See his Itinerar. p. 47. and Const. L' Empereur on the place, p. 176.)

Ver. 17. *Fear not: thou shalt have this son also.*] The midwife seems to comfort Rachel with her own prediction, (xxx. 24.)

Ver. 18. *She called his name Ben-oni.*] Rachel seems to give her former hopes of a second son for lost; at least, she expected no comfort from him, being ready to expire. And therefore she called him a *son of sorrow:* his birth being her death.

*But his father called him Benjamin.*] To comfort Rachel in her sorrow, and to avert the sinister omen, Jacob immediately changed his name into *Benjamin;* signifying the

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*son of his right hand,* or *of his strength,* as it is commonly interpreted. Though others will have it, *the son of years,* i. e. *of his old age:* or, putting both together, the support and stay of his old age.

Names are oft-times strangely adapted to things; and the presages of parents have anciently been observed to be fulfilled.

" —— Heu nunquam vana parentum
Auguria——"

Which is in no instance more verified than in this child of Jacob's, who did not bear either of these names for nought. There being two very different fates of his posterity, (as Dr. Jackson observes in a discourse of his upon St. Matt. ii. 17, 18.) answerable to the contrary importance of the names given him by his father and his mother. No tribe in Israel more valorous, yet none so subject to sorrowful disasters as this tribe of Benjamin. It was almost extirpated in the time of the Judges, (xx. 25, &c.) and yet before the conclusion of that age, Benjamin became the head of his brethren: the first king of Israel being chosen out of that late desolate tribe: and though that king proved at last but a *Ben-oni;* yet this tribe stuck close to Judah, when all the rest revolted to his brother Joseph.

Ver. 20. *Jacob set a pillar upon her grave.*] After that law was made (Deut. xvi. 22.) against erecting pillars, the Jews did not think all pillars unlawful; but only those for superstitious uses: not those which were in memory of something; as Maimonides's words are, lib. de Idolol. cap. 6.

Ver. 21. *And Israel journeyed.*] This is the first time that Moses calls him Israel after this name was given him by God, which he repeats twice in the next verse; and then calls him Jacob again, in the latter end of it. It is in vain to search for a reason. Some of the Jews will have it, that he calls him Israel, because he bare the death of his beloved wife with admirable patience and submission to God's will. But they cannot give so good a reason, why he immediately alters his style, and calls him Jacob again. (See ver. 22.)

*Beyond the tower of Edar.*] i. e. *The tower of the flock,* as some translate it; who think there was such a tower near Jerusalem, because of those words of Micah, (iv. 8.) " O tower of the flock, the strong hold of the daughter of Zion." Which, if it be true, it doth not prove there was no tower in Jacob's days called by that name; but rather that in future ages this tower was renewed, in the same or a neighbouring place; and called by the ancient name which it had in the days of Jacob.

Ver. 22. *Went and lay with Bilhah, his father's concubine.*] She is called his wife, xxx. 4. and, according to the laws of those times, was truly so; as I have often observed all those called concubines were: though not the principal wives, but of a lower rank. (See Mr. Selden, de Jure N. and G. lib. v. cap. 7. p. 570, 571, &c.)

*And Israel heard it.*] And highly resented it, as we find xlix. 4. But in this short history Moses passes over Israel's censure of his incest till he came to die: which shews sufficiently how he was affected when the fact was committed. Or perhaps these words, *Israel heard it,* may signify, that though Reuben thought to have committed this sin so secretly, as to have concealed it from his father, yet he came to the knowledge of it; and gave him such private rebukes, as were fitting; but proceeded not to public punishment, to avoid scandal.

*Now the sons of Jacob were twelve.*] Their number being now completed by the birth of Benjamin, after whom he had no more children, Moses thought good here to enumerate them. And they being all born (save Benjamin alone) before he had the name of Israel, it may be the reason, perhaps, why he calls him Jacob.

Ver. 26. *Which were born to him in Padan-Aram.*] All except Benjamin, who (as was said just before, ver. 18.) was born in Canaan.

Ver. 27. *Jacob came to Isaac his father,* &c.] To dwell with him, and to be the comfort of his old age. For, it is not to be doubted, he had been with him before, since he came from Mesopotamia: but now came to stay with him, till death parted them.

*Unto the city of Arba,* &c.] Called Kirjath-Arba, (xxiii. 2.) from a great man (Josh. xiv. 15.) among the Anakims, whose name was Arba, and either was born, or dwelt, or ruled here. It was afterwards called Hebron, where Abraham dwelt a long time, (xiii. 18.) and where he bought a burying-place for his family, (xxiii. 19.)

Ver. 28. *The days of Isaac were a hundred and fourscore years.*] He lived five years longer than his father Abraham, (xxv. 7.)

Ver. 29. *His sons Esau and Jacob buried.*] As Isaac and Ishmael had done Abraham, (xxv. 9.) and no doubt in the same place: he sojourning there (as we said before) as his father had done before him. By this it appears, the friendship between Esau and Jacob continued, after the interview they had at Jacob's return into this country.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

Ver. 1. *THESE are the generations of Esau.*] Which are here set down to shew how effectual his father's blessing was, (xxvii. 29.) and, as Maimonides thinks, (par. iii. cap. 50. More Nevoch.) to prevent the destruction of any of the family of Esau, but only those of Amalek: who descended from the first-born of Esau by a concubine, the sister of Lotan, a Horite, one of the ancient inhabitants of Seir, (ver. 12 and 22.) His descendants were to be destroyed, by an express precept, for a particular offence; (Exod. xvii.) but the Divine justice took care of the rest, by distinguishing them thus exactly from him; that they might not perish under the name of Amalekites.

Ver. 2. *Esau took his wives,* &c.] The names of these wives are not the same with those he is said to have married, xxvi. 34. Therefore it is probable his former wives died without issue: and so he took another daughter of Elon (when Judith was dead) called Adah: and the daughter of a man called Anah; by whom he had such children as here follow.

*The daughter of Zibeon.*] The word *daughter* here signifies *neice;* or, she is called Zibeon's daughter, because he bred her: as the children of Michal are mentioned, (2 Sam. xxi. 8.) though she had none at all; but only educated the children of her sister, as Zibeon, perhaps, did his brother Anah's daughter, (ver. 20.)

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Ver. 3. *Bashemath, Ishmael's daughter.*] She is called by another name, xxviii. 9. But it is likely Esau changed her name from *Mahalah,* which signifies *sickly* and *infirm,* into this of *Beshmath,* which signifies *aromatic* and *fragrant:* either because the name better pleased him, or he thought would better please his father: or, she grew more healthy after marriage: or perhaps she had two names given her at first

Ver. 6. *Went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob.*] Into another country out of the land of Canaan: into which he lately came to bury his father, as we read in the latter end of the last chapter. Which being done, he and Jacob, no doubt, agreed about the division of Isaac's estate, out of which a large share came to Esau: who had something also of his own there before, (all his sons beforementioned being born to him in Canaan, ver. 5.) besides what he had in Seir.

*His brother Jacob.*] He knew of no other name his brother had; that of Israel, it is likely, being not yet published and commonly used.

Ver. 7. *For their riches were more than that they might dwell together.*] There was not room enough in the land of Canaan (where they were but sojourners, and could have no more than the present possessors would let to them) for such a vast stock as they had between them: and therefore were constrained to separate, as Abraham, for the same reason, had done from Lot, (xiii. 6, &c.) And Esau having begun before to settle in Seir, did not think fit to bring what he had there hither: but carried what his father left him thither. Where he had enlarged his dominion, since Jacob's return to Canaan.

Ver. 8. *Thus dwelt Esau in Mount Seir.*] It is a question how he could be said to have gone to dwell in Seir, upon this occasion; seeing we find him there before, when Jacob came out of Mesopotamia, (xxxii. 3.) But the answer is easy, that then he had only some part of the country, and not the best of it neither; and therefore, perhaps, had some of his estate still in Canaan, while the rest of it was in Seir. And it seems remarkable to me, that he is not said till now to dwell in Mount Seir, but only in the land of Seir, or barely in Seir, to which he invited Jacob at his return, (xxxii. 3. xxxiii. 14. 16.) This mountainous country, which was richer than the other, he got into his possession after that time.

*Esau is Edom.*] The father of the Edomites, as it follows, ver. 9.

Ver. 12. *She bare to Eliphaz, Amalek.*] This was necessary to be set down (as I observed on ver. 1.) that there might be a distinction between the Amalekites, who were to be destroyed, and the rest of the posterity of Esau: concerning whom it is said, "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, because he is thy brother," (Deut. xxiii. 7.) Thus Joseph Albo. For though they made a distinct people from the Edomites, and lived in a neighbouring country; yet they possessed that part of Mount Seir which was near Kadesh-Barnea, as may be gathered from Numb. xiii. 29. and xiv. 43.

Ver. 15. *These were dukes.*] The word *allouphe,* if we may believe R. Solomon Jarchi, signifies *heads, chiefs,* or *rulers of families,* who may be called princes; though their government was not yet regal, but a kind of aristocracy in the beginning.

Ver. 16. *Duke Corah.*] He is not reckoned among the sons of Eliphaz, (ver. 11.) but called the son of Aholibamah, (ver. 14.) and accordingly said to rule over a family descended from hers, (ver. 18.) We must suppose, therefore, there were two Korahs; one the son of Aholibamah, the other a nephew of Eliphaz, by some of his sons or grandsons; who came to be a great ruler, and to get the government of some of these families: and, according to the style of Scripture, is reckoned for Eliphaz's son.

Ver. 20. *These are the sons of Seir the Horite.*] From this Seir the country had its name: but from whom he descended is not recorded.

*Who inhabited the land.*] Who were the ancient inhabitants of this country before Esau conquered it, and perhaps were the first that possessed it after the flood; whose genealogy, I suppose, is here mentioned, because Esau's posterity married with some of them: particularly his eldest son Eliphaz took Timna, sister of Lotan (one of Seir's sons), for his concubine, (ver. 22.) Yea, Esau himself seems to have married one of this family, *viz.* Aholibamah, whose father and uncle are said to be Hivites, (ver. 2.) but here plainly called Horites; being descended from Seir the Horite, though dwelling then among the Hivites.

Ver. 21. *These are the dukes of the Horites.*] The heads of their families, who governed the country before Esau and his posterity dispossessed them; and settled themselves in the same form of government which they found among these Horites.

*In the land of Edom.*] So it was called in the days of Moses.

Ver. 24. *This is that Anah who found the mules in the wilderness.*] Not by accident, but by his art and industry he invented (as we speak) this mixture, and produced this kind of creature. So it is commonly interpreted. But the word *found,* though used four hundred times in Scripture, never signifies (as Bochart hath observed, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 21.) the invention of that which was not before; but the finding that which already is in being. Nor doth *jemim* signify *asses* in Scripture; and therefore others have read the Hebrew word as if it had been written *jamim,* (as St. Jerome observes), imagining that as Anah fed his father's asses, he found a great collection of waters, (see Vossius, lib. iii. de Idolol. cap. 75.) which some fancy to have been hot waters, or baths, as the Vulgar Latin interprets it. But then we must read the Hebrew quite otherwise than we do now: and Bochart gives other reasons against this interpretation; and endeavours to establish another opinion: That by *jemim* we are to understand *emim,* a gigantic sort of people, mentioned in Scripture, and next neighbours to the Horites. These Anah is said to find, *i.e.* to meet withal and encounter; or, rather, to have fallen upon on a sudden and unexpectedly; as this phrase he shews signifies in Scripture. This opinion he hath confirmed with a great many reasons; to which another late learned writer (Wagenseil) thinks an answer may be given: though he inclines to it, if one thing were not in the way; which makes him think, here is rather meant some herb or plant, called ἰαμεὶν, which word the LXX. retain, not knowing how to translate it. And thus Aben Ezra affirms many interpreters of the Scripture have understood it: which seems to be the most probable conjecture of all others. (See Wagenseil in his Annot. upon that title of the Talmud called Sota, p. 217, 218, &c.)

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*As he fed the asses of Zibeon his father.*] The sons of princes were wont to follow this employment in ancient times, as Bochart shews out of many authors, particularly the scholiast upon Homer's Odyssees. Τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ οἱ τοῦ Βασιλέων παῖδες ἐποίμαινον. (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 44.)

Ver. 28. *The children of Dishan are these: Uz,* &c.] From this man the whole country, or a great part of it, is called by the name of Uz, (Lament. iv. 21.) which was in Arabia Petræa, in the borders of the land of Canaan.

Ver. 30. *These are the dukes that came of Hori.*] This Hori was the ancestor of Seir, by whom this country was first planted.

*Among their dukes.*] Or according to their families, or principalities.

Ver. 31. *And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom.*] It appears by this, that after several *dukes* (as we translate it) had ruled the country; the Edomites changed their government into a monarchy. And here follows a catalogue of their kings. For I can find no ground for the opinion of the Hebrew doctors, that *alluph, a duke,* differed in nothing from *melech,* a *king;* but that the latter was crowned, the former not crowned.

*Before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.*] Moses having a little before this (xxxv. 11.) mentioned the promise of God to Jacob, that "kings should come out of his loins;" observes, it is a thing remarkable, being a great exercise of their faith, that Esau's posterity should have so many kings: and there was as yet no king in Israel when he wrote this book, nor (as it is commonly interpreted) a long time after. This Moses might well write without a spirit of prophecy; nor is there any reason to say, this passage was inserted by somebody else after the death of Moses. We might rather affirm, if it were needful, that Moses's meaning is, "All these were kings in Edom, before his own time;" who was the first king in Israel, (Deut. xxxiii. 5.) For he truly exercised royal authority over them, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de. Synedr. cap. 1, 2.

Ver. 32. *The name of his city was Dinhabah.*] Of which he was governor, perhaps, before he was made king; and wherein he reigned.

Ver. 33. *Of Bozrah.*] Which was afterward the principal city of the whole country; as we read in the prophet Isaiah, xxxiv. 6. and Jeremiah xlix. 3. and Amos i. 12.

It seems, by this list of their kings, that the kingdom at this time was elective; for the son did not succeed the father: which may have been the reason, perhaps, why it lasted but awhile, before their government was altered again, (ver. 40.) Maimonides hath an opinion different from all others, that none of these kings were of the race of Esau, but strangers, who oppressed the Edomites; and are here set down by Moses to admonish the Israelites to observe that precept, (Deut. xvii. 15.) "Not to set a stranger to be king over them, who is not their brother," *i. e.* one of their own nation.

Ver. 35. *Who smote Midian in the field of Moab.*] The Midianites, perhaps, came to invade them; and Hadad marched out and met them in the frontiers of their country, which joined to that of Moab: where he got a great victory over them.

Ver. 37. *And Saul of Rehoboth by the river reigned,* &c.] If by *the river* we should understand Euphrates (as it usually signifies), near to which stood the city of Rehoboth, (Gen. x. 11.) it may seem strange, that one should be chosen from so remote a country, to be king of Edom: unless we suppose him to have been born there, but to have lived in Edom; and by his great achievements to have got into the throne. Otherwise we must take this for some other city, which stood by the most known river of this country.

Ver. 38. *Baal-hanan.*] This name is the reverse (as I may call it) of Hani-ball.

Ver. 39. *His wife's name was Mehetabal,* &c.] None of their wives, much less their pedigree, are named besides this alone: which shews she was an eminent woman in those times and that country; either for wisdom or parentage, or estate, or some other excellence.

Ver. 40. *And these are the names of the dukes that came of Esau.*] They seem now to have returned to their first constitution; and kings were laid aside for some time. But in future ages we find they changed again, and then kings reigned successively, the son after the father, as they did in Israel. Some think, these were the great men, who ruled in Edom, in Moses's time.

*According to their families,* &c.] They were the heads of different families, and lived in different places; and, perhaps, reigned at the same time, in several parts of the country: so the words seem to import.

Ver. 43. *In the land of their possession.*] In their own country; whilst the seed of Jacob sojourned in a strange country, and possessed no land of their own.

*He is Esau,* &c.] He ends as he began. This is the account of Esau, the father of the people who are now called Edomites.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

Ver. 1. *AND Jacob dwelt in the land,* &c.] Having given us an account of Esau's removal to Seir, (xxxvi. 6, 7.) and of the prosperity of his family there, he now goes on to tell us, that Jacob still continued in the country where his father had sojourned, in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 2. *These are the generations of Jacob.*] These words are to be connected with the latter end of xxxv. 23, 24, &c. where he relates how many sons Jacob had; and then gives an account of the family of Esau, (in the 36th chapter) which being ended, he returns to finish the history of Jacob.

*And the lad was with the sons of Bilhah,* &c.] These words *vehu naar,* signify he was very young, in the simplicity of his childish years; and come in by way of a parenthesis, in this manner. Joseph, being seventeen years old, was feeding the flock with his brethren, (and he was but a youth, inexperienced, and therefore called a child, ver. 30.) *with the sons of Bilhah,* &c. Which last words are an explication of the former, shewing with which of his brethren he was. Not with the sons of Leah, but with the sons of Jacob's handmaids: particularly with Bilhah's, whom we may look upon as a mother to him now Rachel was dead, having waited upon her. And Zilpah's sons are also mentioned in the second place, as those, it is likely, who were thought to have less emulation to him than the sons of Leah. But we see by this, how much our greatest

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prudence often fails: for Reuben and Judah, the children of Leah, had more kindness for Joseph than any of the rest.

*Their evil report.*] What evil lives they led.

Ver. 3. *Because he was the son of his old age.*] Benjamin was more so than he; and the rest were born not many years before him. But he is so called, because he had been married a good while to Rachel before he had him: and he was the greatest comfort of his old age; Benjamin not being yet grown up to give any proof of his future worth.

*He made him a coat of many colours.*] It is commonly thought to signify a garment wrought with threads of divers colours; or made up of pieces of silk or stuff, which had much variety in them; or wrought, as some think, with figures of fruit, or other things: (see Salmasius upon Flav. Vopiscus, p. 396.) But Braunius (de Vestib. Sacerd. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 17.) hath proved, I think, that the Hebrew word *passim* here signifies a long garment down to the heels or ancles, and with long sleeves down to the wrists; which had a border at the bottom, and a facing (as we speak) at the hands, of another colour, different from the garment. (See ver. 23.)

Ver. 4. *Could not speak peaceably to him.*] In a kind and friendly manner; but churlishly, and with evident signs of hatred. Aben Ezra fancies they would not so much as salute him, or wish him peace (as the phrase then was, Peace be to thee), or ask him how he did; as our custom is.

Ver. 5. *Joseph dreamed a dream.*] This was usual among the ancient patriarchs, and others also, as appears by Elihu: who shews that all dreams were not illusions of evil spirits, (Job xxxiii. 14, 15, &c.) And long before his time Abimelech was warned by God in a dream, chapter xx. of this book, ver. 3. 6, 7. Upon which consideration (as Dr. Jackson well observes) we should not mistrust the reports of several ancient historians, who tell us how princes and fathers of families have had forewarnings of future events; either concerning themselves, their kingdoms, or posterity: (book i. upon the Creed, chap. 9.)

*He told his brethren.*] This argues his great innocence and simplicity; that he had not yet understanding enough, to consider how ill this dream might be expounded: or not prudence enough to conceal what might be ill interpreted by them.

*They hated him yet more.*] The first ground of their hatred was their father's great love to him; and then, his informing their father of their bad behaviour; which was still increased by the fine clothes his father bestowed on him; and now most of all by this dream, which they interpreted to signify his superiority over them.

Ver. 7. *Your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance,* &c.] Or, gathered round about mine: which was fulfilled when they came for corn into Egypt; of which these sheaves, some think, were an apt representation.

Ver. 8. *Shalt thou indeed reign over us?*] It seems they could readily interpret the meaning of a dream, which shews how common they were in those days.

*For his dreams, and for his words.*] This seems to import, that he had more dreams of like nature, and was wont to talk of them, which they thought favoured of arrogance.

Ver. 9. *He dreamt yet another dream.*] Which confirmed the former; by repeating the same thing, under different figures. For as the former was taken from the earth, so this from heaven; and is more comprehensive than the former; for it concerns his father, as well as his brethren.

*Behold the sun and the moon,* &c.] They seemed to descend to him, or he to be carried up to them; where they bowed, and lay at his feet.

Ver. 10. *His father rebuked him.*] Gave him a check; that Joseph might not grow conceited of himself, and his brethren might not be provoked to hate him.

*What is this dream that thou hast dreamed?*] What an idle dream is this!

*Shall I, and thy mother, and brethren,* &c.] Who can believe this? Thy mother is dead (which is sufficient to shew the vanity of this dream), and thy father sure is not to truckle unto thee; no, nor thy elder brethren.

Ver. 11. *His brethren envied him.*] Though Jacob seemed to slight what he said, it incensed his brethren against him.

*But his father observed the saying.*] He did not look upon it as a mere fancy; but thought there might be something in it. And therefore, though he thought fit publicly to slight it, yet he took such notice of it privately, that he preserved it in mind, and laid it up in his heart; as the Scripture elsewhere speaks. And it really was fulfilled, when he went down into Egypt; and, no doubt, shewed that respect which was due to the viceroy of the country; and so did his mother Bilhah, and all his brethren.

Ver. 12. *His brethren went to feed their father's flock in Shechem.*] As their flocks increased, so they enlarged their pasture; and they often removed to find fresh pasture. Besides, he had made a purchase in this place; where they fed his flocks in his own ground.

Ver. 13. *Come, I will send thee unto them.*] Make thyself ready, that I may send thee to inquire of thy brethren's welfare. About which he was now the more solicitous, because they were gone to a place where they had, some years ago, given great provocation to the country by their barbarous cruelty.

Ver. 15. *A certain man found him.*] Some take this to have been an angel, who took care of him, when he was at a loss which way to go. So Maimonides, par. ii. More Nevochim, cap. 42. where he makes this passage the very same with that xvi. 7. "The angel of the Lord found her," &c.

Ver. 18. *They conspired against him.*] the Hebrew word signifies, they took subtle and crafty counsel against him to slay him. Laid their heads together (as we now speak) to kill him, so that the murder might be concealed from their father.

Ver. 19. *Behold, this dreamer cometh.*] In the Hebrew, *This master of dreams,* or a frequent dreamer; one that hath dreams at command.

Ver. 20. *Cast him into some pit.*] Which they were wont to dig frequently in those countries, to hold rain-water for their cattle, when they could not find a spring, or were near no river.

Ver. 21. *He delivered him out of their hands.*] Preserved him from being murdered by them, as they intended; which he did by the following counsel, which seemed to have something of humanity in it, and yet would effect what they resolved.

Ver. 22. *Cast him into this pit.*] That he might perish with hunger.

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*And lay no hands upon him,* &c.] Let not us kill him. This he said that he might save his life, intending secretly to draw him out of the pit, and restore him safe to his father. By which piece of good service, Reuben, perhaps, hoped to reconcile his father to him, who was justly angry with him for defiling his bed, (xxxv. 22.)

Ver. 23. *His coat of many colours*] By this it seems he was distinguished from the rest of his brethren: being not yet grown up to such laborious employments as they followed abroad; and therefore indulged to wear a richer sort of garment with his father at home. For, according to the common notion, it was wrought, or embroidered, with flowers: which was accounted noble, as well as beautiful, in ancient times. As appears by Plato, who, commending the government then admired in Greece, compares it to such a garment that hath variety of colours in it, (lib. viii. de Republ. p. 557.) Κινδυνεύει καλλίστη αὕτη τῶν πολιτειῶν εἶναι ὥσπερ ἱμάτιον ποικίλον πᾶσιν ἄνθεσι πεποικιλμένον, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη πᾶσι ἤθεσι πεποικιλμένη καλλίστη ἂν φαίνοιτο.

Ver. 24. *The pit was empty, there was no water in it.*] This shews the use of such pits was to hold water, which at this time was dried up for want of rain.

Ver. 25. *A company of Ishmaelites*] In the language of these times it is called a *caravan:* merchants not daring to travel alone, in small numbers, in those eastern countries, through the deserts, for fear of robbers, or of wild beasts.

*From Mount Gilead.*] They came from parts beyond that, but passed that way to traffic there.

*With their camels.*] Which were, and still are, the most proper beasts for carriage in those countries: being able to travel a great way in the deserts without drink. And the Midianites (who are here the same with the Ishmaelites, ver. 28.) had as great a breed of them as any other country: as Bochart observes, (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 3.)

*Bearing spicery.*] The word *nechoth,* which we, and a great many others, translate *spicery* in general, seems to signify some particular sort of spicery, as the following words do. A great many conjectures there are, what sort; and Bochart most probably concludes it to be *storax.* (See the forenamed book, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 12.)

*Balm.*] So Kimchi, whom the modern interpreters generally follow, expounds the Hebrew word *tzeri,* which the ancients interpret *resin;* and Bochart justifies them by such reasons as these: that there was no balm in Gilead in these days; but it was brought thither out of Arabia Felix in the reign of King Solomon: and then it grew on this side Jordan, about Engaddi and Jericho; not beyond Jordan in the land of Gilead. (Ib. par. lib. ii. cap. 51.)

Ver. 26. *What profit is it if we slay our brother,* &c.] We shall get nothing by letting him die in the pit: had we not better make money of him?

*And conceal his blood?*] Though we should be able to conceal his murder, which is not easy to do.

Ver. 27. *For he is our brother, and our flesh.*] Natural affection persuaded to this, rather than to the other.

*And his brethren were content.*] As many of them as were then present; for Reuben was not among them at this consultation.

Ver. 28. *Then passed by Midianites.*] They are called Ishmaelites just before, (ver. 25.) and so they are immediately in this very verse [*Sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites*]; for they were very near neighbours, and joined together in trade, making now one *caravan,* with a joint stock, as this story intimates. Read Judg. viii. 1. 3. 22, 23, 24. 26, and it will appear the Scripture speaks of them as one and the same people, in aftertimes.

*For twenty pieces of silver.*] Most understand so many *shekels,* which was a very small price; but therefore demanded, and no more, that the bargain might be clapped up the sooner.

Ver. 29. *Reuben returned to the pit.*] He, pretending some business, had withdrawn himself from the company, with an intention, when his brethren were gone from the pit, to come privately and take Joseph out, and carry him to his father. Upon that design he now came thither.

*Rent his clothes.*] As they used to do, when they mourned for the dead; whereby he expressed his real grief for his brother.

Ver. 30. *The child is not.*] He is dead, as this phrase commonly signifies.

*Whither shall I go?*] I know not whither to flee, to hide myself from my father's anger: who might justly expect the eldest son should take the greatest care of him.

Ver. 31. *And they took Joseph's coat,* &c.] His brethren it seems persuaded Reuben also to join with them, in concealing the sale of Joseph; and making their old father believe he was devoured by some wild beast.

Ver. 32. *They sent the coat,* &c.] They first sent it by a messenger; and immediately followed themselves, with the tale which is here related.

Ver. 33. *An evil beast.*] Some wild beast, of which there were great stores in those countries (such as lions and bears), for he could not suspect his brethren would kill him.

Ver. 34. *Rent his clothes, and put sackcloth on his loins.*] This was the highest degree of mourning in those days. We read often of putting on sackcloth in future ages, upon such sad occasions; but this is the first time we meet with it, which shews the great antiquity of such customs.

*Mourned for his son many days.*] Beyond the ordinary time of mourning. *Many years* (as the word *days* sometimes signifies), perhaps, till he heard he was alive. So the following verse seems to denote; that he resolved not to cease mourning for him as long as he lived.

Ver. 35. *All his sons and daughters.*] He had but one daughter: therefore the meaning is, his sons' wives, or their daughters.

*I will go down into the grave,* &c.] If *sheol* here be expounded *grave,* then the next words must be thus translated, *mourning for my son;* as R. Solomon interprets them. For Joseph was not buried in a grave; and therefore he could not think of going down to him thither. And thus Christophorus à Castro, upon the Second of Baruch, acknowledges *sheol* signifies in this place, and interprets it in this manner: "Lugere non desinam, donec me sepulturæ demandetis;" *I will not cease to mourn, till you lay me in my grave.* But if we follow our translation, which is most common, *I will go down to my son,* then *sheol* must signify the state or place of the dead; as it often doth: and particularly Isaiah xiv. (where the King of Babylon is expressly denied the honour of a grave, ver. 19, 20.) *sheol* is said to be *moved for him,* and *to meet him,* and *to stir up the dead for him,* (ver. 9.)

*Thus his father wept for him.*] Continued his mourning;



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not only by wearing sackcloth, but in such passionate expressions as these.

Ver. 36. *And the Midianites*] In the Hebrew the word is Medanim (a distinct name from those ver. 38.) who were a people derived from Medan, one of the sons of Keturah, and brother to Midian, (xxv. 2.) They and the Midianites lived near together in Arabia not far from the Ishmaelites: who all joined together in this caravan, and made one society of merchants; consisting of Medanites, Midianites, and Ishmaelites.

*An officer.*] The Hebrew word *saris*, oftentimes signifies an *eunuch*, by whom the eastern queens were attended. But it likewise signifies all the great courtiers (as the Chaldee here translates it), such as the *bed-chamber-men*, the *lord chamberlain* (as we now speak), and such-like officers of state: and therefore is rightly translated here, for Potiphar had a wife. The truth is, this was the prime signification of the word: till, in aftertimes, the depravation of manners, and the jealousy of the eastern kings, made them set none but slaves, who were castrated, to attend their queens; by whom they were preferred to great offices, and so came to enjoy this name.

*Pharaoh.*] This was a common name to all the kings of Egypt. (See xii. 15.)

*Captain of the guard.*] The LXX. translate it, *master cook:* and so Epiphanius calls his wife. Τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιμαγείρου, (Hæres. xxxvi. n. 17.) Our margin hath it, *chief of the slaughter-men*, or *executioners*. But the word *tebachim* may better be translated *soldiers*, than *butchers* or *executioners:* and here, some think, may denote him whom we call the *provost-marshal:* others will have it *the master of the horse*. But I see no more proper translation than ours, *captain of the guard:* or, rather, chief commander of the king's guard; such an one as Nebuzaradan was; (2 Kings xxv. 20.) for *schar* is more than one whom we now call a *captain*. (See xl. 3.) This phrase *schar-hatabachim* is explained by Hottinger out of the Ethiopic tongue. (See Smegma Orient. p. 85.)

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

Ver. 1. *AT that time.*] It is uncertain whether he mean at the time Joseph was sold (which is just before mentioned), or at the time Jacob returned from Mesopotamia to live in Canaan, (xxxiii. 18.) or when he went to settle with his father at Mamre, (xxxv. 27.) But, take it any of these ways, there was time enough for all the events following, before they went into Egypt; supposing Judah's children to have married very young: as may be seen in most interpreters.

*Judah went down from his brethren.*] Either upon some business, or in some discontent.

*Adullamite.*] A citizen of Adullam; which was a famous town, or city, that fell afterwards to the tribe of Judah, whose king was slain by Joshua, (xii. 19.) and where there was a famous cave, in which David hid himself, (1 Sam. xxii. 1.)

Ver. 2. *Judah saw there.*] So as to fall in love with her. For, according to the old saying, Ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν τὸ ἐρᾶν.

*A daughter of a certain Canaanite.*] It was not so bad for a man circumcised to marry the daughter of one uncircumcised, as it was to give their daughters in marriage to an uncircumcised husband, (xxxiv. 14.) For an uncircumcised man was accounted unclean, though he had renounced idolatry: but a woman born of uncircumcised parents was not so accounted, if she embraced the worship of the true God. Whence Salmon, a great man in the tribe of Judah, married Rahab who was a Canaanite. Such an one we must suppose this woman, whom Judah married, to have been; or else he had offended his father, as much as Esau did Isaac by marrying the daughters of Heth.

*Whose name was Shuah.*] Her father's name was Shuah, (ver. 12.)

*He took her.*] To be his wife, (ver. 12.)

Ver. 5. *And he was at Chezib when she bare him.*] Some think this town the same with Achzib, belonging to Judah, (Josh. xv. 44.) But why Moses mentions his absence when this child was born, and why he sets down the place where he then was, we cannot give an account; though there was, no doubt, some special reason for it. Perhaps it is to shew, why she gave the name to this and to her former son, (whereas he himself named the first, ver. 3.) because he was not at home when they were born.

Ver. 6. *Whose name was Tamar.*] She seems also to have been a woman of Canaan; but not an idolater.

Ver. 7. *Was wicked in the sight of the Lord.*] *i. e.* Exceeding impious; and that notoriously. (See Gen. x. 9.) What particular sins he was guilty of is but conjectured. Some fancy they were of the same nature with his next brother's: (see Bonfrere, or Menochius out of him.)

*And the Lord slew him.*] Cut him off suddenly, by some unusual stroke.

Ver. 8. *Go in unto thy brother's wife*, &c.] This (say the Hebrew doctors) was an ancient custom, in force before the law of Moses, which only enacted what had been formerly practised, (Maimon. par. iii. cap. 49. More Nevoch.) that when a man died without issue, his next brother should marry his wife, (Deut. xxv. 5.) Which custom afterwards extended to the next cousin, if no brother remained.

*And raise up seed unto thy brother.*] Preserve thy brother's name and family; by begetting a child, which may be accounted his, and inherit his estate. For so the law was; that the first-born of such a match was not to be looked upon as the child of him that begat him; but as his brother's, who was the mother's first husband. All the following children were to be his own.

Ver. 9. *Onan knew that the seed should not be his.*] *i. e.* The first-born should be reputed his brother's child.

*Lest he should give seed to his brother.*] Or, *lest a child should be born in the name of his brother*, as the Vulgar Latin interprets it very exactly, according to the opinion of the Hebrews: as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. vii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 3.)

Ver. 10. *The thing which he did displeased the Lord.*] This made his sin the more heinous, that he acted against the Divine promise made to Abram, concerning the multiplying of his seed: especially against the belief of the promise of the Messiah; that seed for which all good men longed.

Ver. 11. *Remain a widow in thy father's house*, &c.] It seems the contract of marriage at first was so understood

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in those days, that if the husband died without issue, the woman must marry his next brother; and as long as any of his brethren remained, they were bound to marry his wife, and preserve their brother's memory: or else solemnly renounce her, to their great infamy and disgrace. This was so well known, that there is nothing in the law that enjoins any new solemn contract in such a case: because the first husband being dead, she and the next brother were man and wife, without any further agreement, by virtue of the original law: until he renounced her. Yet, by the constitutions afterwards made by their elders, it was ordained, that he should espouse and endow her solemnly before witnesses: as Mr. Selden shews in his Uxor Hebr. lib. i. cap. 12. and lib. ii. cap. 2. and 10.

But Judah thought Selah was too young to perform this contract, and therefore desired her to stay till he was grown up, and to abide in her own father's house rather than in his; that Selah might not think of marriage too soon.

*For he said, Lest peradventure he die also.*] This some make an argument that he never intended to give her his son. But it is more agreeable to ver. 24. and 26. to think that, according to the custom of those days, he could not refuse it. And therefore he thought it was their youthful folly which made his two other sons perish: which made him resolve to keep this till he had more discretion, and was better instructed in his duty. Or, if we imagine their sin was known to none but Tamar, the meaning may be, that he thought their marrying too young was the cause of their death. And therefore he determined to keep this only remaining son, till he was of a riper age.

Ver. 12. *In process of time.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *the days were multiplied*, i. e. after some years.

*To Timnath.*] A town not far from Adullam, it is probable, for it was also within the lot of the tribe of Judah, (Josh. xv. 57.)

*He went up to Timnath.*] Some have made a difficulty about this phrase: for Samson is said to have gone *down to Timnath*, (Judg. xiv. 5.) But they should have considered (as Bochart observes, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 4.) that these were two different places, one called Timnah, the other Timnathah; this in the tribe of Judah, the other in the tribe of Dan. To this they went up, because it was in a mountainous country; to that they went down, because it was in a valley.

*To his sheep-shearers.*] It was the custom at such times to make a feast (as we do now), and to invite their kindred and friends to it (as he doth his friend Hirah), which appears sufficiently from the story of Absalom, (2 Sam. xiii. 23.) For in those countries, where they had vast flocks, sheep-shearing was a kind of harvest, which made that time to be observed with such joy, as there used to be in harvest: whence David's servants said to Nabal, that they were come to him *on a good day;* for he was shearing sheep, (1 Sam. xxv. 8.) Accordingly Judah, having finished the time of mourning for his wife, went to recreate himself, with his friends, at this festival season.

Ver. 14. *She put off her widow's garments.*] In which, it seems, such persons continued, till they were married to the next brother. But she, at this time, laid them aside, that he might not have the least suspicion she was the person whom he courted.

*Covered her with a veil.*] As all women did, in the eastern countries, when they went abroad: and there are examples of it also in the western parts of the world; as Mr. Selden at large shews, in his Uxor Hebraica, lib. iii. cap. 17, where he produces several passages out of the Alcoran requiring this.

*Wrapped herself.*] Muffled her face with it, as we speak, that she might not be known.

*And sat in an open place.*] Where two ways met, as the Hebrew words seem to import: unless we take it for a proper name, as it is in the margin of our Bibles. Either way it signifies in a public place, where every body might see her. It is commonly noted, that there was so much modesty left in those ancient days, that harlots both went veiled, and also sat without the cities, (see Origen, lib. iv. contra Celsum, p. 206.) But, however the latter part of this observation be, the former part of it is not true. For, as Bochartus observes, (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 46.) "Proprium fuit meretricum non *velari*, sed *revelari*," it was proper to harlots not to be covered, but to go barefaced: as appears from Isai. xlvii. 3. Nahum iii. 5, &c. All that can be answered to this is, that it might be otherwise in very ancient times. Which I do not take to be true: for all women, as I observed before, were covered; and therefore harlots were distinguished only by their sitting in the highways, not by their veils.

*For she saw that Selah was grown, and she was not given,* &c.] She resolved, if she could, to have a child by one of this family; and hoped, perhaps, that Selah might come along with his father, and have the same desires his father had: and in those days (as I noted before) there were no such solemnities required, as the Jews afterwards used (though the law did not enjoin it) to the making a marriage with one's brother's wife. Which was to be contracted, they say, before two witnesses, and by giving a piece of money, or a writing: but this was ordained only by their elders, not by the original law. (See ver. 11.) And therefore she thought, if she could have caught Selah by this device, it would have been held lawful: but this plot failing her, she so far transgressed, as to admit Judah himself to lie with her.

Ver. 15. *Because she covered her face.*] This is not the reason why he took her for a harlot; but why he did not know her to be his daughter-in-law, (as Mr. Selden observes in the place beforenamed, ver. 14.) because he could not see her face: and he thought her to be a harlot, because she sat *in trivio*, in the highway; where she publicly exposed herself.

Ver. 16. *Let me come in unto thee.*] There was an express law that there should be no *kedeschah* (or *whore*) among the daughters of Israel, *i. e.* none who should prostitute her body without marriage, (Deut. xxiii. 18. Levit. xix. 29.) But before the giving of the law (saith Maimonides), if a man found a single woman in a public place, and they agreed on certain terms, to lie together without being married, they were not punished. (See Mr. Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 4.)

*What wilt thou give me?*] That which made such facts not to be punished, was (saith the same Maimonides) because of the contract which passed between them. This reward which he gave the harlot for the use of her body, being like the dowry a man gave his wife when he put her away: which being paid, it was thought he did her no



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wrong: (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 49.) They that would now have their wicked practices warranted by such examples, should consider, that every thing not punished by men was not allowed by God: and that we now live under another dispensation, which expressly forbids such uncleanness; and declares, that not only adulterers, but whoremongers, *God will judge*, i. e. punish, (Hebr. xiii. 4. See ver. 23.)

Ver. 17. *A kid from the flock.*] Which was looked upon as a valuable present in those days; as I have observed before, (xxvii. 9.)

*Wilt thou give me a pledge*, &c.] A pawn, as we now speak, to be returned when he sent what he promised.

Ver. 18. *Thy signet.*] His ring, wherewith he sealed.

*Thy bracelets.*] The Hebrews generally understand by this word his *cloak*, or some such garment: others, his *girdle*.

*And thy staff*, &c.] Which, it is likely, had something in it to distinguish it from other men's staffs. And she asks so many things, that by some or other of them (if not by all) it might be certainly known who was the father, if she proved with child.

*And he came in unto her.*] Not publicly; but in some bye-place, to which they retired.

*And she conceived by him.*] Though he did not know her, yet she knew him; which aggravated her crime, and made it incest in her, though only fornication in him. Unto which, one would think, she was tempted, by her vehement desire to have a child by one of this family; unto which the promise of the Messiah belonged. For though she seems to have been one of the seed of Canaan, (as I said before, ver. 6.) yet, embracing the religion of Jacob, she renounced the impiety of the Canaanites: and so is mentioned in the genealogy of our Saviour, as well as Rahab and Ruth.

Ver. 19. *Laid by her veil from her*, &c.] Retired into her father's house (for within doors they did not wear veils) where she clothed herself again like a widow.

Ver. 21. *Where is the harlot?*] By this it is apparent that the word *kedeschah* signifies a *common whore* (as we speak), who publicly prostituted herself for hire; as the Hebrew doctors observe upon this place, and upon Deut. xxiii. 17. But whence this name should be given to *harlots* is a great doubt; it coming from a root, which signifies that which is *sacred*. Which hath inclined some learned men to think, that the *women-priests* consecrated to the service of Baalphegor, or Priapus, were no better than whores: and the *men-priests* who served Ashteroth, mentioned 2 Kings xxiii. 7. made all whores be called *kedischim*, which was the name for those devoted to such impure ministeries, (See Mr. Selden, de Diis Syris, Syntag. i. cap. 5. and Syntag. ii. cap. 2.) But such beastly idolatry, surely, was not so old as the days of Jacob: and it seems more reasonable to me to think, that the original word signifying *separation*, it was applied either to those who were separated unto holiness, or unto uncleanness, as harlots were.

*And they said, there was no harlot in this place.*] They knew of none that publicly professed to be a prostitute: nor had they seen any one sit publicly to invite customers.

Ver. 23. *Let her take it to her.*] Keep the pledge to herself.

*Lest we be ashamed.*] Though the fact he had committed was in those days lawful (saith Maimonides), that is, was not punished by the judges; yet men did not publicly boast of it, nor were willing to own it; but were ashamed it should be known (which was a sign they were sensible there was a moral turpitude in it), and therefore endeavoured to hide and conceal it; even with the loss of those goods which were of greatest value. For the sense, saith he, of Judah's words, is this: "It is better to lose what she hath of ours, than, by inquisition after it, to divulge the business, and increase our shame:" (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49.) Where he bids his reader observe, this is the moral virtue which ought to be learnt from this history; together with justice and equity: which appears in his performing the agreement he made of sending a kid; of which he desires his friend to be a witness, that he might not lie under any suspicion of having offered violence to her.

Ver. 24. *Bring her forth.*] Out of her father's house, into the place of judgment: where he would have her sentenced to the severest punishment.

*Let her be burnt.*] Not presently (for that had been the highest injustice and cruelty, to burn the child in her belly), but after she was delivered; till which time he would have kept her in such safe custody, that this execution might be done upon her. Some think *burning* was the punishment for adultery in those days. Others think the punishment depended on the will of the supreme governor, whosoever he was: whom some also take to have been Judah himself; as chief in his own family: and that he was so severe against her because she had disgraced his family, and he was glad to be rid of her, that he might not give his son Selah to her. But there are those, who think by *burning* is meant no more but *branding* her in the forehead, to denote her to be a whore. (See Mr. Selden, lib. vii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 5.) If Judah did mean *burning her at a stake* (as we now speak), it was a punishment not then commonly used, but inflicted (as his words are, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 12.) "ex more seu lege aliqua singulari:" *by some singular custom or law.*

All this proceeds upon a supposition, that she really was Selah's wife, though not solemnly married (as the Jews pretend it was necessary, after the law was given), by virtue of the first contract with his eldest brother: which was the reason of her being kept at her father's house; that nobody else might pretend to her, but she be reserved for him: otherwise there could have been no ground for proceeding against her as an adulteress.

Ver. 26. *She hath been more righteous than I.*] These words do not signify that she had in this matter committed a less sin than he (for she had committed a greater), but that in another matter, which was the occasion of this, he had broken his word with her, when she had, till now, kept her faith with him; and lived a widow honestly in expectation of his son. Besides, she committed this fact out of desire to have a child; he, to satisfy his lust.

*And he knew her no more.*] Which some have translated quite the contrary, *and he ceased not to know her, i. e.* he solemnly married her, and took her to be his wife: which was unlawful after the law of Moses was given, but as lawful before, as many other things which they practised. And two of the Chaldee paraphrasts have feigned a *bath-*

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*coll* to have come from heaven, to countenance the fact. (See Mr. Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 9. and lib. vii. cap. 5.) But, it is not likely, he would take his son's wife to be his own. And likewise having known her, though by an error, most think Selah himself afterward had her not to wife: but she rather did penance (as we now speak) in widowhood all her days. For Selah, we find, had children by another, (Numb. xxvi. 19.)

Ver. 28. *This came out first.*] Perceiving there were twins struggling in her womb, the midwife, to distinguish this from the other, as the first-born, bound this thread about his wrist.

Ver. 29. *How hast thou broke forth?*] What is the cause of this? Or, what a violence is this? Speaking as one astonished at his eruption. For it was without example; and therefore the novelty of the thing made her break out into this exclamation. Though, if it be true which a learned anatomist affirms, that where twins are of the same sex, they are wrapped in the very same *secundines*, as they call them (whereas those that are of a different, are separated by distinct inclosures), the other son being stronger and more vigorous, might force his way the more readily, when his brother was nearer to the birth. (Fernellius, lib. vii. Physiolog. cap. 12.)

*This breach be upon thee.*] Take thy name from this breach. Be thou ever called *eruption*, or *breach;* as Bochart interprets it. (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 30.)

Ver. 30. *Called Zarah.*] Which most think signifies as much as *he ariseth* (being used commonly of the sun's rising), because this child appeared first, by putting out his hand before the other.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

Ver. 1. *AND Joseph.*] Having ended this story of Judah, he returns to that of Joseph, which he had begun before in the thirty-seventh chapter; repeating, where he left off, how he was sold to Potiphar.

*Brought down.*] It is a descent from Judea to Egypt: which lies very low.

Ver. 2. *And the Lord was with Joseph.*] To guide him in his deportment, and in the management of all affairs committed to him: so that, as it follows, "he was a prosperous man."

*He was in the house of his master.*] One of his domestic servants.

Ver. 3. *His master saw that the Lord was with him,* &c.] Found by observation and experience that he was an extraordinary person. It is not likely that Potiphar knew God by the name of Jehovah: but the meaning is, he observed the happy fruits of Joseph's service; which Moses, not he, ascribes to the Lord's peculiar blessing.

Ver. 4. *And he served him.*] Found such favour with his master, that he took him to wait upon his person.

*And he made him overseer over his house.*] In time he advanced him to a higher station, to be (as they now speak) his major-domo, to whom all the servants in the family were to be obedient.

*And put all he had into his hand.*] Committed all his estate, both within doors and without (as appears by the next verse), to his care and management.

Ver. 6. *He left all he had in Joseph's hand.*] Did not call him to a daily account, nor concerned himself about any business: but trusted entirely to his prudence and fidelity.

*And he knew not aught he had, save the bread which he did eat.*] This is the highest expression of confidence; signifying, that he was utterly careless about any thing that concerned his estate: not minding what his expense or receipts were; but, taking his ease, left all to Joseph's honesty. In short, he thought of nothing, but only to enjoy what he had, without any care or trouble.

*And Joseph was a goodly person.*] Being the son of a beautiful mother.

Ver. 7. *Cast her eyes upon Joseph.*] Looked upon him amorously, or rather lasciviously: he being young as well as handsome.

Ver. 9. *How can I do this great wickedness?* &c.] Here are three *he hajedias*, as the Hebrews call them; pointing us to so many remarkable things. How shall I commit such a wickedness as adultery? such a great wickedness? against so kind a master, who so entirely trusts in my integrity? especially, since it cannot be committed without the highest offence to God.

Ver. 10. *Day by day.*] Took all occasions to solicit him.

*Or to be with her.*] He avoided, as much as was possible, to entertain any discourse with her, shunning her company, &c.

Ver. 11. *About this time.*] The phrase in the Hebrew (where there are again two *hes* of the same kind with the former) signifies some remarkable day. R. Solomon and Josephus think it was some festival, when the master and the rest of the family were gone to the temples; and she stayed at home, feigning herself not well. But the Vulgar translates it simply, *upon a certain day.* Or it may signify, *having the like opportunity*, as formerly, and Joseph being about his business in the house she caught him, &c.

*To do his business.*] To cast up his accounts, saith the Chaldee interpreters.

*None of the men of the house were within.*] In that part of the house where he was.

Ver. 12. *Left the garment in her hand.*] If he had struggled to get the garment away from her, the accusation might have been more specious, that he went about to ravish her. Epiphanius hath made a good reflection upon this example. Καταλιμπάνει τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἀπόλλυσιν. Ἀποδιδράσκει τὸν τόπον, ἵνα μὴ πέσῃ τῇ παγίδι, &c. (vid. Hæres. lxxix. n. 9.) *He left his garment, that he might not lose his body: and shunned the place, that he might not fall into the snare.* And indeed it was dangerous to adventure himself in her company; much more to touch her, lest he should fall into temptation.

Ver. 14. *She called unto the men of her house.*] Cried to them, who were in her apartment, to come and help her.

*He hath brought in.*] In her rage she reflects upon her husband, as accessory to her danger, that she might the more incense him against Joseph. There is something like this in Apuleius's story (lib. x. Metamorph.) of the stepmother's love to her son-in-law, which was turned into hatred, and made her contrive just such a lie as this, when he would not yield to her.

*To mock us.*] To abuse our family.

*I cried with a loud voice.*] An improbable story (for no-

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body heard it), but was easily believed against a servant; whom they all, perhaps, envied. If she pretended it was done in Joseph's apartment, the question might have been asked her, What she did there?

Ver. 17. *Came in unto me to mock me.*] To offer violence to me (as the Hebrew phrase signifies), and rob me of my chastity.

Ver. 18. *He left his garment with me.*] Philo observes, that this was an argument rather that she laid hands on him: for he could have easily taken his garment from her, if he had not fled hastily from her importunity. But her husband's jealousy made him credulous.

Ver. 20. *Joseph's master took him,* &c.] Caused him to be apprehended, and carried to prison. During his anger he would not hearken to the apology, which we cannot but think he offered to make for himself. Unless we suppose (which is not unlikely) that his master would not so much as see him; but ordered him immediately to be hurried to the jail.

*A place where the king's prisoners were bound.*] Where the king himself caused those who had offended him to be committed. This shews Potiphar was a great man, (see xl. 3.) and that he looked upon the crime as very great: for this prison, we must think, was most strictly guarded, that they who were thrown into it might not escape punishment. And it appears by what the Psalmist says, (cv. 18.) that the prisoners were hardly used; and that Joseph (xl. 15.) was thrust into the lowest part of the prison, which was the most dismal, as well as of greatest difficulty to make an escape out of it.

*And he was there in the prison.*] His master proceeded no further against him, but there he left him. Perhaps Joseph found means to let him know the truth; which made him not form any process to take away his life, or inflict any other punishment on him: and yet, to save his wife's credit, he let him lie in the prison.

Ver. 21. *The Lord was with Joseph.*] The same wisdom and virtue appeared in him, now he was in prison, that his master discerned, when he came first into his house, (ver. 2.)

*Give him favour.*] So that he had more liberty than the rest, after some short confinement.

*Keeper of the prison.*] The under-keeper it appears from xl. 4.

Ver. 22. *Committed to Joseph's hand,* &c.] His favour increased so much (as it had done in his master's house, ver. 4.) that he, in effect, was the keeper of the prison, not a prisoner.

## CHAP. XL.

Ver 1. *HAD offended their lord.*] In the Hebrew is a word of the plural number for *lord,* viz. *adonim;* "ratione dignitatis," saith Bochartus; because of his high authority. And so it is used not only when he speaks of the king, but of great men; particularly of Joseph's master, (xxxix. 2.)

Interpreters do but guess at their offence: which might as well be an attempt upon his life (by poison, or other ways), as any thing else.

Ver. 2. *Wroth against two of his officers.*] They are called by the same name of dignity (viz. *saris*) which we met withal before, (xxxvii. 36.) For in all courts such officers had a principal place, (see ver. 4.)

*Chief butler.*] Or, *cup-bearer* to the king, (ver. 13.) He simply named the butler and baker in the foregoing verse: but now the *schar* (as the Hebrew word is), which in the next verse we translate *captain,* i. e. the principal officer of those kinds: which would incline one to think, that some under butler and baker were accused of a great fault, for which the head butler and baker were to answer: who, perhaps, were discovered to have ordered them to do what they did.

*Chief baker.*] Who took care of all baked meats, and confections, &c. (ver. 17.)

Ver. 3. *He put them in ward,* &c.] To be kept close prisoners.

*In the house of the captain of the guard,* &c.] In that prison, of which Potiphar had the chief custody. Who by this appears to have been such an officer as we call lieutenant of the Tower.

*Into the prison where Joseph was bound.*] Into that very place where Joseph had been bound. For now he was at liberty, in the prison.

Ver. 4. *And the captain of the guard charged Joseph,* &c.] By this it appears Potiphar's anger was mitigated towards him (having heard the truth, it is likely, before this time), and was of the same mind with the under-keeper of the prison: who entrusted all in Joseph's hand.

*And he served them.*] Attended upon them (which shews they were great persons) to provide them what they wanted, &c.

*And they continued a season.*] The Hebrew word is, *jamim,* i. e. *days:* which frequently signifies *a year;* as hath been observed before, (xxiv. 55.)

Ver. 5. *Each man according to the interpretation of his dream.*] Suitable to the office which he had held; and to the events which were shortly to befal them.

Ver. 6. *Joseph came unto them in the morning.*] To see that they were safe, and to know what they wanted.

*And behold, they were sad.*] It was very extraordinary, that they should both of them dream, in the same night, such dreams as had a great resemblance, one to the other; and seemed to import a great change in their condition: which made such a deep impression upon them, that they were solicitous to know the meaning.

Ver. 8. *We have dreamed a dream, and there is no interpreter of it.*] *i. e.* Here in prison, we have not the opportunity of getting them interpreted. If they had been at liberty, there were men in those countries who pretended to the skill of interpreting dreams, which for the most part were not to be regarded; but some dreams carried such lively representations in them, and so suitable to their present condition, and made likewise so great a commotion in their spirits, that they could not but attend to them: nay, think God had sent them, and therefore desire to know the meaning of them.

Thus we find Achilles advising Agamemnon (in Homer's Iliad. i.) to consult with the interpreters of their gods, for what offence they had sent the plague among them; saying, "To what priest, or to what prophet, shall we go?"

Ἢ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον, καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν.

*Or to what vender of dreams? For even dreams come from Jupiter.*

*Do not interpretations belong to God?*] Who can shew

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the meaning of dreams, but he that sent them? *viz.* God. This shews that God did sometimes admonish other nations (as we saw, xx. 6. xxxi. 24.) as well as the Jews by dreams: until they forgot (as Dr. Jackson judiciously speaks) that *interpretations were from God,* and laboured to find out an *art of interpreting.* Then they either ceased, or were so mixed with delusions, that they could not be discerned: or, if their events were in some sort foreseen, yet men, being ignorant of God's providence, commonly made choice of such means for their avoidance, as brought upon them the events which they feared. (Book i. on the Creed, chap. 9.)

Ver. 12. *The three branches are three days.*] *i. e.* Signify *three days.* So he understood their meaning to be, rather than *months* or *years;* because of the sudden budding, blossoming, knitting, and ripening of the grapes, (ver. 10.)

Ver. 13. *Shall lift up thy head.*] *i. e.* Advance thee; or, as it is in the margin, *reckon* thee; *number* thee among his servants (as the phrase is used, Exod. xxxi. 12.) For there being a roll, or catalogue of all the officers of the court, with their several salaries, they were all called over on some certain day (it should seem, by ver. 20. before the king's birth-day) and summoned to give their attendance. And then such as the king was offended withal, were struck out, and punished according to their deserts; or pardoned, and graciously restored to their places. This exposition best agrees with the event, (ver. 20.) where the heads of both these officers are said to be *lifted up:* though one of them only was advanced to his former station.

Ver. 14. *But think on me, when it shall be well with thee,* &c.] When my prediction is come to pass, I ask no other reward of thee, but that thou wilt be an instrument of delivering me from my imprisonment. Joseph was not only grown expert in interpreting dreams, (which he was not before he came into Egypt, xxxvii. 6. &c.) but fully assured he knew the right meaning of them; as appears by this passage. And such kinds of predictions by dreams were frequently in ancient times, among the heathen as well as among the Hebrews: though in after ages they grew rare in both. For (as Dr. Jackson admirably speaks, in the place beforenamed) the increase of wickedness in the world; multiplicity of business; solicitude of mind about worldly affairs; and men's too much depending on politic devices to accomplish their ends; caused the defect of true dreams, and of other Divine admonitions, for the welfare of mankind.

Ver. 15. *I was stolen.*] Carried away by violence, without the knowledge of my father; and sold for a slave. His brethren, in selling him, committed that crime, which the Latins call *plagium.* For, *Qui hominem liberum vendit, plagiarius est.*

*Out of the land of the Hebrews.*] Some men would have it thought, that these words were added by Joshua, or some other, after Moses's time: because Canaan was not called the *land of the Hebrews* in his days, much less in Joseph's. But they should have considered, that Joseph doth not call all the land of Canaan by this name; but only that part of it where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had very long lived, *viz.* about Hebron. There Abraham (who was the first that is called a Hebrew) settled with his family when he came out of Chaldea, (xiii. 17, 18.) There Isaac dwelt also, (xxxv. 27.) and Jacob, (xxxvii. 1. 14.) where it is said indeed, they were *strangers,* or *sojourners,* in this country: but they were strangers of great note and name (as Jacobus Altingius hath well observed), who were treated as princes, (xxiii. 6.) lived by their own laws; made leagues, not only with private men, but with cities and with kings: (xxi. 22, 23. xxvi. 28. xxxiv. 6.) and the fame of them could not but be spread abroad, both by the victory which Abraham got, in a battle, over several kings; and by the sacking of Shechem, which the neighbours durst not revenge. All which might well make that part of the country wherein they had resided for three generations be called *the land of the Hebrews:* where they were at first planted, by the consent of the natives; who were confederated with Abraham, (xiv. 13.)

*That they should put me into the dungeon.*] Into which he was thrown at the first, as a great malefactor; for this was the lowest and darkest place in the prison, being under ground. So the Hebrew word commonly signifies, a *pit,* either with or without water in it: and thence, this part of a prison; which Bochartus well translates *cryptam subterraneam;* and sometimes signifies a *grave,* (Psalm xxviii. 1. Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 4.)

Ver. 16. *The chief baker saw the interpretation was good.*] It was well the chief butler propounded his dream first, which had a good signification: for if this man had spoken first, the other, it is likely, would not have proposed his dream.

*Three white baskets.*] Or, as we now speak, three wicker baskets, and (as the margin hath it) the twigs so twisted, that they were *full of holes;* as ours many times are wrought.

Ver. 17. *In the uppermost basket.*] They were set one upon another: in the lowermost of which, we may suppose, was bread; in the middlemost pies; and in the highest, the finer sort of pastes of all sorts, biscuit, tarts, &c.

Ver. 19. *Lift up thy head.*] The same phrase, which was used of the other, (ver. 13.) but with this addition, *from off thee.* To signify, that his name should be called for another purpose; that he might not only have his name struck out of the roll, but his head struck off from his body. Though there is no necessity so to understand it; but only simply, that he *should lose his life.*

*And shall hang thee on a tree.*] They that fancy his head was first cut off, will have the body only hanged on a gibbet. But it is more likely he was hanged by the neck, as malefactors are now among us upon a gallows.

*And the birds shall eat thy flesh.*] He was left there, to be devoured by birds of prey.

Ver. 20. *Pharaoh's birth-day.*] Either the day on which he was born, or the day on which he came to the crown: which was *natalis imperii,* the *birth-day of his empire.* Both of them were wont to be celebrated with rejoicing and great feasts, in ancient time as well as now. (See the commentators upon Matt. xiv. 6.)

Ver. 21. *And he gave the cup.*] His fault, we may suppose, was of a smaller nature; or, there was not evident proof against him; or, he had better friends, who interceded for him: so that he was not only pardoned, but restored to his office.

Ver. 22. *But he hanged the chief baker.*] Ordered him to be hanged, being found guilty of what he was accused, &c.

Ver. 23. *Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph,*

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*but forgat him.*] He repeats it, to shew how very unmindful he was of him: after the manner of those vain courtiers, who have no value for wisdom or virtue, but are wholly given up to their pleasures. It would have cost him nothing to mention Joseph to Pharaoh: but he seems to have been one of those who will spend their interest, as we now speak, for nobody but themselves. Or, as it may be interpreted, he did not, as soon as he came to his place, call him to mind, who foretold his good fortune: and so, in process of time, he quite forgot him.

## CHAP. XLI.

Ver. 1. *AT the end of two full years.*] It is uncertain whether two years after Joseph was first put in prison, or after the chief butler was taken out of prison. It seems to relate to the latter, being connected immediately with that history.

*Pharaoh dreamed.*] Had an extraordinary dream, sent from God.

*He stood by the river.*] Where they were wont to recreate themselves; especially in hot weather, and when they expected its rise to such a degree, as to give hopes of a plentiful year.

Ver. 2. *Behold, there came up out of the river.*] This is a most apt and lively figure; representing things exactly conformable to the state of that country: which was enriched by the yearly overflowing of the river Nilus. Without which the beasts would have had no grass to feed them, much less to fatten them. But Bochart thinks the Hebrew word *jeor* (which we translate *river*) properly signifies, a *cut*, as we speak, or a *canal* out of Nile: of which there were many, for the drawing its water into several parts of the country. (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 42.)

*Well-favoured kine*, &c.] Or, *oxen*. By which the fields being ploughed, and all the business of husbandry managed, their fatness was a proper token of fertility; as their leanness was of famine. So Bochart observes; and see Vossius de Idolol. lib. i. cap. 29.

*And they fed in a meadow.*] This represented Nile as having overflowed a great way; to the enriching of a pasture, at a distance from the river.

Ver. 3. *Stood by the other kine.*] This signified the events denoted hereby to be near one to the other.

*Upon the brink of the river.*] Not feeding in a meadow (as the former did), but picking up grass here and there near the river. For this was a sign, it had not overflowed at all, or very little: there being no food for the cattle, but on the river's bank: where, perhaps, he saw them eat the flags.

Ver. 5. *Came up upon one stalk.*] A token of great plenty.

Ver. 6. *Blasted with the east wind.*] To this wind (which the Hebrews call *kadim*) is ascribed, in Scripture, all the mischief that was done to corn, or fruit; by blasting, smutting, mildews, locusts, &c. and was more pernicious in Egypt than other places, because it came through the vast deserts of Arabia.

Ver. 7. *And behold, it was a dream.*] Or, *behold, the dream* continued to run in his mind. When he was awake, he could not put it out of his thoughts, but it perpetually presented itself to him, as it had done when he was asleep. This shewed it to be one of those dreams which the Greeks called Θεόπεμπτα, *sent from God;* as the interpretation and the event shewed afterward more evidently. Bochart notes out of Josephus, (lib. xvii.) a dream of Archelaus (mentioned Matt. ii. 22.) composed of both these figures: for he saw *ten* ears of corn very plump and ripe, devoured by oxen; which Simon Essæus interpreted to signify, that he should live *ten* years; and then there should be a great turn of affairs (because oxen turn up the ground by the plough), and accordingly it came to pass, (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 41.)

Ver. 8. *His spirit was troubled.*] He could not rest satisfied till he understood the meaning of these dreams, which he thought imported some great alteration in the state of his country.

*Called for all the magicians of Egypt.*] The word in Hebrew (or rather Chaldee) for *magicians*, had a bad signification in aftertimes; but what kind of men they were now, we do not know: whether they professed to interpret dreams and expound things secret, by natural observations; or such rules as are now found in the books of *Oneirocriticks;* or by consulting demons; or only by the foolish art of astrology, to which they were much addicted in future ages.

Our learned Nic. Fuller (lib. v. Miscell. Sacr. cap. 11.) thinks the Hebrew word *chartummim* imports, such as divined by certain superstitious characters, pictures, images, and figures; which they engraved with magical rites and ceremonies.

*All the wise men thereof.*] These were the same, I suppose, with those who were called *philosophers* in Greece; from whence several great men went to learn of the Egyptian priests, who were famous for wisdom before it came into Greece.

*Told them his dream.*] He told them both his dreams, as appears from what follows; but Moses speaks in the singular number, because they were, in effect, but one and the same dream.

*But there was none that could interpret them.*] Either they were amazed, and did not attempt an exposition, as beyond their skill; or, what they said gave no satisfaction to the king. The *seven kine* and the *seven ears*, it is likely, they thought had a great mystery in them; if the worship of the planets was then among them. Which they invoked with secret or unutterable invocations, Κλήσεσι ἀφθέγκτοις, (as the oracle mentioned by Porphyry speaks) which were invented by that "most excellent of all magicians (saith the same oracle), the king of the seven sounds, whom all men know," *i. e.* Ostanes, or Hostanes.

——Ὃς εὗρε Μάγων ὄχ' ἄριστος
Ἑπταφθόγγου Βασιλεὺς ὃν πάντες ἴσασιν.

By which *seven sounds* (of which he was the inventor and governor) Mr. Selden thinks is meant the harmony, which the ancients supposed the seven planets to make: whom these magicians called upon ἑπτακίφωνοι, with seven invocations to each planet, upon its proper day. As he shews, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 19. But the more they laboured to find out this mystery, the more they were puzzled and perplexed in their thoughts: nor could their prayers (if they went that way to work) help them to disclose the secret.

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Ver. 9. *I do remember my faults this day.*] Call to mind the offences I committed against Pharaoh: or, as some will have it, my ingratitude to one, who was in prison with me.

Ver. 11. *Each man according to the interpretation of his dream.*] Just according to the event was each of our dreams.

Ver. 13. *As he interpreted to us, so it was.*] He repeats the thing often, to shew how exactly Joseph hit the truth in his interpretation.

*Me he restored to my office,* &c.] He told me, that on such a day I should be restored to my office; and he told the other he should be hanged.

Ver. 14. *Brought him hastily.*] With all speed; that Pharaoh might not continue in suspense.

*Out of the dungeon.*] It is reasonable to think, that, though he was thrown into the dungeon at the first, (xl. 15.) he did not continue there, when he looked after all the prisoners, and did the whole business of a keeper, (xxxix. 22, 23.) Therefore this part, as is usual, is put for the whole; signifying no more, than that they brought him out of prison, where he had been in the dungeon.

*And he shaved himself,* &c.] It was the custom in most countries, when men were in a mournful condition, to neglect their hair, both of the head and the beard: and not to shift their clothes, as in prosperity; but to continue in a rueful dress, whereby they expressed the sense they had of their calamity.

Ver. 16. *It is not in me.*] A modest answer. I do not pretend to more wisdom than those thou hast already consulted.

*God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace.*] But God, I doubt not, will direct me to give the king a satisfactory answer: nay, an answer that shall be serviceable to him and to his kingdom.

Ver. 17. *And Pharaoh said unto Joseph,* &c.] We may well suppose that Joseph desired to know the dream: which Pharaoh repeats in this and the following verses something more fully than it is set down before.

Ver. 21. *When they had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had eaten them,* &c.] An emblem of a very grievous famine, which is represented, not only by the lean kine devouring the fat (as much as to say, the barren years consuming all the growth of the fertile), but by their remaining lean, as if they had eaten nothing: which represents what often happens in famine, that men eat greedily, but are not satisfied, because God breaks the staff of bread: (Lev. xxvi. 26.) *i. e.* takes away its nourishing virtue; as Bochart expounds it, Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 41. But this seems to be a straining of that phrase, *break the staff of bread,* which signifies no more, than want of bread to support man's life. And all that can be gathered from this part of the dream, is, that there should be such exceeding great scarcity, that men should have but just enough to keep them alive.

Ver. 25. *The dream of Pharaoh is one.*] One and the same thing is represented by two several figures.

*God hath shewn Pharaoh what he is about to do.*] God hath in these dreams revealed to Pharaoh, what he intends shortly to bring to pass.

Ver. 26. *The seven good kine,* &c.] He represents in this, and in the following verse, how one thing is signified by two dreams. Seven good kine, and seven good ears, representing seven years of plenty; and seven lean kine, and seven empty ears, as many years of scarcity.

Ver. 28. *This is the thing which I have spoken,* &c.] I have told the king in short, what the Divine Providence is about to effect.

Ver. 29. *Behold, there come seven years,* &c.] I will repeat it more at large. Take notice then that, in the next seven years to this, there shall be very great crops of corn, every where, throughout the whole country.

Ver. 30. *And there shall arise after them,* &c.] And immediately after they are ended, shall follow seven years as barren as the former were fruitful, the earth bringing forth little or no corn; which will make so great a famine, that there shall be no memory of the foregoing plenty; for there shall be no corn left, but all eaten up, throughout all the land of Egypt.

Ver. 31. *And the plenty shall not be known,* &c.] I say, there shall be no mark remaining of the foregoing plenty; by reason of the extreme scarcity in the following years, which will be very heavy.

Ver. 32. *And for that the dream was doubled,* &c.] The repetition of the dream signifies the certainty of what I say: God having so determined; who will shortly justify the truth of my predictions. Both here and in the foregoing discourse, (ver. 25. 28.) he directs Pharaoh to look up unto God, as the author of all these events; and that, not in an ordinary, but extraordinary manner. For such fertility and such famine did not proceed from mere natural causes; but from an overruling Providence. It is observed by Pliny, (lib. v. Nat. Hist. cap. 9.) that when Nile rose only *twelve* cubits, a famine followed: when *thirteen,* great scarcity: when *fourteen,* they had a good year: when *fifteen,* a very good: and if it rose *sixteen,* it made *delicias,* luxuriant plenty: and the greatest increase they ever knew, was to *eighteen* cubits. Now that this river should overflow so largely for seven years together, as to make vast plenty; and then for the next seven years not to overflow its banks at all or very little, and so make a sore and long famine; could be ascribed to nothing but an extraordinary hand of God; it being quite out of the course of nature. And indeed the dream seems to signify something beyond that; for it is unnatural for oxen to devour one another.

Ver. 33. *Look out a man discreet and wise.*] One fit to manage so great an affair. He that could foretell such events, was fit to advise what was to be done upon the foresight of them: but, it is probable, he did not presume to give such directions, till he was asked his opinion.

Ver. 34. *Let Pharaoh do this.*] When this is done.

*Let him appoint officers.*] Let that chief ruler appoint officers under him, in the several provinces of the kingdom: such as the Romans called *præfectos annonæ.*

*Take up a fifth part.*] Some have asked, why not the *half,* since there were to be as many years of famine as of plenty. To which such answers as these have been given by interpreters:—that the greater and richer sort were wont in time of plenty to fill their storehouses; as a provision against a scarcer year, which sometimes happened. And, secondly, that, in time of famine, men are wont to live more frugally; and not spend so much as they do in better times. And, thirdly, that even in those years of greatest famine, something might be sown; at least near the banks



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of Nile. But the plainest answer is, that *ten* parts being the tribute due to kings in many countries, and it is likely here, (as I observed upon xxviii. *ult.*) Pharaoh was advised to double this charge, in the years of extraordinary plenty: when the *fifth* part was not more than the *tenth* in other years. Or (which is rather to be supposed from a good king and a good counsellor), to buy as much more as was his tribute; which he might do at an easy rate, when vast plenty made corn very cheap.

Ver. 35. *Gather all the food of those good years that come.*] The *fifth* part of the growth of the next *seven* years.

*And lay up corn.*] In places provided for that purpose.

*Under the hand of Pharaoh.*] Not to be meddled withal, but kept by Pharaoh's order, to be dispensed hereafter, as need shall require.

*And let them keep food in the cities.*] Let this food be reserved in the several cities of the kingdom.

Ver. 36. *And that food shall be for store.*] Shall not be spent; but laid up and preserved against the time of famine.

*That the land,* &c.] The people of the land do not perish.

Ver. 37. *And the thing was good in the eyes,* &c.] The king and all the court were pleased with this advice. But some may wonder that Pharaoh and his ministers should so readily believe a young man, and a stranger; of a nation whom they did not converse withal, and lately accused of a great crime. But they may be satisfied, by considering, that Joseph had cleared himself in the opinion of the keeper of the prison; where he had been known already to have interpreted dreams exactly according to the events, in two notorious cases, which the chief butler had reported, (ver. 12, 13.) And besides, his exposition of the figures which Pharaoh saw in his dream, was so natural, that it was apt to beget belief, if he had not been an expounder of dreams before. And above all it is to be considered, that God, who sent the dreams, and made them stick in Pharaoh's thoughts, disposed his mind also to receive the interpretation, with a deep sense of its truth.

Ver. 38. *Pharaoh said to his servants.*] The great ministers of the kingdom, and officers of the court, who stood about him.

*In whom is the Spirit of God.*] Without which he could not foresee and foretell such things.

Ver. 39. *And Pharaoh said unto Joseph.*] It seems all his servants were of Pharaoh's mind, and consented to what he said, being amazed at the wisdom which appeared in Joseph.

*Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this.*] God wrought in him the highest opinion of Joseph, as a man divinely inspired.

*There is none so discreet as thou art.*] Thou thyself art the only person, whom thou advisest me to set over the land, (ver. 33.)

Ver. 40. *Thou shalt be over my house.*] Be the chief minister in my court: for that is meant by his *house*.

*And according to thy word.*] As thou shalt give orders.

*Shall all my people be ruled.*] The margin translates it *armed;* as if he put the whole militia of the kingdom into his hands: but this seems too narrow a sense; nor was there any thoughts of war at this time, but of the government of the kingdom in time of peace. And therefore we also translate it *kiss*, i. e. obey, as the LXX. and Vulgar well translate it; and as it signifies in Psalm ii. *ult. Kiss the Son,* i. e. submit to him, and obey him.

*Only in the throne will I be greater than thou.*] Thou shalt have no superior, but only myself.

Ver. 41. *See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.*] He had advised Pharaoh only to set a man to be the chief inspector of the stores of corn, ver. 33. (for which Pharaoh thought none so fit as Joseph himself, ver. 39.) but he now constitutes him chief governor, under him, in all affairs of the whole country.

Ver. 42. *Took off his ring,* &c.] This is well explained by Vossius, (lib. i. de Orig. et Progr. Idolol. cap. 9.) in these words: "Tum ut symbolum dignitatis, tum ad literas et diplomata publico nomine signandas:" *both in token of the dignity to which he was preferred, and that he might seal letters and patents in the king's name.*

*Vesture of fine linen.*] So the Hebrew word *schesch* signifies, rather than *silk* (as it is translated in the margin), though not the common linen, but that which the ancients called *byssus:* which Pollux saith was λίνου τι εἶδος, a sort of linen, very pure, and soft; and very dear; because it did not grow every where. *Linum tenuissimum et pretiosissimum,* as Braunius shews, (lib. i. de Vestib. Sacerdot. Hebr. cap. 6.) In garments made of this, great men only, not the vulgar people, were clothed: kings themselves, it appears by Solomon, being arrayed in such vestures.

*Put a gold chain about his neck.*] Another token of the highest dignity.

Ver. 43. *Made him ride in the second chariot which he had.*] In the best of the king's coaches (as we now speak) except one, which Pharaoh reserved for himself: and attended, no doubt, with a suitable equipage, of footmen and horsemen, perhaps, for a guard to his person.

*Cried before him, Bow the knee.*] They that went before his chariot, to make way for him, required all to do him such reverence as they did to the king himself, when he appeared: which was by bowing their knees or their body. The word they used to this purpose, as they went along, was *abrech:* which we translate *bow the knee,* deriving it from the Hebrew word *barach,* which hath that signification. Though others will have it to signify *the father of the king:* for *rach,* in the Syrian language, signifies a *king,* if we may believe R. Solomon. Others translate it, *a tender father,* of the country which he had preserved. (See Vossius, lib. i. de Idol. cap. 29.) And Hottinger will have it as much as *God save the king;* or, *A blessing light on you.* (See Smegma Orient. p. 131.) But unless we understood the old Egyptian language, I think we had as good rest in the Hebrew derivation as in any other; according to our own translation.

*And he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt.*] After this manner he constituted him supreme governor of the whole country, under himself: according to his resolution, ver. 41.

Ver. 44. *I am Pharaoh.*] This is my will and pleasure; who am king of Egypt.

*Without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot,* &c.] A proverbial speech. Let no man presume to do the smallest thing, in public affairs, without thy order.

Ver. 45. *And Pharaoh called Joseph's name.*] He gave him a new name; partly, because he was a foreigner; and partly, to honour him; and yet to denote him to be his

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subject, though ruler of every body else. We find Nebuchadnezzar did the same in Babylon, (Dan. i. 7.) and it is still the custom in the eastern countries: where the Mogul never advances any man, but he gives him a new name; and that significant of something belonging to him. As, not long ago, he called his brother-in-law *Asaph Chan*, the *gathering*, or *the rich lord:* and his physician *Macrob Chan, the lord of my health*, &c. as Peter de la Valle relates in his Travels, p. 465. where he observes the same of his wives, p. 470.

*Zaphnath-Paaneah.*] Which St. Jerome interprets, *the Saviour of the world.* But the whole stream of interpreters carry it for another signification, which is, the *interpreter of secrets*, or *the revealer of future things*. See Sixt. Amama, and Athan. Kirker's Prodromus, cap. 5. and our countryman, J. Gregory, cap. xvi. of his Observations. Who, with Mr. Calvin, thinks it is ridiculous to attempt to make this sense out of the Hebrew language: and yet there are those who think they have done it with success. *Tzaphan* being to *hide* or *cover;* whence *tzaphnath*, that which is *hidden* or *secret;* and *panah*, signifying to *look into* or *contemplate*. So that Campeg. Vitringa thinks Josephus and Philo not to have ill interpreted this word, Ὀνειροκρίτης and κρυπτῶν εὑρετὴς, (Observ. Sacr. lib. i. cap. 5.) an *interpreter of dreams*, and *a finder out of things hidden*. But as Jacchiades observes upon Dan. i. 7. that the Egyptian and Persian kings gave names, *for honour and glory* (in token of their supreme greatness and authority), so it was most for their glory, to give them out of their own language. And therefore, if this be the meaning of *Zaphnath-Paaneah*, the Egyptian tongue and the Hebrew had a great affinity one to the other.

*And he gave him to wife.*] Either the king then disposed of the great noblemen's daughters, when their parents were dead (as our kings lately did of their wards), or Asenath was of Pharaoh's kindred, and so he provided her a husband, and gave her a portion. Or, the meaning simply is, he made this match for him.

*The daughter of Potipherah.*] This is a different name from his who was captain of the guard; and was of a different quality. And therefore there is no reason, from some likeness in their names, to think that Joseph married the daughter of him who had been his master: for he would have abhorred to match with one that was born of so lewd a woman as his mistress; as Vossius well observes in the place forenamed.

*Priest of On.*] Or, prince of On (as the margin hath it); for the word *cohen* signifies both *priest* and *prince*, (see 2 Sam. viii. *ult.*) priests being anciently the prime men of the kingdom; for kings themselves were priests.

On was a famous city in Egypt, called afterwards Heliobolis, which gave name to one of the Νόμοι, *i. e.* provinces of Egypt; whereof this Potipherah was governor, or lieutenant. Concerning which province, and Asenath, and Potipherah, see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedriis, p. 406.

*And Joseph went out over all the land of Egypt.*] To see what places were fittest for stores.

Ver. 46. *Joseph was thirty years old.*] So he had been out of his country thirteen years; for he was but seventeen years old (xxxvii. 2.) when he was sold into Egypt. In which time, we may well think, he had learnt the language of that country, and gained much experience; but never sent to his father; in which there is visibly a special providence of God; for his father might have used means for his deliverance, and then he had never come to this greatness.

*When he stood before Pharaoh.*] When Pharaoh made him his prime minister. For the great counsellors and ministers alone were admitted into the king's presence (in the eastern countries, and, it is likely, the same state was kept here) and are said to *stand before the king*, (Dan. i. 19.) and to *see the king's face*, (Esther i. 14.)

*And went throughout all the land of Egypt.*] He seems to have only taken a general view of the country before, (ver. 45.) but now a more particular; to give orders for the building of storehouses, against the plenteous years came.

Ver. 47. *Brought forth by handfuls.*] Such large ears, that a few of them would make a sheaf: which our translation seems here to mean by *handfuls:* for sheaves are bound up with men's hands. And so it may be interpreted, it brought forth *sheaves*, or *heaps:* or, more literally, *handfuls upon one stalk, i. e.* vast abundance. Some conceive the corn was laid up in sheaves, heaped up very high: and not thrashed out: for so it would keep the longer.

Ver. 48. *And he gathered up all the food.*] The fifth part, as he had proposed, (ver. 34.) *i. e.* he bought it; which he might do at a small price, when there was unusual plenty.

*And laid up the food in the cities.*] It is very probable he laid it up, as it was gathered, unthrashed: that there might be food for the cattle also. So the Vulgar, "In manipulos reductæ segetes congregatæ sunt in horrea." And what was laid up in the first year of plenty, it is reasonable to think was dispensed in the first year of famine, &c.

*Round every city.*] This was very wisely ordered; for it was less charge to Pharaoh for the present, and more easy to the country, when they wanted provision.

Ver. 49. *Gathered corn as the sand of the sea.*] The following words explain this hyperbolical expression. And the reason of his heaping up so much was, that there might be sufficient to supply the necessities of other countries, as well as of Egypt.

Ver. 51. *God hath made me forget all my toil.*] The great affliction and hard labour he endured in prison.

*And all my father's house.*] The unkindness of his brethren, who were the cause of all his trouble. By imposing this name on his first-born, he admonished himself in the midst of his prosperity of his former adversity, which he now thought of with pleasure.

Ver. 52. *In the land of my affliction.*] In the country where I have suffered much affliction.

Ver. 53. *And the seven years of plenteousness were ended.*] It was beside the intention of Moses to relate any of the affairs of that country, but what belonged to this matter: and therefore he passes over all other transactions of these seven years; as he doth all the things that happened in Jacob's family, ever since Joseph came from it.

Ver. 54. *The dearth was in all lands.*] In all the countries thereabouts, Canaan, Syria, &c. It seems there was a general want of rain.

*But in all the land of Egypt there was bread.*] They did not feel the famine presently, because they had much to spare from the former years of plenty.



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Ver. 55. *And when all the land of Egypt was famished.*] When they had eaten up all their own stores, which, we may suppose, failed in two years' time.

*The people cried to Pharaoh,* &c.] Made earnest petitions to the king, for relief of their necessities.

Ver. 56. *And the famine was over all the face of the earth.*] Grew still greater in all the neighbouring countries.

*And the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt.*] For the Egyptians themselves, having spent all their own stores, were sorely pinched.

Ver. 57. *And all the countries came to buy corn,* &c.] *i. e.* The neighbouring countries, as was said before, (ver. 54.) For if the most distant had come, the storehouses had been soon emptied.

*Because the famine was sore in all lands.*] It increased more and more, in those countries beforenamed, which were grievously afflicted by it.

## CHAP. XLII.

Ver. 1. *AND when Jacob saw that there was corn in Egypt,* &c.] He saw, perhaps, some pass by laden with corn, which they had bought there. Or, one sense (as is frequent in Scripture) is put for another: *seeing* for *hearing;* as it is expressed, ver. 2.

*Why do you look one upon another?*] As idle people use to do, while none of them will stir to seek relief. Or, rather, as men that know not what course to take, expecting who would begin to advise for their preservation.

Ver. 2. *That we may live, and not die.*] He excites them to make no further delay, by the great necessity wherein they were; no less than danger of perishing.

Ver. 4. *Lest mischief befal him.*] He being, as yet, but young, and not used to travel, Jacob was afraid the journey might be hazardous to him. Besides, he could not but desire to have some of their company; though this was not his principal reason.

Ver. 5. *Came to buy corn among those that came.*] People came from all parts thereabout, upon the same business: and Jacob's sons among others; whom, perhaps, they met withal upon the road.

Ver. 6. *And Joseph was the governor,* &c.] The Hebrew word *schallit* signifies, sometimes, one that hath absolute power: and seems to be used here to set forth the high authority which Joseph exercised under Pharaoh.

*He it was that sold to all the people of the land.*] Appointed at what rates corn should be sold, in every part of the country. For it is not to be supposed that he in person could treat with every man that came to buy; but he by his deputies, who observed his orders.

*And Joseph's brethren came.*] It should seem by this, that all foreigners were ordered to come to him; in the royal city, where he resided; or, at least, their names were brought to him, that he might speak with such as he thought fit: and thereby get the better intelligence of the state of their several countries; and be sure to see his brethren, who, he knew, would be constrained to come thither.

*They bowed themselves before him,* &c.] Unwittingly fulfilled his dream. This seems to have been done after the manner of their own and other eastern countries; not of Egypt, where they only bowed the knee, (xli. 40.)

Ver. 7. *Spake roughly to them.*] Gave them hard words, as we speak. Or, spake in a harsh tone to them, and with a stern countenance.

Ver. 8. *And they knew not him.*] They had not seen him in twenty years: in which time a youth alters far more than grown men do; so that though he knew them, they might not know him; who appeared also in such pomp and state, that it made them not think of him: and he spake also to them by an interpreter, (ver. 23.) which represented him as a stranger to them.

Ver. 9. *Ye are spies.*] He did not think they were such persons, but said this to provoke them, to give an account of themselves, and of his father. Nor is there any reason to look upon this as a lie. For they are not words of affirmation, but of probation or trial: such as judges use, when they examine suspected persons, or inquire into a crime, of which men are accused. And therefore have the force of an interrogation; *Are ye not spies?* or, I must take you for spies, till you prove the contrary.

*To see the nakedness of the land are ye come.*] The weak places of the country, which are least defensible. Or, as others will have it, *the secrets of the land;* for it is the same word that is used to express the privy parts.

Ver. 11. *We are all one man's sons.*] There needed no more than this to take off his suspicion. For no man would have sent his sons, but rather his servants, if they had come upon an ill design: or, at least, not all his sons; or not all of them together in a company: but dispersed them rather about the country. Nor was it probable, that one man could have a design upon Egypt; but all the great men of Canaan must have joined in it: and then they would have sent men of different families, not all of one alone.

*We are true men.*] This was a good argument that they said true, when they told him (ver. 10.) they had no other business in Egypt but to buy corn.

Ver. 12. *And he said unto them, Nay,* &c.] Unless you have better arguments than this, I must take you for spies. He slights their argument, as great men sometimes do, when they know not presently how to answer it. He had a mind also to have them give a further account of their family, that he might be informed what was become of his brother Benjamin.

Ver. 13. *Thy servants are twelve brethren,* &c.] They enforce their former argument, by relating their condition more fully and distinctly. But still it amounts to no more than this; that it was not likely a parent would venture all his children, in such a design, as they were suspected to come about.

*The youngest is this day with our father.*] This was the thing he desired to know.

*And one is not.*] Is dead. So they thought, because they had heard nothing of him, in twenty years' space.

Ver. 14. *This is that I spake unto you,* &c.] This confirms what I said, and gives me just ground for suspicion, that ye are spies: because you pretend to have another brother, which is not likely; for why should not your father send all, as well as so many? This was but a cavil; but served to compass his end, which was to see his brother.

Ver. 15. *Hereby shall ye be proved.*] By this very thing shall you be tried; whether you be honest men, or no.

*By the life of Pharaoh,* &c.] As sure as Pharaoh lives;

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or, *ita salvus sit*, so let Pharaoh be safe and in health, as I will keep you here, till I see your younger brother. Others expound it, If Pharaoh have any authority here, *i. e.* be king of this country, you shall not stir from hence, &c. But most authors take this for an oath: the original of which is well explained by Mr. Selden, in his Titles of Honour, p. 45. where he observes, that the name of gods being given to kings very early, δι' ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολὴν, (as Aristotle speaks, lib. vi. Ethic. cap. 1.) from the excellence of their heroic virtue, which made them anciently great benefactors to mankind, thence arose the custom of swearing by them, which Aben Ezra saith continued in his time (about 1170) when Egypt was governed by caliphs. If any man swore by the king's head, and was found to have sworn falsely, he was punished capitally. And when Scach Ismael, the first sophi, got the Persian empire, no oath was held so sacred (as Leunclavius reports), as to swear by his head, *i. e.* in effect, by his life.

But St. Basil will not have this to be an oath: but a solemn asseveration, to persuade belief. *For*, saith he, (tom. i. Hom. in Psal. xv. p. 155.) Εισί τινες λόγοι σχήματα μὲν ὅρκων ἔχοντες, οὐχ ὅρκοι δὲ ὄντες, &c. *There are certain speeches which have the fashion of oaths, and yet are not oaths: but θεραπεία πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας, serve only to persuade the auditors.* Such he takes this to be; and that of St. Paul, Νὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν, *by our rejoicing*, 1 Cor. xv. 31. where he saith the apostle was not unmindful of the evangelical commandment, *not to swear:* but by a speech, in form of an oath, he would have them believe that his glorying in them (or rather in Christ) was dearer to him than any thing else. And the truth is, Judah seems to have taken these words of Joseph only for a solemn protestation, (xliii. 3.) wherein he exposed the life of Pharaoh (which was most dear to him) unto execration, if he was not as good as his word. So G. Calixtus understands it.

Ver. 16. *Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother.*] At first he proposed that only one of them should return home, to bring their brother to him; and all the rest remain, in the mean time, prisoners in Egypt.

Ver. 17. *And he put them altogether into ward*, &c.] That they might consult one with another, which of them should go to fetch Benjamin; about which, it seems, they could not agree: every one fearing to be the messenger of such sad tidings to their father; who might suspect they were all lost.

Ver. 18. *Joseph said unto them the third day*, &c.] I have no mind to destroy you: for I know there is a God, who will punish all injustice and cruelty. Therefore I make this new proposition to you.

Ver. 19. *Let one of your brethren*, &c.] This shall be the proof of your honesty. Instead of sending one of you to your father, you shall all go but one; who shall remain bound in prison till you bring your younger brother: and in the mean time carry provision for your families.

Ver. 20. *But bring your youngest brother*, &c.] Fail not to let me see your youngest brother: and so shall you justify yourselves to be no spies: and suffer nothing.

*And they did so.*] They consented to this proposal.

Ver. 21. *And they said one to another.*] They that had the chief hand in the conspiracy against Joseph, began upon this occasion to make the following reflections on it.

*We are verily guilty*, &c.] See the power of conscience, which flies in their face and reproaches them for a fact committed above twenty years ago.

*In that we saw the anguish of his soul*, &c.] We would have no pity, when he besought us with tears; and now nothing that we can say will move this man. They observe their guilt in their punishment. For, as they had thrown Joseph into a pit, so they had been thrown into a prison themselves: and as nothing he could say would incline them to spare him, so now they found Joseph inexorable to them.

This anguish of his soul and his entreaties are not mentioned before, (chap. xxxvii.) but could not but be supposed, if they had not been mentioned here.

Ver. 22. *And Reuben answered them*, &c.] You should have hearkened unto me, and then you had not come into this distress.

*Behold, also, his blood is required.*] You killed him, and now you must pay for it with the loss of your lives. For he thought him to be dead.

Ver. 23. *Spake to them by an interpreter.*] This shews the Egyptian tongue and the Hebrew were different; though in some words they might agree.

Ver. 24. *And he turned himself about from them.*] And went into some other room.

*And wept.*] Natural affection was too strong for the person he put on: and would not suffer him to counterfeit any longer.

*Returned to them, and communed with them.*] When he had vented his passion, and composed himself to his former temper, he repeated to them what he had told them before: but added withal, that if they brought Benjamin with them, they might traffic in the land, (ver. 34.)

*And took from them Simeon.*] Who, the Hebrews say, was the person that put Joseph into the pit: and therefore was now served in his kind. This, I think, may be fairly conjectured, that Reuben being resolved to save him, and Judah also inclined to favour him, if Simeon had joined with them, their authority might have prevailed to deliver him.

*And bound him before their eyes.*] Caused him to be bound in their presence; to strike the greater terror into them.

Ver. 25. *To give them provision for the way.*] That they might carry what they bought entire, for the use of their families.

*And thus he did unto them.*] Thus the person, to whom Joseph gave that command, did unto them.

Ver. 26. *And they laded their asses with corn*, &c.] It is not said how many asses they laded; but one would guess, by what follows, only each man one. For they went only to fetch a present supply: not thinking of providing against a long famine.

Ver. 27. *And as one of them opened his sack*, &c.] Wherein was their provision for the way, (ver. 25.)

Ver. 28. *He said unto his brethren*, &c.] Who all presently opened their sacks and found their money there. For so the story is told by Judah at their return to Egypt, (xliii. 21.) And both by that place and this, it appears this happened to them when they came unto their inn, to rest themselves, in their first day's journey.

*And their heart failed them*, &c.] Their guilt made them

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afraid; otherwise they would have rejoiced. But all things terrify an evil conscience: which made them think some design was laid to undo them all.

*What is this that God hath done unto us?*] Now God was in all their thoughts, as the chief governor of all things; whosoever was the instrument.

Ver. 30. *The man who is the lord of the land.*] By this it appears Joseph was little less than a king, *i. e.* in his authority and sway, which he bare in that country.

*Took us for spies.*] In the Hebrew it is, *he gave us, i. e.* treated us as spies; by delivering us to be put in prison.

Ver. 34. *And ye shall traffic in the land.*] Buy corn, or any thing else the country affords; without any let or impediment.

Ver. 35. *When both they and their father saw the bundles of money,* &c.] They had seen the same before: therefore this is set down to express the fear which Jacob himself was in, at the sight of the money; though we may well suppose their fear was increased, when they perceived him to have the same apprehensions which they had, of some design that might be laid against their lives, when they returned to Egypt, though they brought their younger brother with them.

Ver. 36. *Simeon is not.*] He looked upon him as dead; being in the power of so rough a man, as they described the lord of the land to be: especially if he did not send Benjamin thither, as, for the present, he was resolved not to do.

*All these things are against me.*] Or, *upon me,* as the Hebrew words carry it. These are heavy burdens which lie upon me, not upon you; who can be content to have Benjamin go, after I have lost two of my sons already.

Ver. 37. *Slay my two sons if I bring him not to thee.*] Nothing could be more foolishly said; for what good would it do to Jacob (nay, what an increase of his affliction would it have been), to lose two grandchildren, after he had lost another son? But it was spoken out of a passionate desire to redeem Simeon, and to make more provision for their family: being confident that Joseph (who professed to fear God, ver. 18.) would be as good as his word.

Ver. 38. *He is left alone.*] The only child of his mother.

*Bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.*] You will make me, who am worn away already, die with grief.

## CHAP. XLIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the famine was sore,* &c.] Still increased to a greater scarcity.

Ver. 2. *When they had eaten up the corn that they brought out of Egypt.*] So that they had nothing to live upon but only the poor crop that their own country produced, which could not long sustain them.

*Buy us a little food.*] He hoped, it is likely, the next year would be better; and so only desired a supply of their present necessity.

Ver. 3. *And Judah spake unto him,* &c.] Reuben had spoken to him in vain, (xlii. 37, 38.) and Levi, perhaps, had not recovered his interest in him, since the barbarous action at Shechem: and therefore Judah took upon him to persuade his father; being next in birth, and of no small authority among his brethren.

*Ye shall not see my face.*] But be taken for spies; and so lose their lives.

Ver. 5. *We will not go down.*] Because it would not only have been to no purpose, but also endangered their lives.

Ver. 6. *Wherefore dealt ye so ill with me?* &c.] It was unkindly done of you, to tell him of another brother. For what need was there to say any thing of one who was not with you?

Ver. 7. *The man asked us straightly,* &c.] They having told him, they *were all one man's sons,* (xlii. 11.) he might well ask them, what man's? And whether there were any more of them? And whether their father and brother were yet living?

*And we told him according to the tenour of these words.*] Answered every question as truth required.

Ver. 8. *Send the lad with me.*] *Trust him with me.* He calls him *lad,* because he was the youngest of them all; and one, of whom his father was as tender as if he had been a little child, though indeed he had children of his own, (xlvi. 21.)

*That we may live,* &c.] These were very moving arguments; the preservation of a whole family, Benjamin and all: who, if he went, might return in safety; but, if he stayed at home, must perish with all the rest.

Ver. 9. *I will be surety for him.*] Be bound in what penalty thou pleasest, to bring him back.

*Of my hand shalt thou require him.*] Punish me (who will be answerable for him) if he miscarry.

*Bear the blame for ever.*] Lie under thy displeasure, as long as I live. All this signifies only, that he would do his utmost to secure him: and rather suffer the heaviest thing himself, than lose Benjamin.

Ver. 10. *For except we had lingered,* &c.] If thou hadst not hindered us by these scruples about Benjamin, we had been there and at home again, by this time.

Ver. 11. *Take of the best fruits.*] The Hebrew word *mizzimrath* signifies *of the most praised;* or, as Bochart more literally interprets it, "quæ in hac terra sunt maxime decantata," (par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. v. cap. 9.) *those fruits which are most celebrated in the land of Canaan:* which was as famous for the things following, as Egypt was for corn. And it seems at this time did not want them; which might make them more acceptable in Egypt, where they grew at no time. For Egypt being a low and plain country, and Canaan a hilly, it made their products very different.

*Balm.*] Rather *resin,* as was observed on xxxvii. 25.

*Honey.*] For which this country was famous; especially in some parts of it, about Tekoah, as Bochart also observes. And therefore was a fit present for a king, as we see in the story of David, (2 Sam. xvii. 29.) And was carried from hence to the marts of Tyre. (Ezek. xxxvii. 17.)

*Spices.*] The word *necoth* signifies *storax;* as was also observed before, (xxxvii. 25.)

*Myrrh.*] Which Bochart translates *mastich.*

*Nuts.*] He also proves, by many arguments, that the word *botnim* signifies those nuts we call *pistachioes;* which may well be numbered among the best fruits of the land: being very friendly to the stomach and liver; powerful against poison; and highly esteemed, by the

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ancients, as a delicious food. And so Maimonides and Kimchi expound the word.

*Almonds.*] They are fitly joined with *pistachioes*, as he observes; being *fructus congeneres:* and Dioscorides treats of them together; and Theophrastus describes the *pistachio* as ὅμοιον ταῖς ἀμυγδάλοις, *like unto almonds.* (Vid. Canaan, lib. i.)

Ver. 12. *Take double money.*] Other money besides their first. Which, if it signify as much more as the first, the reason was, because he thought corn might now be grown dearer.

Ver. 14. *If I be bereaved, I am bereaved.*] I submit unto it, and will bear it as patiently as I am able. Or, as some paraphrase it, I have been bereaved of Joseph and Simeon, so now I am of Benjamin: no new things happen to me; but I have been used to such afflictions; which I may therefore bear more equally.

Ver. 15. *Stood before Joseph.*] Presented themselves to him in his office (as we speak), or, in the place where he gave audience to those who came to petition him, or to buy corn of him. For it is plain, by the next verse, that he was not at his own house.

Ver. 16. *Bring these men home.*] Conduct them to my house.

*And slay.*] The Hebrew phrase signifies a *great slaughter;* of several sorts of creatures, perhaps; that there might be a plentiful provision.

Ver. 18. *And the men were afraid,* &c.] Every thing (as was observed, xlii. 28.) terrifies a guilty conscience.

*And fall upon us.*] *i. e.* Kill us.

*And take us for bondmen,* &c.] Rather, *or* take us for bondmen, and our asses.

Ver. 19. *They came near to the steward,* &c.] They desired to speak with him, before they entered into the house, that they might set themselves right in his opinion.

Ver. 20. *We came at the first time to buy food.*] And we paid for it what was demanded.

Ver. 21. *When we came to the inn,* &c.] There we found that very money, to a farthing, in our sacks' mouths, &c.

Ver. 22. *We cannot tell who put our money,* &c.] We are ignorant how it came there; but suppose it was by some mistake: and therefore have brought it again, with new money for another purchase.

Ver. 23. *Peace be to you.*] Trouble not yourselves about that matter.

*Your God, and the God of your fathers,* &c.] This steward had learned of Joseph the knowledge of the true God: to whose kindness he bids them ascribe this event.

*And he brought Simeon out unto them.*] Unbound; as free as themselves.

Ver. 24. *Gave them water.*] Ordered water to be brought, as the custom was, to wash their feet. (See xviii. 4.)

Ver. 26. *Bowed themselves to the ground.*] Here again was Joseph's dream fulfilled. (See xlii. 6.)

Ver. 28. *Thy servant our father,* &c.] Here they made a reverence to him in the name of their father: whereby that part of the dream (xxxvii. 9, 10.) which concerned him, was also fulfilled. And they speak likewise of him in an humble style, signifying his inferiority to Joseph.

Ver. 29. *Saw his brother Benjamin.*] He had seen him before, (ver. 16.) but did not think fit to take notice of him at the first: or, perhaps, was then full of business, when they presented themselves at their first appearance; and had not leisure to speak with them till dinner-time.

*God be gracious unto thee, my son.*] He blessed him, as superiors were wont to do those below them: whom they called their *sons,* with respect to themselves, as fathers of the country.

Ver. 30. *His bowels did yearn.*] He felt a great commotion within himself, which he was not able to keep from breaking out; and therefore he made haste out of the room where they were, as if some other business called him away.

Ver. 31. *Set on bread.*] Set the dinner upon the table.

Ver. 32. *And they set one for him by himself,* &c.] There seems to have been three tables. One where he sat alone in state, another where his brethren sat, and a third where the great men of Egypt were entertained.

*For the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews,* &c.] Because the Hebrews (saith Jonathan) did eat those beasts which the Egyptians worshipped. And to the same purpose writes Onkelos. In which regard the Egyptians were as scrupulous to eat with a Grecian in aftertimes, as now with a Hebrew. So Bochart observes out of Athenæus, lib. vii. Deipnos. where Anaxandrides, a comedian, jeers the Egyptians for worshipping an eel, as a great god, whom we, saith he, think to be most excellent meat. And out of Herodotus, who, in his Enterpe, (cap. 41.) saith no Egyptian man or woman would kiss the mouth of a Greek; nor make use of a knife, a spit, or a pot, belonging to them; nor take a bit of beef cut with a Greek's knife. (See Bochart's Hierozoic. par. vi. lib. ii. cap. 53. And Dr. Spencer, de Rit. Hebr. p. 125.) But though it appear by such passages, that, in the time of Herodotus and other forenamed writers, several animals were held so sacred among the Egyptians that they would not eat them, yet it may well be questioned, whether it were so in the days of Joseph. For there is not the least sign of it in this story; much less of their worshipping such creatures: the worship of the famous ox, called Apis, being a much later invention, as many learned men have demonstrated: and some of them having given probable reasons that Joseph himself was the person at first represented by that figure under the name of *Ab,* i. e. *Father* of his country. (See Ger. Vossius, lib. i. de Idol. cap. 29.)

Therefore it is most likely, that this abhorrence is to be resolved only into the very different manners of the Hebrews from the Egyptians: particularly at their meals, in the way of dressing their meat, or in their eating. For we know some of the Jews themselves afterwards scrupled to eat with those who had unwashen hands; and several nations have avoided such familiarity with others, merely on the account of their different customs; of which the Egyptians were exceeding tenacious, as Herodotus himself informs us, particularly in their eating. For he concludes his discourse about their feasts with this observation: (in his book beforementioned, cap. 28.) Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτέωνται: *Using their own country customs, they receive no other.* And in the ninety-first chapter of the same book he saith, that as they would use no Greek customs, so (to speak all in a word) μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμῶ, &c. *Neither would they use the customs of any other men in the world whatsoever.* Nay, one part of Egypt differed extremely from another: for in the Theban province

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they abstained from sheep, and sacrificed goats; but, in the Mendesian, quite contrary, they abstained from goats, and sacrificed sheep: as he tells us in his Euterpe, (cap. 42.) And the wisest of them were so nicely superstitious, that some of them thought it unlawful to eat of the head of any living creature; others the shoulder-blade; others of the feet; others of some like part. So Sextus Empiricus tells us: (lib. iii. Pyrrh. Hypot. cap. 24.) *Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν σοφῶν εἶναι νομιζομένων, οἱ μὲν κεφαλὴν ζώου φαγεῖν ἀνίερον εἶναι νομίζουσιν*, &c. Upon which score I do not know but such kind of people might be so whimsical, as to refuse to eat with one another.

Ver. 33. *They sat before him.*] For that was the custom before the way of lying upon beds was invented. (See xxvii. 19. xxxvii. 25.)

*And the men marvelled one at another.*] That they should be so exactly disposed, according to the order of their birth: and so kindly treated by one that had lately used them very roughly.

Ver. 34. *And he took and sent messes,* &c.] Ordered those that waited to take and carry messes from his own table unto theirs. For such was the ancient custom, for great men to honour such as were in their favour, by sending dishes to them, which were first served up to themselves: from whence they were called *missa, messes,* things sent. The ancient way of eating also is to be observed, which was not like ours: as appears by Plutarch in his Sympos. lib. ii. Q. *ult.* where he disputes, which was the better custom, to eat out of one common dish, or every one to have a dish to himself, as the manner was in old time; when, all the meat being set on the table, the master of the feast distributed to every one his portion.

*Benjamin's mess was five times as much,* &c.] He had five dishes to their one: which was intended as a peculiar respect to him. Or, as others understand it, there was five times as much meat in his mess, as in one of theirs. Which might well be part of the cause of their wonder, (ver. 33.)

*And they drank.*] After they had dined, plenty of wine was brought in, for every one to drink as much as he pleased. For such is the custom of the Abyssines at this day, not to drink or talk at dinner, but after the meat is taken away; as Ludolphus assures us from Telezius; who takes it to have been the ancient custom among other nations, particularly the Romans; for which he alleges those verses of Virgil, Æneid. i.

> " Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ,
> Crateras magnas statuunt, et vina coronant."

I mention *wine* here in Egypt: for though Herodotus saith in his days they had no *vines,* but used drink made of barley, *i. e.* such as ours, (lib. ii. cap. 77.) yet in the time of Joseph it seems to have been otherwise. For it is not likely the chief butler would have dreamt of a *vine* and *grapes,* and *pressing* them into Pharaoh's cup, (xl. 9, 10, 11.) if he had never seen them in Egypt.

*And they were merry with him.*] So we well translate the last words of this chapter; which signify their drinking plentifully; more liberally than at home: not till they were drunk (as R. Solomon saith some used to abuse this place, to countenance that vice), but till they were very cheerful. For they could not be so senseless, as, before so great a man in a strange place, where they were also full of fear, to make themselves drunk.

## CHAP. XLIV.

Ver. 1. *FILL the men's sacks with food, as much as they can carry.*] This seems to be an order, to load them more liberally than at their first coming, (xlii. 25.)

Ver. 2. *And put my cup,* &c.] The Hebrew word *gabiah* signifies an embossed cup (as we now speak), or a bowl; or goblet with a great belly: which St. Jerome translates *scyphus.* This he ordered his steward to put in Benjamin's sack, that he might make a trial of his brethren's concern for him, and affection both to him and to their father: and whether they would discover any envy to Benjamin, because of his extraordinary kindness to him.

Ver. 3. *The men were sent away.*] Had a pass, we may suppose, from Joseph; to carry so much corn out of the country, as their asses were loaded withal.

Ver. 4. *Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good?*] Being entertained so kindly at my master's table, why have ye stolen his cup?

Ver. 5. *Is not this it wherein my lord drinketh.*] Did you not think this would be presently inquired after?

*And whereby indeed he divineth?*] The Hebrew word *nachash,* which we translate *divine,* it is very likely was anciently of an indifferent signification. And therefore Grotius thinks that Joseph meant by this speech, that he used this cup in his *drink-offerings;* when he sacrificed to prepare himself to receive Divine presages. But, I think, we had better say, there was a kind of divination by cups (though we know not what it was), as we are certain there was by many other things among the Greeks (who borrowed much of their religion from the Egyptians), than give this or other such-like interpretation of these words: particularly, their observing the sparkling of the wine in their libations. For it seems plain to me, that Joseph speaks of the cup he used at his own table; and it is not probable that he used the same in sacrifices to God. Such vessels as were used in Divine service were not used in their own: being held sacred; and therefore separated from common use; and kept so safe, no doubt, that it was not easy to steal them. He speaks therefore of some divination that was used at their meals: which doth not signify that Joseph practised it, nor doth his steward say he did; but only asks such a question, as might make them think he did. For, being a known interpreter of dreams, people, perhaps, thought he was skilled also in the arts of divination. But the words are still capable of a more simple interpretation. For *nachash* sometimes signifies no more than to *make an experiment:* as in the words of Laban, (xxx. 27.) And so the meaning may be (as Aben Ezra expounds this passage), Might you not have considered, that *my master made a trial* (so we interpret in the margin), by laying this in your way, *whether you were honest men or filchers,* as you are now proved to be? Or, as others will have it, *this is the cup wherein he drinks himself, and finds out what is in other men,* when they drink liberally with him at his table as you lately did. But the former is more likely to be the meaning.

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*Ye have done evil in so doing.*] You have rendered yourselves very criminal by this fact. Or, you have done very foolishly in stealing a thing of this nature; which, being in continual use, would be soon missed.

Ver. 7. *God forbid that thy servants,* &c.] They disclaim the charge, with the greatest vehemence.

Ver. 8. *Behold the money,* &c.] And bring a very good proof of their honesty.

Ver. 9. *Both let him die, and we also,* &c.] Sometimes innocence makes men too confident; and less cautious than, in prudence, they ought to be. For their money having been put into their sacks, they knew not how, it was reasonable to have suspected this also might prove true.

Ver. 10. *Now also let it be according to your word,* &c.] I desire not so much; but only that he with whom the cup is found be my bondman, as you propound.

*My bondman.*] He speaks in the name and place of his master; by whom he was sent after them; and for whom he acted.

Ver. 11. *Then they speedily took down,* &c.] They were desirous to have their innocence cleared, without delay.

Ver. 13. *Rent their clothes.*] As the manner was, when any sad thing befel them, (xxxvii. 29. 34.)

Ver. 14. *Judah and his brethren came,* &c.] He is mentioned by name, though not the eldest son; because he was chiefly concerned for Benjamin, (xliii. 9.) and, as the Jews fancy, stood to him in this distress, when the rest would have delivered him up as a bondman: resolving either to set him free, or to be a bondman with him.

*For he was yet there.*] Not gone from home, since he gave order to his steward to pursue them.

*They fell before him on the ground.*] The dream of Joseph was again fulfilled. (See xlii. 6.)

Ver. 15. *Wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?*] Could not I, who foretold this grievous famine, discover such a theft as this, which you have committed?

Ver. 16. *And Judah said.*] He standing bound, as I said, (ver. 14.) for Benjamin to his father, took upon him to plead his cause: which Benjamin, being young, could not do so well himself. And indeed Judah seems to have been a man of the best sense, courage, and eloquence, among them.

*What shall we say to my lord? What shall we speak? or how,* &c.] A most pathetical beginning, and very apt to move compassion!

*God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants,* &c.] Having made some pause, after those words, *How shall we clear ourselves?* he proceeds to an ingenuous acknowledgment, that he and his brethren had been guilty of many sins; for which God had now brought them hither to suffer the punishment of them. Yet he neither confesses this particular guilt, nor denies it, nor excuses it: but, acknowledging God's justice, cast himself and his brethren upon Joseph's mercy.

Ver. 18. *Then Judah came near to him.*] The equity which appeared in Joseph (expressed in the words foregoing) emboldened Judah to approach nearer to him. For he seems to have spoken the former words as soon as he entered the room; when he and his brethren cast themselves down on the ground, (ver. 14.)

*Speak a word in my lord's ears.*] Have a favourable audience for a few words more. For he doth not mean to speak to him privately: and by *a word* he means all the following speech, which he makes as short as it was possible.

*And let not thy anger burn against thy servant.*] And be pleased to hear me out, with patience.

*For thou art even as Pharaoh.*] I know before whom I speak: and therefore will not impertinently trouble thee; but barely lay the state of our case before thee.

Ver. 20. *A little one.*] So Benjamin was, in comparison with themselves.

*He alone is left of his mother,* &c.] We do not read, that they had said this to Joseph before; but only that the youngest was with their father, (xlii. 13. 32.) But no doubt, Judah remembers him now of nothing, but what had been then delivered; but related more briefly than it is here.

Ver. 27. *My wife bare me two sons.*] He called Rachel his wife, as if he had no other, because she was the only person he designed to marry, and was by consequence his principal wife.

Ver. 30. *His life is bound up in the lad's life.*] It so depends upon the life of this son, that if he think he be dead, he will die with grief also.

Ver. 33. *Let thy servant abide instead of the lad,* &c.] It will be the same to thee (nay, I may be able to do thee more service), and the greatest act of pity to our aged father.

Ver. 34. *For how shall I go up to my father,* &c.] I must abide here too, if thou wilt not dismiss him; for I am not able to see my father die.

There is nothing could be said more moving than what is delivered in this speech of Judah's; which flowed, any one may see, from such natural passions, as no art can imitate: which makes me wish that they, who think these historical books of Scripture were written with no spirit but that with which honest men now write the history of their country, or the lives of any famous persons, would seriously read and consider this speech of Judah's to Joseph, together with the foregoing dialogue between Jacob and his sons (from the 19th verse of the forty-second chapter, to the 15th of the forty-third); and, I hope, it may make them change their opinion, and be of the mind of Dr. Jackson. (b. i. on the Creed, chap. 4.) "That seeing such passages are related by men who affect no art, and who lived long after the parties that first uttered them; we cannot conceive how all particulars could be so naturally and fully recorded, unless they had been suggested by his Spirit who gives mouth and speech to men. Who being alike present to all successions, is able to communicate the secret thoughts of forefathers to their children; and put the very words of the deceased (never registered before) into the mouths or pens of their successors, for many generations after: and that as exactly and distinctly, as if they had been caught in characters of steel or brass, as they issued out of their mouth. For it is plain, every circumstance is here related, with such natural specifications (as he speaks), as if Moses had heard them talk; and therefore could not have been thus represented to us unless they had been written by his direction, who knows all things; as well forepast, as present, or to come."

Philo justly admired this speech, which he hath expressed in an eloquent paraphrase: and Josephus hath endeavoured to outdo him.



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## CHAP. XLV.

Ver. 1. *COULD not refrain himself.*] Tears began to run down his cheeks; or, were ready to burst out with such violence that he could not hinder them.

*Cause every man to go out from me.*] He would not have the Egyptians to be witnesses of his brethren's guilt; nor did it become his dignity to be seen by them in such a passion: and therefore he commanded those that attended him to leave him alone with his brethren.

Ver. 2. *He wept aloud.*] Which we express very properly in our language, *he cried.* For tears having been long suppressed, are wont, when they break out, to be accompanied with some noise.

*And the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard.*] They whom he sent forth, being in the next rooms, heard him cry, and reported what a passion he was in to the whole court.

Ver. 3. *I am Joseph.*] This word made them start; as appears by the next verse.

*Doth my father yet live?*] May I believe what you have told me? (xliii. 28.) He saith not this because he doubted of it: but to express his joy at that good news.

*And they could not answer him.*] Being astonished, as it follows, at his presence. For they could not but reflect upon their cruel usage of him; and now saw him in full power to punish them.

Ver. 4. *Come near to me, I pray you.*] This, I think, signifies, that they had started back, as men affrighted: and therefore he invites them kindly to approach him.

*I am Joseph your brother.*] This word *brother*, added to what he said before, (ver. 3.) was a comfort to them. For it shewed that his greatness did not make him forget his relation.

*Whom you sold into Egypt.*] Nor their unkindness alienated his affection from them.

Ver. 5. *Now therefore be not grieved*, &c.] Do not afflict yourselves too much for your sin, because God hath turned it into good.

*God sent me before you*, &c.] When you thought only to be rid of me, God intended another thing, which is now come to pass. For he hath made me an instrument of preserving all your lives. A most happy event of a most wicked deed!

Ver. 6. *Neither earing nor harvest.*] Or, no ploughing, sowing, or harvest. For to what purpose should they sow, when they knew (if they believed Joseph) that nothing would come of it?

Ver. 7. *And God sent me before you*, &c.] He repeats what he had said, (ver. 5.) concerning the hand of God in this business; that, by fixing their thoughts upon his providence, they might be less oppressed with the weight of their own guilt.

*To save your lives by a great deliverance.*] In a wonderful manner.

Ver. 8. *It was not you, but God*, &c.] He mentions this a third time, that they might see he did not think so much on their unkindness, as on God's great goodness: and therefore be confident, he would not remember what they had done to him; but what God had done for them all.

*Hath made me a father unto Pharaoh.*] Given me the authority of a father with him; so that he honours me, and doth nothing without my advice and counsel. And there was very good reason for it, his wisdom being so great and experienced, "Ut non ab homine sed à Deo responsa dari viderentur," (as Trogus, an ancient historian among the heathen, observes) *that his answers seemed not to be given by a man, but by God.* Which made him "regi percharum," *very dear to the king*, as the same author relates, who tells also the story of his being sold by his brethren, who envied his excellent wit. (See Justin, lib. xxxvi. cap. 2.)

*Lord of all his house.*] The principal person in his court.

*And ruler throughout all the land of Egypt.*] Chief governor of the whole country, in which were several provinces, which had distinct governors, who were all under the government of Joseph.

Ver. 10. *Thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen.*] This was that part of the lower Egypt which lay next to Arabia and Palestine, abounding with fair pastures, being watered by many streams from the Nile. Certain it is, it lay next to Canaan; for Jacob went directly thither when he came into Egypt, and stayed there till Joseph came to him, (xlvi. 28.)

*And thou shalt be near unto me.*] Therefore the royal city (where Joseph resided, that he might be always near to Pharaoh) was at this time in the lower Egypt, at Zoan, (Psal. lxxviii. 43.) which other authors call Tanis; which was situated not far from that mouth of the Nile which Plutarch calls τανιτικὸν στόμα. For that part of Egypt is called the *higher* where Nile runs only in one stream; that the *lower* where it divides into many; and from its triangular form is called by the Greeks Δέλτα. In the eastern part of which, or very near it, towards the Red Sea, was this country, called the land of Goshen.

This argues the great authority of Joseph, that he makes such promises as these, before he had asked the consent of Pharaoh.

Ver. 12. *And behold, your eyes see*, &c.] You cannot but be convinced, by the lineaments you see in my face, and by the language which I speak, and by all the things which I have related concerning the state of our family, that indeed it is your brother Joseph who speaks to you. Or, more simply, you have it not by hearsay, which might deceive you; but are eye-witnesses that I am alive, and say these things to you.

Ver. 13. *Tell my father of all my glory.*] Of the great honour which is done me in Egypt.

Ver. 15. *His brethren talked with him.*] After their fright was over, and he had so affectionately embraced them, they conversed freely and familiarly with him; acknowledging, it is likely, their crime, and acquainting him with what had passed in their family since they committed it.

Ver. 16. *And the fame thereof*, &c.] All the court rang (as we speak) with the news of Joseph's brethren being come; and that they were to fetch their father and settle in Egypt. For Joseph (it appears by the next verse) went and acquainted Pharaoh with his desire.

*And it pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants.*] No wonder that Pharaoh, who had raised Joseph so high, was pleased to be kind to his father and family; and the court follows the pleasure of the king.

Ver. 17. *Pharaoh said unto Joseph*, &c.] This no doubt

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was the answer Pharaoh made to Joseph's petition; wherein he grants him not only what he asked, but all conducing to it.

Ver. 18. *I will give you the good of the land,* &c.] The richest part of the country, which produces the noblest fruits.

Ver. 19. *Now thou art commanded.*] Now that thou hast my warrant for it, go about it presently.

Ver. 20. *Regard not your stuff.*] If there be not waggons enough to bring all your stuff, do not matter it; you shall have better here. But the Vulgar seems to take it in a quite contrary sense, as if he had said, *Leave nothing behind you;* but bring all you have with you, if you think good: though whatsoever the land of Egypt affords is all yours.

*All the good of the land of Egypt,* &c.] You shall not want when you come hither, if it be to be had in Egypt.

Ver. 21. *Gave them waggons.*] And horses, no doubt, to draw them; with which Egypt abounded.

Ver. 22. *To each man changes of raiment.*] Two *vests,* or *robes,* as St. Jerome translates it: otherwise there would not have been a change. These were part of the ancient riches, as much as money.

Ver. 23. *After this manner.*] The Hebrew word *cezoth* signifies, according to that which he had given to Benjamin, i. e. *money,* and several changes of raiment: besides what follows, "ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt," &c.

*Bread and meat.*] *i. e.* All manner of provision.

Ver. 24. *See that ye fall not out,* &c.] About what you have formerly done to me, or any thing else that I have said to you. But when you reflect upon your selling me, adore the providence of God, which by that means brought about your happiness and mine.

Ver. 26. *His heart fainted.*] At the mention of Joseph's name he fell into a swoon; being fully persuaded he was dead, and giving no credit to what they said of his being alive.

Ver. 27. *And they told him all the words of Joseph.*] When he was come to himself, they related all that had passed between them and Joseph; how great a man he was, and how desirous to see him, &c. (ver. 13.)

*And when he saw the waggons.*] Had not only heard their relation, but saw also those carriages (which no doubt were splendid, and suitable to Joseph's quality) that were come to bring him into Egypt, he looked upon them as a sufficient confirmation of the good news.

*The spirit of Jacob revived.*] Which Bochart translates, "Pristino vigori restitutus est," *he was restored to his former vigour.* Not only recovered perfectly from his fainting fit, but raised to a greater liveliness than he had felt since the loss of Joseph.

Ver. 28. *It is enough,* &c.] I wish for no more but to see him; and then I shall be content to die.

## CHAP. XLVI.

Ver. 1. *CAME to Beer-sheba.*] Which was in his way from Hebron (where he now lived, xxxv. 27.) into Egypt; lying in the most southerly parts of Canaan, near that wilderness through which the Israelites went when they came from Egypt.

*And offered sacrifice.*] Recommended himself and his family unto God's protection in his journey to Egypt, and unto his preservation when he came there. And he the rather called upon God in this place, because both his father and grandfather had found favour with him here, (xxi. 33. xxvi. 23.)

*Unto the God of his father Isaac.*] Who was his immediate ancestor, and had conferred the blessing of Abraham upon him; and therefore he mentions him rather than Abraham.

Ver. 2. *In the visions of the night.*] See upon xx. 3.

*Jacob, Jacob.*] He redoubles his name to awaken his attention; and he calls him Jacob rather than Israel (as he is called in the beginning of the verse), to remember him what he was originally, and that by his favour he was made Israel.

Ver. 3. *Fear not to go down into Egypt.*] He was afraid, perhaps, that if Joseph should die, his family might be made slaves; for which he had some reason, from what was said to Abraham, in a like vision, (xv. 13.)

*I will make of thee a great nation.*] He renews the promise, which at the same time was made to Abraham, that his seed should be as numerous as the stars of heaven, (xv. 5.)

Ver. 4. *I will go down with thee,* &c.] Take care of thee in thy journey, that no evil shall befal thee; and preserve thee and thy family there.

*And bring thee up again.*] *i. e.* His posterity, who should multiply there: for the Scripture speaks of parents and children as one person.

*Put his hands upon thine eyes.*] Be with thee when thou leavest this world; and take care of thy funeral, when thou art dead. For this was the first thing that was done, when one expired, to close his eyes; which was performed both among Greeks and Romans (as many authors inform us) by the nearest relations, or dearest friends. (See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 7. n. 12. and Menochius de Repub. Heb. lib. viii. cap. 4. qu. xi.)

In short, by these words God assures him that Joseph should not die, while he lived, (as Mr. Selden observes out of Baal-haturim, in his additions to the forenamed chapter, p. 737.) and that he should die in peace, having his children about him.

Ver. 7. *His daughters.*] He had but one daughter, and therefore the plural number is used for the singular (as ver. 23, *sons* is put for *son*), or else he includes his granddaughter, who in Scripture language is called the daughter of her grandfather. But the first seems the truest account, if what is said ver. 13. be considered. Where the whole number of his descendants from Leah being summed up, Dinah (under the name of daughters) must be taken in, to make up three-and-thirty; reckoning Jacob himself also for one of them.

Ver. 9. *Hanoch.*] From whom came the family of the Hanochites, as we read Numb. xxvi. 5.

*Phallu.*] From whom, in like manner, sprung the family of the Phalluites, as Moses there notes; and says the same of the rest of Reuben's sons, that they were the fathers of families, when they came into Egypt.

Ver. 10. *Jemuel.*] This son of Simeon is called Nemuel in Numb. xxvi. 12. and 1 Chron. iv. 24.

*Ohad.*] He is named among the sons of Simeon, when



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Moses was sent to bring them out of Egypt, (Exod. vi. 15.) But either he had no posterity, or they were extinct: for shortly after there is no mention of him, in Numb. xxvi. 12. Nor is he to be found among his sons in 1 Chron. iv. 24.

*Jachin*] Is called Jarib in 1 Chron. iv. 24. and is thought by some to have been the grandfather of Zimri, whom Phinehas slew in his fornication with the Midianitish woman.

Ver. 12. *Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan.*] And therefore are not to be numbered among them that went down into Egypt: but, instead of them, the two sons of Pharez are set down, though, perhaps, not now born; to supply the place of Er and Onan.

*The sons of Pharez were Hezron and Hamul.*] When Jacob went down into Egypt, Pharez was so young, that one can scarce think he had two sons at that time: but they were born soon after, before Jacob died. And St. Austin seems to have truly judged, that Jacob's descent into Egypt comprehends all the *seventeen* years which he lived after it. Or, we may conceive it possible, that their mother was with child of them when Jacob went down into Egypt. For then Pharez is thought to have been *fourteen* years old; at which age it is so far from being incredible that he might have two sons, that, in these later ages, some have begotten a child when they were younger. Jul. Scaliger, a man of unquestionable credit, assures us that in his memory there was a boy, not quite *twelve* years old, who had a daughter by a cousin of his, who was not quite *ten*. "Rem notam narro, et cujus memoria adhuc recens est in Aquitania." *This was a known thing, the memory of which was then fresh in Aquitain.*

Ver. 13. *And the sons of Issachar, Tola.*] Some have wondered that he should give his eldest son a name that signifies a *worm*. Perhaps it was (as Bochart conjectures) because he was a poor shrivelled child when he was born, not likely to live. And yet it pleased God, that he became a great man, from whom sprang a numerous offspring, (Numb. xxvi. 23.) and so fruitful, that in the days of David, there were numbered above *two-and-twenty thousand* of them, (1 Chron. vii. 2.) who were men of might and valour.

Ver. 15. *Which she bare unto Jacob in Padan-Aram.*] She bare the fathers of them there; but the children were born in Canaan.

*All the souls of his sons and daughters,* &c.] See ver. 7.

Ver. 19. *Rachel, Jacob's wife.*] She was his only choice, as was noted before, on xliv. 27.

Ver. 21. *The sons of Benjamin,* &c.] He being now but about *twenty-four* years old, we cannot well think he had all these sons when he went down into Egypt: but some of them were born afterward, before Jacob died, as was said before, (ver. 12.) Yet they are all here mentioned, because they were most of them now born, and all became the heads of families in their tribe. It is possible he might begin so early to beget children, as to have all these before they went into Egypt. (See ver. 12.)

Ver. 26. *Come out of his loins.*] In the Hebrew, *out of his thigh.* A modest expression: the parts serving for the propagation of mankind being placed between the thighs.

*All the souls were threescore and six.*] *i. e.* Leaving out Joseph and his two sons (who did not come with Jacob into Egypt, but were there already) and Jacob himself (who could not be said to come out of his own loins), they made just this number.

Ver. 27. *All the souls which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten.*] There is a remarkable difference between this verse and the foregoing. There (ver. 26.) they only are numbered who came *with Jacob into Egypt:* which were no more than *threescore and six.* But here are numbered all that came into Egypt (*viz.* first and last), which plainly comprehend Jacob, Joseph, and his two sons; and make up *threescore and ten.*

Ver. 28. *And he sent Judah before him.*] Who seems by the whole story to have been the most eminent among Jacob's children, when Joseph was gone; as was noted before, (xliv. 14.)

*To direct his way,* &c.] To give Joseph notice of his coming; and to receive directions from him, in what part of Goshen he should expect him.

*And they came into the land of Goshen.*] Into that part of it which Joseph had appointed.

Ver. 29. *Presented himself to him.*] With such reverence as a son owes to his father, who embraced him most tenderly. For some refer the next words to Jacob, *he fell on his neck,* &c.; which expresses the highest affection.

*And wept on his neck a good while.*] We read before how Joseph fell upon Benjamin's neck, and wept; which was answered by the like endearments on Benjamin's part, (xlv. 14.) But the affection wherewith Jacob embraced Joseph (as Maimonides understands it), or (as R. Solomon Jarchi) Joseph embraced his father, far surpassed that. For they continued longer enfolded in one another's arms; where tears of joy flowed so fast, that for a *good while* they could not speak.

Ver. 30. *And Israel said unto Joseph.*] Some make this an argument, that it was Joseph, who, lighting out of his chariot, threw himself into his father's arms and wept, &c. which made Moses now more distinctly mention who said the following words.

*Now let me die,* &c.] These words signify that he now enjoyed the utmost happiness he could desire on earth; which therefore he was willing to leave, because nothing could be added to it. These were the first thoughts which his passion suggested to him; though to live with Joseph, and to enjoy his conversation, was far more than barely to *see his face.*

Ver. 32. *The men are shepherds,* &c.] He seems to have been afraid, lest Pharaoh should have preferred his brethren, and made them courtiers, or commanders in the army, &c. which might have procured them the envy of the Egyptians: and, besides, have separated them one from another. Whereas, by professing themselves shepherds, and traders in cattle, they kept all together in a body, separate from the Egyptians. Which two reasons are suggested by Josephus.

Ver. 33. *What is your occupation?*] Your way of living: for men did not live idly in those days.

Ver. 34. *Ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been,* &c.] He directs them to justify what he told them he would inform Pharaoh.

*That ye may dwell in the land of Goshen.*] A rich country, abounding with pasturage, and also next adjoining to Canaan, (as was noted before, xlv. 10.) unto which, when the time came, they might the more easily return.

*For every shepherd.*] Not universally, without limitation, but every *foreign shepherd.* For a considerable part of

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the Egyptian people were *shepherds*, as Diodorus Siculus tells us, (lib. i. §. 2. p. 47. edit. Steph.) where he saith, the country being divided into *three* parts, the *priests* had one, their *king* a second, and the *soldiers* a third: and there were *three* other ranks of men under these, *viz. shepherds, husbandmen*, and *artificers*. The husbandmen, he saith, served their king, and priests, and military men, in tilling their ground, for small wages, and spent all their time in it. And the like account, he saith, is given of their shepherds, who, from their forefathers, followed that way of living. Which makes it plain they could not abominate those who were so serviceable to them; though they might contemn them as mean people, who never rose to any higher employment. But we need not go to him for the proof of this: it being apparent from this very book, that the Egyptians had sheep, and oxen, as well as horses and asses, which they sold to Joseph for corn in the time of famine, (xlvii. 17.) and that Pharaoh spake to Joseph to make such of his brethren as were men of skill, rulers over his flocks, (xlvii. 6.) which is a demonstration they bred cattle as well as other nations. And therefore, if we will understand this to be true of all shepherds, without exception, then, by Egyptians (to whom shepherds are said to be an abomination), we must not understand all the people of the country of Egypt (shepherds being a part of them), but only the courtiers and great men, as in xlv. 2. the Egyptians are said to hear Joseph weep, *i. e.* those that belonged to the court: who, it is likely, despised shepherds (as Rupertus Tuitiensis long ago expounded this passage); but that is far short of abominating them, which the Hebrew word imports. But after all this, I do not see how they could be contemptible, if it be true which the same Diodorus saith, p. 58. That when they buried a corpse, and made the funeral encomium, they never mentioned the parentage of the deceased; Ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἅπαντας ὁμοίως εὐγενεῖς εἶναι τοὺς κατ' Αἴγυπτον, *making account that all the people of Egypt were alike well-born.*

We must confine therefore this assertion to foreign shepherds; and it is not easy to give the reason why they were an abomination to the Egyptians, who were shepherds themselves. Onkelos and Jonathan, with a great many others, think that they would not converse (for that is meant by abomination) with the Hebrew shepherds; because they had no greater regard to those creatures which the Egyptians worshipped, than to breed them up to be eaten. But there is no good proof that they worshipped sheep or oxen in those days: and, on the contrary, it appears both out of Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, that they sacrificed such creatures in their days, and also eat of the sacrifices when they had done. (See Herodot. in Euterpe, cap. 40, 41.) And therefore the reason given by others for this abhorrence is not solid; that the Egyptians did eat no flesh, and upon that score could not endure those that did. This is the account which Aben Ezra gives of this matter; who fancies they were like the Indians, in his time, who abominated shepherds, because they drunk milk; contrary to their manners, who tasted nothing that came from any living creature. But, as it cannot be proved that this superstition was so old as Jacob's time; so the contrary is evident from this very book, (xliii. 16.) where Joseph bids his steward go home and *slay and make ready* a dinner for his brethren: whom he did not intend to entertain after the Hebrew but after the Egyptian fashion; that he might not be known by them. And so Herodotus informs us, that in his days, though they abstained from some animals, yet they eat of others, both fish and birds: (Euterpe, cap. 78.) And Diodorus, giving an account after what manner their kings lived, saith they used a simple diet, eating *veal and geese*, &c. (lib. i. §. 2. p. 45. edit. Steph.)

Jos. Scaliger therefore thinks this sort of men were abominable, because they had often raised rebellion in Egypt, and made a king of their own; who erected that which is called the *pastoral kingdom*. This is embraced by many great men, who have only the authority of Menetho for it; who says, these were Phœnician shepherds (as Josephus tells us, lib. i. contra Appion.) who reigned in Egypt, burnt their cities, and threw down their temples; in short, omitted no sort of cruelties. Upon this account the famous Bochartus (lib. iv. Canaan. cap. 4.) thinks it possible the Egyptians hated shepherds, who had done so much mischief: and, I may add, the Hebrew shepherds Joseph might think would be more abominated, because they came out of that very country, from whence those Phœnician rovers made their invasion. But as it doth not appear that they who did the forenamed mischief, were all foreigners; so the time which is assigned for this *pastoral kingdom* doth not agree with the Scripture story. For it is said to have been in the one thousand one hundred and twelfth year before the Israelites going out of Egypt; in the fifteenth dynasty, as they call it; that is, about two-and-forty years after the flood, when Mizraim the father of the Egyptians was scarce born, or was very young.

Our great primate Usher endeavours to avoid this absurdity, by placing this invasion (which he thinks was out of Arabia) three hundred years after the flood: when they took Memphis, overrun all the lower Egypt, and their first king there reigned nineteen years. But I have this to except; that Abraham, coming a good while after this into Egypt, was well entertained there; though he was as much a shepherd as his grandchild Jacob. (See Gen. xii.)

From whence I conclude, that if this story of Manetho be true, it happened after the time of Abraham; and so was fresh in their memory. Such a third rebellion of the shepherds the same Manetho mentions, within less than two hundred years before the children of Israel's departure out of Egypt. But this seems to be a story, framed from that departure of the Israelites themselves (who were shepherds) out of Egypt under the conduct of Moses. And so Josephus and several of the ancient Christians (Tatianus, Justin Martyr, and Clem. Alexandrinus) understood it. (See Usser. ad An. M. 2179.)

All this considered, Gaulmin (in his notes upon the book called the Life of Moses, p. 267, &c.) hath more probably conjectured, that this aversion to shepherds arose from their being generally addicted, in those parts, to robbery: which way of life made them abominable. This he justifies out of Heliodorus (lib. i.) and Achilles Tatius, (lib. iii.) who describe the seat of these Βουκόλοι and Ποιμένες (whom the Egyptians called *Hysch*), and the manner of their life. To which opinion I find Bochart himself inclined before he died, and confirms it (in his Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 44. par. i.) by many proofs, that shepherds anciently were *furax hominum genus*, a thievish sort of people; which

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made them odious. Against which I see no exception but this; that Aulus Gellius tells us, (lib. xi. cap. 18.) out of an ancient lawyer, that the old Egyptians held all manner of thefts to be lawful, and did not punish them. And Diodorus Siculus mentions this law among them, That they who would live by robbery, were to enter their names, and bring what they stole immediately to the priest, who mulct the man that was robbed a fourth part, and gave it to the thief; by which means all thefts were discovered, and men were made more careful, to look well after their goods. But one cannot believe this law was of such antiquity as the times of Joseph: or, if it was, those outlaws (as I may call them) who robbed upon the borders, were not concerned in it: nor had their neighbours, who were no less addicted to theft, the benefit of it. Particularly those in Palestine, from whence Jacob came, one would guess by what we read 1 Chron. vii. 21, 22. were then much addicted to robbery. For, before this generation ended, we are told there the men of Gath slew several of the sons of Ephraim (who himself was then alive), "for they came down to take their cattle," saith that holy writer; that is, to get what plunder they could in Goshen: where the Ephraimites, defending their cattle, were some of them killed by the Philistines, to the great grief of their father. The Ethiopians also are noted by Strabo (lib. xvii. p. 787.) to live for the most part, Νομαδικῶς καὶ ἀπόρως, after a very poor, sharking, roving manner, by feeding cattle, where they could find food for them. And immediately adds, Τοῖς δ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἅπαντα τἀναντία συμβέβηκε, that all things were quite contrary among the Egyptians, who were a more civilized people, inhabiting certain and known places, &c. Which shews that their manners were very different; which easily bred hatred. Which appears by what Plutarch saith (in his book de Isid. et Osir.) that the Egyptians avoided the conversation of *black people:* which was the complexion of the Ethiopians. And for some such reason, he saith, in the same book, they avoided all mariners (of other nations, that is), as here Moses says they did shepherds, upon some or other of the accounts beforementioned.

It looks like a piece of great generosity in Joseph, not to conceal from Pharoah the quality of his family: though such kinds of men were under a very ill character. He hoped they would distinguish themselves from such vile shepherds as had made the name odious: and if they did not gain the love of the Egyptians, they would be the more secured in the love of God, by not learning their evil manners and superstitions: from which they would be preserved, by having no conversation with them.

## CHAP. XLVII.

Ver. 1. *JOSEPH came and told Pharaoh,* &c.] He had his warrant sometime ago, to send for his father and his family, (xlv. 17. &c.) But it was good manners to acquaint him they were come; and to know his pleasure, how he should dispose of them.

*Behold, they are in the land of Goshen.*] They stop there (which was the entrance of Egypt) till they know thy pleasure.

Ver. 2. *And he took some of his brethren,* &c.] The Hebrew word *miktse* (which we translate *some*) signifies in common language, *de extremitate,* from the fagg-end, as we speak, of his brethren: which hath made some imagine, he presented the meanest of his brethren to Pharaoh; that he might neither be afraid of them, nor think of advancing them to employments in the court or camp. But this is a mere fancy; the word here denoting only, that he took from among all his brethren five of them: as Bochart observes, who translates it *ex omnibus fratribus suis;* taking it to be like that phrase (xix. 4.) where we translate it, *from all quarters,* (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 34.)

Ver. 3. *Both we and our fathers.*] It is not an employment we have lately taken up, but were bred to it by our ancestors; who followed the same profession. For this was the most ancient way of living, as Columella observes in his Preface. "In rusticatione antiquissima est ratio pascendi, eademque quæstuosissima." *In country business, the most ancient, as well as most gainful, is the way of feeding cattle.* From whence he thinks came the name of *pecunia* for money, and *peculium,* for riches, *à pecoribus,* from cattle; because the ancients had no other possessions. "Et adhuc apud quasdam gentes unum hoc reperitur divitiarum genus." *And to this day,* (saith he,) *there is no other riches to be found among some nations.* Which is still true of the Abyssines, especially of the Beklenses, as Ludolphus assures us, (lib. i. Hist. Ethiop. cap. 10. §. 8. and Comment. in Histor. lib. iv. cap. 4. n. 13.)

Ver. 4. *To sojourn in the land are we come.*] We do not desire to settle, but only to sojourn here, during the famine.

*For the famine is sore in the land of Canaan.*] It was a high country, in comparison with Egypt; and the grass sooner burnt up there than in Goshen, which being a very low country, they found some pasture in it for their flocks, and therefore beseeched him to suffer them to dwell there. For, as St. Austin observes, from those that knew the country, there was more grass in the marshes and fenny parts of Egypt, when the Nile did not overflow enough to make plenty of corn. (Quæst. clx. in Gen.)

Ver. 6. *The land of Egypt is before thee.*] It is all in thy power: dispose of them as thou pleasest.

*Any man of activity.*] Vigorous and industrious; and that understands his business.

*Make them rulers over my cattle.*] Such as Doeg was to Saul, (1 Sam. xxi. 7.) and those great officers mentioned 1 Chron. xxvii. 29, 30, 31. were to King David. For the eastern kings raised part of their revenue from cattle; and so did the Egyptian (it appears by this place) who had some prime officers, to oversee the lower sort of shepherds. This shews that all shepherds were not an abomination to the Egyptians, but only those of other neighbouring nations (the Arabians, Phœnicians, and Ethiopians), who were either an ill sort of people, or forbidden by the law of Egypt (which abounded with cattle) to traffic with them there.

Ver. 7. *Jacob blessed Pharaoh.*] Gave him thanks for his favour; and prayed for his health and safety: for that is the blessing of an inferior to a superior. Thus Naaman prays Elisha, "Take a blessing of thy servant," *i. e.* an acknowledgment of my obligations to thee.

Ver. 9. *Pilgrimage*] So good men are wont to call their life; though they never stir from their native soil: looking upon it as a passage, not a settlement. But Jacob had

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reason to call his life so more literally: having been tossed from place to place, ever since he went from his father's house in Mesopotamia, and returned from thence into Canaan: where he dwelt awhile at Succoth; and then at Shechem; and after that removed to Bethel; and so to Hebron unto his father Isaac; from whence he was now come into Egypt.

*Few and evil have been the days,* &c.] They had been *few,* in comparison with his forefathers; and *evil,* because full of labour and care, grief and sorrow, upon many occasions.

Ver. 10. *Jacob blessed Pharaoh.*] At meeting and at parting such salutations were usual. (See ver. 7.)

Ver. 11. *In the land of Rameses.*] In that part of Goshen which in the days of Moses was called Rameses; from the name of the city which the Hebrews built there for Pharaoh. Unless, perhaps, the city was called so from the country of Rameses, wherein it stood.

Ver. 12. *And Joseph nourished his father,* &c.] Though there was some pasture in this country for their cattle, yet not food enough for themselves; which Joseph therefore took care to supply them withal.

*According to their families.*] According as their children were more or fewer, so he proportioned their allowance.

Ver. 13. *There was no bread in all the land.*] This was the third year of the famine, (xlv. 6.) in which all the corn, which men had stored up in their several families, was wholly spent.

Ver. 14. *And Joseph gathered up all the money,* &c.] As long as the Egyptians had any money left, they bought corn of Joseph, which supported them all the third, and, it is probable, the fourth and fifth years of the famine.

*And Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house.*] Into the treasury; which he filled, and not his own coffers, as Philo observes.

Ver. 15. *And when money failed.*] This, we may probably conceive, was in the sixth year of the famine, when they were forced to sell their cattle for food.

Ver. 18. *They came the second year.*] *i. e.* The next year after the sale of their cattle; which was the last of the famine, as appears from the next verse.

Ver. 19. *Wherefore should we die, we and our land?*] The land is said to die (as Bochart observes, in the beginning of his Hierozoicon), "cum inculta jacet et desolata," *when it lies untilled and desolate:* as he shews by examples out of some poets.

*We and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh.*] We that were free will become the king's bondmen: and our land, which was our own, we will hold of him.

*And give us seed,* &c.] This shews it was now the last year of the famine: they desiring corn not merely for food, but also to sow, in hopes to have a crop the next year. For Joseph had told them there should be but seven years of famine: and it is likely Nilus had now begun to overflow the country, as formerly; which confirmed his word.

Ver. 20. *And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh.*] So the whole country became the king's demesne; in which no man had any property but himself.

Ver. 21. *As for the people, he removed them to cities.*] Remote from those wherein they had formerly dwelt. Under the word *cities,* are comprehended all the villages about them.

*From one end of the borders of Egypt,* &c.] Transplanted them into far-distant parts of the country; from whence he brought others, in like manner, into their places: that they might in time forget the dominion they formerly had in the lands they had sold; and that there might be no combination afterward to regain them: the old owners being separated far one from another.

Ver. 22. *Only the land of the priests bought he not.*] This is commonly noted, as a great piece of religion in Joseph, that he took not away the land of those who were God's ministers: though engaged, it is thought, in superstitious, if not idolatrous, services (for, that the word *cohanim* here signifies *priests,* not *princes,* as sometimes it doth, the ancient versions generally agree). But it is plain they were in no necessity to sell their lands, having their diet continually from the king; which is given as the reason (in the following part of this verse) why he did not buy them. This therefore is rather to be observed, that the priests had anciently some public lands allotted to them for the support of their dignity. For both Herodotus and Diodorus tell us, they had a public maintenance, as Vossius observes, (lib. i. de Idolol. cap. 29.) The priesthood being confined to certain families (as it was in Israel to that of Aaron), and held in such veneration, that they were all not only ἀτελεῖς, *free from paying tributes,* and δευτερεύοντες μετὰ τὸν Βασιλέα, *next to the king in honour and in power;* but received a third of the royal revenues: out of which they maintained the public sacrifices, and their servants, and τὰς ἰδίας ἐχορήγουν, *provided for their own necessities.* Thus Diodorus Siculus, (lib. i.) as I find him alleged by Jac. Capellus, in his Hist. Sacra et Exot. ad A. M. 2294. Constantine the Great, in part, imitated this constitution, in that law of his, which made even all the professors of learning free from all public charges of any sort, besides the salary he allowed them; that they might the more cheerfully follow their several studies.

Ver. 23. *Behold, I have bought you this day, and your land,* &c.] The bargain could not be denied; but he would not be so rigid as to tie them strictly to it. For in the next verse, he requires only a fifth part of the increase of their ground for the king; and tells them, the rest should be their own. An act of great humanity and equity: wherein he shewed himself both a good man and a wise statesman; in taking away all matter of complaint from the people. For a tenth part of the increase was due, in all likelihood, to the king before, (xxviii. 22.) which he now only doubles: when he might have taken all; or given them but one or two parts, and kept all the rest for the king.

Ver. 25. *Thou hast saved our lives,* &c.] We owe our very lives to thee: and therefore let us but have thy favour, and we shall willingly be Pharaoh's servants. This is a high expression of their thankfulness, for such good terms as he offered them; which they readily accepted, with professions of their obligation to be Pharaoh's bondmen.

Ver. 26. *Joseph made it a law.*] By his advice this law was enacted; whereby the power of the Egyptian kings was mightily increased; for we read not of the like constitution in any other nation. Thucydides indeed relates that the people of Attica paid to Pisistratus the twentieth part of their corn; and Appianus Alexandr. says, the old Romans paid the tenth of their corn, and the fifth of their fruit: but it was the peculiar prerogative of the Egyptian

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kings to have the fifth of all the increase of the field: which Joseph procured them by his admirable management.

Ver. 27. *And Israel dwelt in the land,* &c.] Ver. 11.

*And they had possessions therein.*] They could have no land of their own (for all the country was become Pharaoh's), but the meaning is, they farmed (as we speak) land of the king, to whom they became tenants.

*And grew and multiplied exceedingly.*] And consequently enlarged their habitation beyond the territory of Rameses, where they were first placed, into other parts of Goshen. Which we must not fancy to have been a country now empty of people: for though, perhaps, about Rameses there might be some vacant ground, sufficient for Jacob's family, when they came first to plant there; yet, when they increased very much, no doubt they lived among the Egyptians, where they could find admission. This plainly appears at their going from thence, (Exod. xii. 22, 23.) where God commands them to sprinkle their door-posts with the blood of the paschal lamb, to secure them from the destruction which was coming upon their neighbours, who wanted this mark of safety.

Ver. 29. *If I have now found grace in thy sight.*] This is a phrase used a little before, (ver. 25.) in a little different sense. For there it signifies the *favour* shewn to another: but here is as much, as *If thou lovest me.*

*Put thy hand under my thigh.*] *i. e.* Swear to me, as it is explained in ver. 31. (See xxiv. 2.)

*Deal kindly and truly with me.*] Shew me true kindness, in promising and performing what I desire. (See xxiv. 27. 49.)

Ver. 30. *I will lie with my fathers,* &c.] So all men naturally desire to do: but he had a peculiar reason for it. Which was his belief that the country where their bodies lay, was his in reversion; and that God, in due time, would put his children into possession of it. For which time they could not but the more earnestly long, because the bodies of their ancestors were there buried. (See l. 5.) Which explains the reason why Jacob exacts an oath of Joseph, not because he doubted he might not otherwise fulfil his desire; but that Pharaoh might be willing to let him carry his body thither, when he found he lay under so sacred an obligation to do it.

Ver. 31. *And Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head.*] Raised up his head from his pillow, and bowed: either to Joseph, in thankfulness for his promise; or to God, for the assurance he had received, that he should be buried with his pious forefathers: or else this bowing was the usual ceremony wherewith an oath was attended. The Chaldee paraphrast thinks the Divine Glory now appeared; which Jacob devoutly worshipped. But, if the author to the Hebrews had not understood his bowing to be an act of worship, the interpretation of some modern writers might, perhaps, have been thought reasonable; who translate these words thus, *he laid himself down on his pillow:* as weak men are wont to do, after they have set up awhile, to dispatch some business. For the Hebrew word *schacah,* which signifies *to bow the body,* signifies also to *fall down* upon the earth; and therefore might be here translated *lie down.* But the apostle, as I said, hath overruled all such conceits, if we suppose him to translate this passage, Hebr. xi. 21. Which to me indeed doth not seem evident. For the apostle is there speaking of another thing; not of what Jacob did now, when Joseph sware to him; but of what he did *after these things,* (xlviii. 1.) when he blessed Joseph's sons. Then the apostle says, "he worshipped upon the top of his staff." Which is not the translation of Moses's words in this place: but words of his own, whereby he explains the following story; and shews how strong his faith was, when his body was so weak that he was not able to bow himself and worship without the help of his staff. This clearly removes all the difficulty, which interpreters have made, about reconciling the words of Moses here in this verse, to the apostle's words in that.

But however this be, Jacob's bowing here, I doubt not, signifies worshipping; as the Vulgar Latin takes it: where the word God is added (which is not in the Hebrew), and these words thus translated, *Israel worshipped God, turning himself to the bed's head.*

## CHAP. XLVIII.

Ver. 1. *AFTER these things.*] Some time after, though not long (for Jacob was nigh his end, when he sent for Joseph to make him swear he would bury him with his fathers), he grew so weak, that he concluded he could not live long.

*One told Joseph.*] A messenger was sent from his father's house, to acquaint Joseph with his weak condition. So the next verse teaches us to understand it.

*He took with him,* &c.] Immediately he went to receive his blessing, and took with him his two sons, that he might bless them also.

Ver. 2. *One told Jacob,* &c.] Joseph sent a messenger before him, to let his father know he was coming to visit him.

*Israel strengthened himself.*] This message revived him; and made him stir up all his spirits to receive him cheerfully.

*And set upon his bed.*] Leaning, it is likely, upon his staff, for the support of his feeble body. (See xlvii. *ult.*)

Ver. 3. *Appeared to me at Luz.*] He appeared twice to him in this place. First, when he went to Padan-Aram, (xxviii. 13.) upon which he gave this place the name of Bethel, (ver. 19.) and when he returned from thence, (xxxv. 6. 9. &c.) and, both times, made him the promise which here follows; and therefore it is likely he hath respect to both.

*And blessed me.*] Promised to me the blessing which follows.

Ver. 4. *For an everlasting possession.*] We do not read this in either of the appearances, in so many words: but he said it in effect, when he told him, in the last appearance there, (xxxv. 12.) "The land which I gave to Abraham, and Isaac, to thee will I give it," &c. Now he gave it to Abraham and his seed *for ever,* (xiii. 15.)

Ver. 5. *And now thy two sons,* &c.] Having assured him God would be as good as his word, in giving the land of Canaan to his posterity, he tells him what share his children should have in it.

*Are mine.*] Thy two sons shall be reckoned as if I had begotten them: and accordingly have each of them an inheritance, equal with the rest of my sons; and be distinct tribes.

*As Reuben, and Simeon, shall they be mine.*] He instances in them, because they were his eldest sons: who, he says, should have no more than Ephraim and Manasseh. And, perhaps, the meaning may be, these two shall be accounted as the first-born of my family. For he gives Joseph

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the primogeniture (who was indeed the first-born of his first intended wife), and bestows a double portion upon him; by making his two sons equal to the rest of his children.

Ver. 6. *And thy issue which thou begettest after them shall be thine.*] I will make no distinct provision for them, as I have done for these two: but they "shall be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance," *i. e.* be reckoned among these two, Ephraim and Manasseh; and not make distinct tribes as they shall, but be comprehended in them.

Ver. 7. *And as for me, when I came from Padan-Aram, Rachel died by me,* &c.] He mentions her death (which doth not seem to belong to the foregoing discourse), because it happened presently after that last promise in Bethel, (xxxv. 18.) and he thought it would be grateful to his son, to hear him remember his dear mother. For it is as if he had said, *And now, my son, this puts me in mind of thy mother, who died immediately after that promise of multiplying my seed: and yet I see it fulfilled in those children which God hath given thee.* Or, we may look upon these words, as giving the reason why he took Ephraim and Manasseh to be his own children; and the sense to be as if he had said, *Thy mother indeed, and my beloved wife, died soon after she began to bear children; when she might have brought me many more: and therefore I adopt these her grandchildren,* and look upon them as if they had been born of Rachel. And I do it in memory and honour of her, *supplying by adoption, what was wanting in generation.*

*And I buried her there.*] He could not carry her to the cave of Machpelah, where he desired to be laid himself; because she died in childbed, which constrained him to bury her sooner than otherwise he might have done. And it is to be supposed he had not in his travels all things necessary to preserve her body long, by embalming her, as Joseph did him.

Ver. 8. *And Israel beheld Joseph's sons,* &c.] He saw two others stand by Joseph; but could not discern distinctly who they were, by reason of the dimness of his sight, (ver. 10.)

Ver. 9. *And I will bless them.*] As he had just before promised, (ver. 5.)

Ver. 10. *And he brought them near unto him.*] And made them kneel down before him; as the twelfth verse seems to intimate.

*And he kissed them,* &c.] Expressed the greatest affection to them.

Ver. 12. *Brought them out from between his knees.*] It appears by ver. 2. that Jacob sat upon his bed; and his legs hanging down, they kneeled between his knees: from whence Joseph took them. And then seems to have placed himself in the same posture, "bowing himself with his face to the earth" (as the following words tell us), to give his father thanks for his kindness to his children. Or, rather, we may conceive, that while Jacob embraced them in his arms, and kissed them with more than ordinary affection, Joseph was afraid that they might lie too long, or press too hard, upon his father's breast, and create some trouble to a feeble old man: and therefore he withdrew them from thence, and disposed them to receive his blessing.

Ver. 13. *And Joseph took them both,* &c.] Made them kneel down by himself, before Jacob; placing Ephraim towards Jacob's left hand, &c.

Ver. 14. *Stretched out his right hand, and laid it on Ephraim's head.*] Laying hands on the head of any person, was always used in this nation in giving blessings, and designing men to any office; and in the consecration of public and solemn sacrifices. This is the first time we meet with the mention of it; but in aftertimes we often read of it; particularly when Moses constituted Joshua to be his successor, God orders him to do it by laying his hands on him, (Numb. xxvii. 18. 23. Deut. xxxiv. 9.) Thus children were brought to our blessed Saviour, that he might lay his hands on them and bless them; and so he did, (Matt. xix. 13. 15.) And the right hand being the stronger, and that wherewith we commonly perform every thing, the laying that on Ephraim's head was giving him the pre-eminence.

*Who was the younger.*] It is observed by Theodoret upon 1 Sam. xvi. that God was wont from the beginning to prefer the younger before the elder: as Abel before Cain; Shem before Japheth; Isaac before Ishmael; Jacob before Esau; Judah and Joseph before Reuben; and here Ephraim before Manasseh, as afterwards Moses before Aaron; and David, the youngest of all, before his elder brethren. Which was to shew that the Divine benefits were not tied to the order of nature; but dispensed freely according to God's most wise goodness.

*Guiding his hands wittingly.*] He did not mistake, by reason of his blindness; but foreseeing, by the spirit of his prophecy, how much Ephraim would excel the other, he designedly and on purpose thus laid his hands across: so that the right hand lay upon the head of Ephraim, who was next to his left, &c.

Ver. 15. *He blessed Joseph.*] In the blessing he bestowed on his children.

*All my life long.*] The Hebrew word *mehodi* signifies *à die quo ego sum,* (as Bochart interprets it, Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 14.) *ever since I had a being.*

Ver. 16. *The angel which redeemed me.*] Who, by God's order, and as his minister, preserved me in all the dangers wherein I have been. Many of the ancient fathers (as Athanasius, lib. iv. contra Arianos, Cyril upon this place, Procopius Gazæus, &c.) understand hereby an uncreated angel, *viz.* the Second Person of the blessed Trinity. "But the discourse is not concerning the sending of the Son of God in our flesh to redeem mankind, but only concerning the preservation and prosperity of one man; and therefore I do not know whether it be safe to call him an angel, *i. e.* a minister or messenger, lest we detract from his Divinity. For in conferring blessings, he is not a messenger or minister, but a principal cause together with the Father." They are the words of that famous divine, Georg. Calixtus; who follows St. Chrysostom; who takes this *angel* to be one properly so called: and thence proves the heavenly ministers take care of pious people. And so doth St. Basil in no less than three places of his works: which shew it was his settled opinion. But it did not enter into their thoughts that Jacob here prayed to an angel; but only wished these children might have the angelic protection, by the special favour of God to them. For it is just such an expression as that of David, to a contrary purpose, (Psalm xxxv. 6.) "Let the angel of the Lord persecute them," where nobody will say he prays to an angel; though his words are exactly like these of Jacob's.

*And let my name be named on them.*] Here he plainly



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adopts them to be his children, as he said before he would, (ver. 5.) For to be called by one's name (which is the same with having his *name named* on them), is as much as to be one's children. For thus they that are said to be *called by God's name*, became his peculiar people. Therefore Tostatus well interprets it, "Sint duo capita tribuum inter filios Jacob:" *Let them be the heads of two tribes among the sons of Jacob.* But none so plainly as David Chytræus, whose words are these, "Vera et simplicissima sententia hæc est; Isti pueri, à me adoptati," &c. *The true and most simple sense is, These youths, Manasseh and Ephraim, who are adopted by me, shall not hereafter be called the sons of Joseph, but my sons: and be heirs, and in the division of the inheritance of the land of Canaan, receive an equal portion with my sons.*

*Grow into a multitude.*] The Hebrew word, as Onkelos interprets it, signifies *increase like fishes* (as we also in the margin translate it), which are the most fruitful of all creatures, as authors commonly observe. (See Bochart, par. i. lib. i. cap. 6. Hierozoic.)

Ver. 19. *His younger brother shall be greater than he.*] His family multiplied faster, according to the signification of his name: as appears from Numb. i. 33. 35. And the kingdom was afterwards established in him; and all the ten tribes called by the name of Ephraim.

*Shall become a multitude of nations.*] In the Hebrew, the words are *fulness of nations, i. e.* of families. As much as to say, his seed shall replenish the country with numerous families: for that which replenishes the earth, is called "the fulness of the earth," (Psalm xxiv. 1.) and that which replenishes the sea, "the fulness of the sea," (Psalm xcvi. 11. Isai. xlii. 10.) See L. de Dieu.

Ver. 20. *And he blessed them that day.*] He concluded with a solemn benediction upon them both: and when he pronounced it, worshipped God, (as the apostle tells us, Hebr. xi. 21.) leaning upon the top of his staff. Whereby he was supported from falling; of which he would have been in danger, when he bowed, if he had not leaned on it.

*In thee shall Israel bless.*] When my posterity would wish all happiness to others, they shall use this form of speech; *God make you like Ephraim and Manasseh.* Which continues, they say, among the Jews to this day.

Ver. 21. *Bring you again into the land of your fathers.*] Where your fathers sojourned; and which God bestowed upon them in reversion.

Ver. 22. *Which I took out of the hand of the Amorite,* &c.] He doth not mean the city of Shechem; which his sons took unjustly and cruelly (and not from the Amorites, but the Hivites), without his knowledge, and contrary to his will: but that piece of land which he bought of Hamor the father of Shechem, (Gen. xxxiii. 19. compared with St. John iv. 5.) Which seems to be the reason why Joseph was himself here buried in his own ground, given him by his father, (Josh. xxiv. 32.) and not in the cave of Machpelah. The only difficulty is, how he could say, that he took this land from the *Amorite by his sword, and by his bow* (which comprehend all warlike instruments), when he bought it for a hundred pieces of silver of Hamor the Hivite. It is to be supposed therefore that he *took it, i. e. recovered it* from the Amorites, who had seized on it, after his removal to another part of Canaan; and would not restore it, but constrained him to drive them out by force. We read nothing indeed in the foregoing history, either of their invading his possession, or his expelling them thence: but the Scripture relates many things to have been done, without mentioning the circumstances of time and place; as Bochartus observes. And among other instances gives that in xxxvi. 24. where Ana is said to have met with the Emims (so he understands it) in the wilderness: of which encounter we find no mention in any other place. (See his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 13.) And, as I take it, we have a plainer instance in the place a little before mentioned, (Hebr. xi. 21.) where the apostle says, Jacob, when he was dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph, "and worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff." Of which there is not a word in this history, but only of his blessing them, (ver. 20.)

There are those who, with St. Jerome, understand by *sword and bow*, his money: which he calls by those warlike names, to signify this was the only instrument he used to acquire any thing. Just as the Romans, when they would signify they had got any thing without any other help but their own industry alone, say they obtained it *proprio marte;* using a similitude from military expenses and labours. If this do not seem harsh, it is not hard to give an account why he calls those Amorites, who before were called Hivites: for Amorites seems to have been the general name of all the seven nations of Canaan, they being the chief; just as all the people of the seven United Provinces are now commonly called Hollanders, who are the most potent of all the rest.

## CHAP. XLIX.

Ver. 1. *JACOB called unto his sons.*] When he had done speaking with Joseph, perceiving his end approaching, he sent one to call the rest of his sons to come to him.

*Gather yourselves together.*] Come all in a body to me. Let me see you all together before I die.

*What shall be in the last days.*] The condition of your posterity in future times. Jacob is the first that we read of, who particularly declared the future state of every one of his sons when he left the world. But it hath been an ancient opinion, that the souls of all excellent men, the nearer they approached to their departure from hence, the more divine they grew; and had a clearer prospect of things to come. Whence Xenophon (lib. viii.) makes his Cyrus say, when he was near his end, that "the souls of men, at the point of death, become prophetic." Which never was universally true; for prophecy is not a natural thing; nor were all excellent men partakers of it; and God communicated it in what measures he pleased to those who had any thing of it; and to Jacob more than had been bestowed upon his great ancestors. For these last words of his may be called *prophecies* rather than *benedictions:* some of them containing no blessing in them; but all of them predictions.

Ver. 2. *Gather yourselves together.*] This is repeated to hasten them; as the two next words, *hear* and *hearken,* are used to excite their attention. It was the manner of good men among the Hebrews to call all their children before them, and give them good counsel, together with their blessing, when they drew near to their end: the words then spoken being likely to stick fast in their mind.

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Ver. 3. *Reuben,* &c.] It is commonly observed, that the style wherein he speaks to his sons is much more lofty than that hitherto used in this book. Which hath made some fancy that Jacob did not deliver these very words; but Moses put the sense of what he said into such poetical expressions. But it seems more reasonable to me, to think that the spirit of prophecy now coming upon him, raised his style as well as his understanding: as it did Moses's also; who delivered his benedictions (in Deut. xxxiii.) in a strain more sublime than his other writings.

*Thou art my first-born.*] So we read xxix. 32. To whom the Jews commonly observe belonged three prerogatives—a double portion of the father's estate, the priesthood, and the kingdom (as they speak), *i. e.* the chief authority among his brethren. The first of these, says the Chaldee paraphrast, was given to Joseph, the second to Levi, the third to Judah, because Reuben had forfeited all the rights of his primogeniture, by his incest with his father's wife. But Mr. Selden himself (who gives a full account of the Jews' opinion in this matter) acknowledges the priesthood was not confined to the first-born before the law, as appears by Abel's offering sacrifice as well as Cain, and Moses being a priest as well as Aaron, (Psal. xcix. 6.) unless we understand thereby the office of chief priest. And so Jonathan here reports the ancient opinion of the Jews, that Reuben lost the high-priesthood. (Lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 16. p. 643, &c.)

*My might.*] Whom I begot when I was in my full vigour.

*The beginning* (or the *first-fruits*) *of my strength.*] The same thing, in more words. Or, it may be interpreted, *the prime support of my family.* The first-born is called *the beginning of strength,* in Deut. xxi. 17. Psal. cv. 36.

*The excellency of dignity.*] Who hadst the pre-eminence among thy brethren (being the first-born), if thou hadst not fallen from it by thy folly; as it follows afterwards.

*And the excellency of power.*] Who wast born to the highest authority among them. The Hebrews refer *dignity* to the priesthood, and *power* to the kingdom. But there being no solid ground to think the priesthood, as I said before, was confined to the eldest brother; I take *dignity* to signify the double portion of the estate; and *power,* authority among them, while they remained in one family.

Ver. 4. *Unstable as water.*] The Hebrew word *pachaz* signifying *haste,* and in the Chaldee having the signification of *leaping,* the interpretation of St. Jerome seems most reasonable; which is, *poured out* like water out of a vessel upon the ground. And then it denotes Reuben's falling from his dignity, and losing his pre-eminence; as water suddenly disappears, when it is poured out on the earth, and sucked up into it. Many refer it, particularly Ca. Vitringa in his late Sacred Observations, (lib. i. cap. 12.) to his unbounded lust: but that is taken notice of in the latter part of this verse, and given as a reason of his being degraded. Others therefore translate the Hebrew word *pachaz* by the Latin word *levis,* a *light* or *vain* person (as we speak at this day), and then the meaning still is, *Water is not more prone to flow, when it is poured out, than thou wast to lose thy dignity.* So Georg. Calixtus.

*Thou shalt not excel.*] There is nothing great said to be done by this tribe in Scripture. And they were not so numerous (to which the Vulgar Latin refers this) by more than a third part, as the tribe of Judah (to whom God gave part of Reuben's prerogative), when Moses by God's command took the sum of all the congregation. (Numb. i. 21. 27.)

*Because thou wentest up to thy father's bed.*] Committedst incest with my wife, (xxxv. 22.)

*Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my couch.*] Or rather, *When thou defiledst my couch, it vanished, i. e.* his excellency departed. For the word *halah,* which is here translated to *go up,* signifies often in Scripture, to *vanish* or *perish.* As in Psal. cii. 25. Isai. v. 24. which makes the easiest sense of this place, in this manner; "Ex quo polluisti thorum meum, ascendit ut vapor aut fumus excellentia et dignitas tua, *i. e.* dilapsa est, extincta est, evanuit." *From the time that thou defiledst my couch, thy excellency and dignity went up like a vapour or smoke,* i. e. *it slid away, it was extinct, it vanished.* They are the words of the forenamed Calixtus; who well observes that this is explained in 1 Chron. v. 1.

Ver. 5. *Simeon and Levi are brethren.*] So were all the rest; but the meaning is, they are alike in their dispositions, and linked together in the same wicked designs: for so the word *brother* sometimes signifies, a *companion,* or *associate,* that agrees in the same inclinations or undertakings with others. As Prov. xviii. 9.

*Instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.*] The word *mecheroth* (which we translate *habitations*) is no where else found, nor is there any root in the Hebrew language from whence it may derive that signification. Therefore Lud. de Dieu, from the Ethiopic language, translates it *counsels:* for so the word signifies in that tongue; and in an ill sense, conspirations, machinations, or mischievous devices. This Job Ludolphus approves of, and translates this sentence after this manner, "Consilia eorum nihil sunt nisi vis et arma:" *Their counsels are nothing but force and arms.* (Vid. Comment. in Histor. Ethiop. lib. i. cap. 15. n. 106.) Aben Ezra is not much different, who translates it, their *compacts:* as G. Vorstius notes upon Pirke Eliezer, cap. 38, where there are other various interpretations: with which I shall not trouble the reader, because I have given that which I think most natural.

Ver. 6. *O my soul, come not thou,* &c.] He utterly disclaims all knowledge of their wicked fact beforehand, or approbation of it afterward. For by *soul* is meant himself; and so the word *honour* or *glory* seems to mean, in the following words; which are but a repetition of this. Or, else it signifies the *tongue,* as in many places of Scripture, (particularly Psal. xxx. 12.) and the meaning is, he never in thought, much less in word, assented to what they did. They gloried in the slaughter they made; but God forbid that I should so much as approve it.

*Secret* signifying the same with *assembly,* is, in reason, to be interpreted a *secret place,* or *closet;* where cabals (as we now speak) are wont to be held.

*Slew a man.*] i. e. *Shechem;* a great man: or, the singular number is put for the plural.

*In their self-will.*] The Hebrew word *ratson* may well be translated *humour.* When they were in a fit of rage.

*They digged down a wall.*] Broke into Hamor's house, where Shechem was. In the margin we translate it *houghed oxen:* and indeed the Hebrew word *schor* signifies an *ox,* not a *wall;* which they call *shur.* Yet the Vulgar, the Sy-



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riac, Arabic, Chaldee, and a great number of the Hebrew authors, interpret it a *wall*. And though the LXX. translated it ἐνευροκόπησαν ταῦρον, *they hamstringed an ox;* yet the author of the Greek Scholion (as Bochart acknowledges) translates it ἐξερρίζωσαν τεῖχος, *they undermined a wall*. The truth is, we read of neither in the story, but only of their *taking their sheep and their oxen*, (xxxiv. 28.) which signifies not their *houghing* them, but their driving them away. Perhaps, they both broke down a wall to come at their flocks; and also houghed those, which they were afraid would otherwise have escaped their hands, and got away.

Ver. 7. *Cursed be their anger.*] Their fury was most execrable and detestable; and brought a curse upon them.

*For it was fierce.*] Outrageous; or, as the Vulgar translates it, *pertinacious*. Not a sudden, impetuous passion, that was soon over: but a settled, inflexible rage. So he condemns them upon a double account. First, that they had such an implacable desire of revenge; and then, that their revenge was too cruel.

*I will divide them in Jacob*, &c.] This is the punishment, which by a prophetic spirit he foretels God would inflict upon them: that they who were associated in wickedness, should be disjoined one from another; when his children came to inherit the land of Canaan. And so it fell out; for Simeon's posterity had not a separate inheritance by themselves, but only a portion in the midst of the tribe of Judah, as we read Josh. xix. 1. 9. and accordingly we find them assisting one another, to enlarge their border, (Judg. i. 3. 17.) And their portion being too strait for them, we read how in aftertimes they acquired possessions where they could, far from the rest of their brethren: five hundred of this tribe, under several captains, going to Mount Seir, and there settling themselves, (1 Chron. iv. 39. 42.) It is a constant tradition also among the Hebrews (as P. Fagius observes), that a great many of this tribe, wanting a livelihood, applied themselves to the teaching of children, and were employed as schoolmasters in all the other tribes of Israel: where few followed this employment but Simeonites. If this be true, it is a further proof of their scattered condition.

As for the tribe of Levi, it is manifest they had no inheritance allotted to them among their brethren, but were dispersed among all the tribes: having certain cities assigned to them, with a little land about them. This indeed did not prove a curse to them; they having the tenth of all the increase of the land throughout the whole country. For this curse seems to have been taken off, upon that eminent service they did in falling upon the worshippers of the golden calf; and thereby consecrating themselves unto the Lord. (Exod. xxxii. 26. 29.) Upon which account Moses blesses this tribe a little before he died, (Deut. xxxiii. 9.) whereas he gives no blessing at all to the tribe of Simeon; but leaves them under this curse: a great ringleader of the idolatry with Baal-Peor, being a prince of this tribe; whom Phinehas, of the tribe of Levi, slew in his zeal for the Lord. (Numb. xxv. 11. 14.)

Ver. 8. *Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise.*] Or, thou art Judah; and well mayst thou be so called, for thy brethren shall praise thee. The name of Judah signifies praise, unto which his father alludes. It was given him by his mother, in thankfulness to God for him, (xxix. 35.) and now his father gives another reason of his name: because all his brethren should applaud his worthy acts, and praise God for them. Which is not spoken of Judah's person, but of his family, or tribe; who in future times were very famous.

*Thy hand shall be in the neck of thy enemies.*] To overthrow them, and bring them under: which was eminently fulfilled in David, as he himself acknowledges, (Psal. xviii. 40.) And so were the foregoing words; when all the daughters of Israel came forth of their cities singing his praises in such a high strain, as offended Saul, (1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7.)

*Thy father's children shall bow down to thee.*] Acknowledge thee their superior.

Ver. 9. *Judah is a lion's whelp*, &c.] He sets forth in this verse the warlike temper of this tribe; and their undaunted courage, and terribleness to their enemies. And he seems to express the beginning, increase, and full growth, of their power; by a *young lion*, a *lion*, and *lioness;* which is the fiercest of all other.

*A lion's whelp.*] This tribe gave early proof of their valour; being the first that went to fight against the Canaanites, after the death of Joshua, (Judg. i. 1, 2.) And David, who was of this tribe, when he was but a youth, killed a lion, and a bear, and the great giant Goliah.

*From the prey, my son, thou art gone up.*] He speaks as if he saw them returning in triumph; with the spoils of their enemies: alluding unto lions, who, having gotten their prey in the plain, return satiated to the mountains. As Bochartus observes, (par. i. lib. iii. cap. 2. Hierozoic.)

*He stoopeth down, he coucheth as a lion.*] The Hebrew word *ari* signifies a *grown lion*, come to his full strength. By whose *stooping down (bending his knees*, the Hebrew word signifies) and couching to take his rest (which all four-footed beasts do, but the lion is observed to sleep whole days in his den, or in thickets, that he may be fresher for his prey in the night); Jacob sets forth the ease and quiet that Judah should enjoy after their victories, without any fear of disturbance.

*And as an old lion.*] I think Bochart hath plainly demonstrated that *labi* signifies a *lioness:* which is rather fiercer than a lion; as he observes out of Herodotus, and other authors, (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 1.)

*Who shall rouse him up?*] Having overcome his enemies, he shall live in secure peace; free from their incursions: none daring to invade him, no more than to stir up a sleepy lion.

Ver. 10. *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah*, &c.] That the first word *schebet* is rightly translated *sceptre*, we have the unanimous testimony of the three Targums of the ancient book Rabboth, with a great many of the modern rabbins, (such as Caskuni, Bechai, Abarbinel, &c.) who all think the word signifies a *sceptre*, and not a *tribe*, as some few would have it; whom some Christians follow; particularly Jac. Altingius hath lately asserted it in his Schilo; but, in my judgment, against the clearest evidence for the other signification. For, as *schebet* doth not originally signify a *tribe*, but a *rod*, or *wand*, shooting from the root of a tree (from whence it was translated to signify a *tribe*, who springs out of a common stock, *i. e.* the father of a family), so the verse foregoing being a plain prediction of Judah's dominion, not only over external enemies, but over his brethren, what can we so reasonably think to be the design of

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this verse, as to foretell the continuance and duration of that great power and authority promised in the foregoing? It is observable also that the very same phrase is used in this sense, and cannot have another, Zechar. x. 11. "The sceptre of Egypt shall depart away:" where there are two of the words here used; signifying the dominion, which the Egyptians then exercised over the poor Jews, should quite cease. And if Moses had meant a *tribe* in this place, he would not have said the *tribe shall not depart from Judah*, but the *tribe of Judah shall not cease:* for the former looks like a tautology.

The meaning of this word then being settled, it is manifest Jacob here gives Judah the highest superiority over his brethren; and informs them, that from the time his authority should be established, there should continue a form of government in this *tribe*, till the coming of the Messiah. The word *sceptre* is more used in ancient times (as Mr. Selden observes in his Titles of Honour) to signify kingly power, than either *crown* or *diadem*, which have been used more in later times. And therefore the LXX. translate it Ἄρχων, of whose authority the *rod, staff*, or *sceptre*, was the ensign. And accordingly in the prophecy of Amos i. 5. "He that holdeth the sceptre," is used absolutely for a king. Now this regal power began in the tribe of Judah, when David was king over all Israel, (1 Chron. xxviii. 4.) and his posterity held it till the captivity of Babylon.

But then the next word in this verse, *mechokek* (which we translate *lawgiver*), signifies a diminution of this dignity, before the finishing of this prophecy. For *mechokkim* were not of equal power with kings; and therefore we translate the word elsewhere *governors*, (Judg. v. 9. 14.) who were not endued with an absolute power, but depended on the power of another. And thus R. Solomon Jarchi expressly says (in his Commentaries on the Sanhedrin), that as *schebet* signifies the highest authority, so *mechokek* signifies a lesser magistrate or ruler; who was set over the people by the authority and licence of the kings of Persia. For this kind of power was settled among them, at their return from Babylon, when Zerobabel was made their governor. And after they were invaded by the Seleucidæ, this authority was recovered and maintained by the Maccabees; till they were deprived of it by Herod and the Romans. At which time Christ came; when it is evident they were become subjects to the Romans, by the very enrolling that was made of them at the birth of our Saviour: which was a public testimony of Augustus's sovereignty over them. So that the meaning of this prophecy is, *There shall be either kings or governors among the Jews till Christ come.* So J. Christoph. Wagenseil (who hath discussed this place with great exactness) gives the sense of these words; and it is literally true: till the captivity they had kings; after their return they had governors, under the Persians, Greeks, and Romans. (See his Confut. Carm. Memorialis Libri Nitzachon. R. Lipmanni, p. 293, &c.)

To strengthen which interpretation he makes this judicious remark, in another place of the same book, (p. 373.) That the whole time, from the beginning to the end of Judah's authority, was well nigh equally divided between kings and governors. For, according to Josephus, (lib. xi. Antiq. cap. 4.) they lived under kings, from David's time to the captivity, five hundred thirty-two years; and under the *mechokkim* or *governors*, after the captivity, much about the same number of years. For there being five hundred eighty and eight years from the captivity to our Saviour's birth; if seventy years be deducted (which was the time their captivity lasted) and ten be added (in which, after the birth of Christ, Herod and his son Archelaus reigned in Judea, and it was not yet reduced into the form of a province), there were just five hundred twenty and eight years; that is, the space in which they were under kingly authority, and under subordinate governors, was in a manner of the same length. Which makes it the more wonderful, that Jacob should so many ages before exactly divide the whole power he foresaw would be in Judah, between them that wielded a sceptre, and those who were only subordinate governors.

That the letter *vau* before the word we translate *lawgiver*, hath the force of a disjunctive, and is not a mere copulative, all allow: and there are many examples of it in other places, particularly in the tenth commandment, (Exod. xx. 14.) The greatest objection that I can find against this interpretation is, that though Zerobabel, the first governor after the captivity, was of the tribe of Judah; yet the Maccabees, who were their governors most of the time after the captivity, were of the tribe of Levi. But it is to be considered, that the prophecy doth not say these rulers or governors should be of the tribe of Judah; but only in that tribe which had a government of their own, till the coming of Christ. Besides, by Judah is not to be understood merely the people of that tribe; but all those that were called Jews, consisting also of the tribes of Benjamin and Levi; who were incorporated with them: and were all called Judah, in opposition to the kingdom of Israel. For Benjamin it is evident was so near to Judah, that they were reputed the very same. Whence it is that Mordecai, who was of the tribe of Benjamin, is called *Isch Jehudi, a Jew*, in Esther ii. 5. because that tribe was comprehended under Judah, from the time that the rest rent themselves from the house of David. When Jeroboam also set up the meanest of the people for priests; who were not of the tribe of Levi, (1 Kings xii. 33.) This made the Levites fly to Judah and become one with them. And therefore the Maccabees were, in effect, Jews, who held the chief authority among them, till Antigonus was driven out and killed by Herod: who was an Edomite set over them by the Romans.

*From between his feet.*] The common interpretation every body knows, which is, *of his seed*, or posterity: but Ludolphus, instead of *raglau, feet*, would have us read *daglau, banners*, according to the Samaritan copy. Which is well confuted by the forenamed Wagenseil, p. 269. of the forenamed book: where he translates these words thus, *even to the last end of that state.* For so the people *at the feet* signifies (Exod. xi. 8. 2 Kings iii. 9.) those that bring up the rear, as we now speak. And so some ancient interpreters in the Talmud, he shews, expound it here, of *the last posterity of Judah*, and the times when their commonwealth was coming to a conclusion.

*Until Shiloh come.*] Let the original of this word *Shiloh* be what it will (which some translate *to be sent*, others *his son*, or *child*, or *his seed*, others *quiet, peaceable, pacific, prosperous*, and consequently, *renowned, august*, to whom *gifts* or *offerings* shall be made, as R. Solomon takes it; others, *whose is, viz.* the kingdom), the Messiah or Christ

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is certainly hereby meant: as all the three Targums agree; and the Talmud in the title Sanhedrin, cap. xi. and Baal-Hatturim, Bereschith-Rabba, and many other ancient and modern Jews. I will mention only the words of R. Bechai; who confesses, *it is right to understand this verse of the Messiah, the last Redeemer.* "Which is meant when it saith, *till Shiloh come, i. e.* his Son, proceeding from his seed. And the reason why the word *beno* is not used in this prophecy, but *Shiloh*, is, because he would emphatically express a son, who should be brought forth of his mother's womb, after the manner of all those that are born of a woman." Of this interpretation they are so convinced, that, to evade the argument we argue from hence to prove the Messiah is come, they have invented a great many tales of the power they have still in some remote parts of the world. There is a book written on purpose, called, The Voice of glad Tidings, wherein they labour to prove, they have a kingdom still remaining. Which, if it should be granted, signifies nothing; for this prophecy is concerning their government in their own country, the land of Canaan: as they themselves very well know; which makes them so desirous to return thither again, that the hand of Judah may be upon the neck of his enemies, and he may go up from *the prey like a lion*, and *tie his ass to the vine*, and *wash his garments in wine*, &c. as the words are in the rest of this prophecy. And whatsoever some of them are pleased to say concerning their power nobody knows where, they are sometimes in a contrary humour: for in the Gemara Sanhedrin they say, (cap. xi. §. 32.) "There shall not be the least magistrate in Israel, when the Messiah comes."

*Unto him shall the gathering of the people be.*] So this clause is expounded by Abarbinel himself, whose words are, *the people of the nations shall be gathered to worship him, i. e.* the Messiah. (See L'Empereur in Jacchiad. p. 164. and Codex Middoth, p. 106, 107.) Wagenseil indeed thinks the most literal interpretation to be this, *to him shall be the obedience of the people:* which is the interpretation of Onkelos and the Jerusalem paraphrast. Kimchi also (lib. Radic.) so expounds it, *the people shall obey him;* taking upon *them to observe, what he shall command them.* And in Prov. xxx. 17, which is the only place besides this where this word *jikkah* is found, it seems to signify *obedience.*

See Confut. Carm. R. Lipmanni, p. 295, where Wagenseil, after the examination of every particular word in this verse, thus sums up the sense of it in this paraphrase.

"That royal power and authority which shall be established in the posterity of Judah, shall not be taken from them; or, at least, they shall not be destitute of rulers and governors, no, not when they are in their declining condition: until the coming of the Messiah. But when he is come, there shall be no difference between the Jews and other nations: who shall all be obedient unto the Messiah. And after that the posterity of Judah shall have neither king nor ruler of their own: but the whole commonwealth of Judah shall quite lose all form, and never recover it again."

The truth of this exposition appears exactly from their history: of which it will be useful here to give an account. For from David to the captivity of Babylon they held the sceptre, for five whole ages and more, as I observed above. After which, when seventy years were finished in that captivity, they lived by their own laws in their own country: but had no absolute authority of their own, independent upon others; nor ever enjoyed a full liberty. For they were at first under the present monarchs: afterwards, upon the conquest made by Alexander, under the Greeks: and then under the kings of Asia Minor and Egypt; till the Roman yoke was imposed upon them. Yet all this time, while they were under the empire of others, they enjoyed governors or rulers of their own, who administered their affairs under those monarchs. The first was Zerobabel, called the *captain*, or *prince of Judah*, (Haggai i. 1.) After him Ezra and Nehemiah. And before them it is likely there were some others, as Jos. Scaliger gathers from Neh. v. 15. After the death of Nehemiah the government came into the hands of the high priests, as appears from Josephus, lib. xi. cap. 8, where he shews how Jaddus the high priest met Alexander in his expedition against Persia: which power was confirmed in that order, by the Maccabees, as we commonly call them. It began in Mattathias; and was continued in his sons. The third of which, Simon, raised it to such a splendour, that he looked like a prince, as the reader may see it described in 1 Maccab. xiv. From whence his grandchild Aristobulus seems to have taken occasion to affect the name of king; though he had but the shadow of that power. Yet his posterity kept that name to the time of Herod, who stripped them of all their power, and destroyed their family. After his death the kingdom was divided by Augustus into tetrarchies: Archelaus being made tetrarch of Judea; and the rest of the country divided between Philip and Antipas. But Archelaus misbehaving himself, he was deprived of his government, and banished to Vienne in France: and then Judea was reduced into the form of a province, and ruled by Roman governors. After which there was no king, nor ethnarch of Judea: so that after this time we may safely conclude, the Jews lost even their *mechokkim*, or governors, as they had long ago lost the sceptre; and had no power remaining among them of administering the affairs of their commonwealth.

Now at this time our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, the true Shiloh, came; who was the founder of a new and heavenly kingdom. And nothing more was left to be done for the fulfilling of this prophecy, but, after his crucifying, to destroy Jerusalem and the temple, and therewith the whole form of their government, both civil and sacred. Then all power was entirely taken from Judah, when Christ had erected his throne in the heavens, and brought many people, in several parts of the earth, unto his obedience, and made them members of his celestial kingdom. Till which time this prophecy was not completely fulfilled: which may be the reason, possibly, that it is not alleged by Christ and his apostles; because the Jews might have said, We have still a government among us: which could not be pretended after the destruction by Titus. Which is now above sixteen hundred years ago: and there is not the least sign of their restitution. Which so perplexed R. Samuel Moraccanus, that it made him write thus to a friend of his, above six hundred years since:

"I would fain learn from thee, out of the testimonies of the law, and the prophets, and other scriptures, why the Jews are thus smitten in this captivity wherein we are: which may be properly called, the PERPETUAL ANGER OF GOD, because it hath no end. For it is now above a thousand years, since we were carried away cap-

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tive by TITUS; and yet our fathers, who worshipped idols, killed the prophets, and cast the law behind their back, were only punished with a seventy years' captivity, and then brought home again: but now there is no end of our calamities, nor do the prophets promise any."

If this argument was hard to be answered then in his days, it is much harder now in ours, who still see them pursued by God's vengeance; which can be for nothing else but rejecting and crucifying the Messiah, the Saviour of the world.

Ver. 11. *Binding his foal unto the vine*, &c.] This verse sets forth the great fertility of Judah's country (abounding with vineyards and pastures) by two hyperbolical expressions. First, That vines should be as common there, as thorn-hedges in other places; so that they might tie asses with their colts to them: or, as some will have it, lade an ass with the fruit of one vine. Secondly, That wine should be as common as water; so that they should have enough, not only to drink, but to wash their clothes in it. Which doth not imply, that they made it serve for that use, but only denotes its plenty; which was so very great, that in treading the grapes, and pressing out the juice, their garments were all sprinkled with wine, which one might wring out of them.

*Choice vine.*] The vine of *Sorek* (which we here translate *choice*, and in Jerem. ii. 21. *noble* vine) was the most excellent in all that country. For *Sorek* was a place not above half a mile from the valley of Eschol; from whence the spies brought the large bunches, as a sample of the fruitfulness of the country. (See Bochart. par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 13.)

Ver. 12. *His eyes shall be red with wine*, &c.] This verse sets forth the healthfulness and vigour of the inhabitants of that fertile country. But Dr. Castell thinks this not to be a good translation; because it can be said of none but a drunkard, that his *eyes are red with wine*. And therefore it ought to be translated, *his eyes* (or *his countenance*, for so *eyes* sometimes signifies) shall be *brighter* and more *shining than wine*. So the word we render *red* signifies in the Arabic tongue, as he shews in his Oratio in Schol. Theolog. p. 31. and in his Lexicon. Yet the same word in the Proverbs (xxiii. 29.) cannot have any other signification than *red;* and the *red* colour of the eyes answers very well here to the *whiteness* of the teeth, which follows; and there is no more reason to think he means, they should make their eyes red with drinking wine, than that they should wash their clothes in it: but it may only express the great abundance of wine; to serve not only their necessity, but excess.

*And his teeth white with milk.*] Milk doth not make the teeth white; but gives such an excellent nourishment, that they who live upon it are healthy and strong: and their teeth not so apt to rot, as theirs who feed upon greater dainties. So the meaning is, the rich pastures in that country should feed great flocks, and consequently they should have abundance of milk, so good and nourishing, that the teeth of the countrymen who lived upon it should be as white as the milk they drank. Or, if the foregoing words be translated, *His eyes shall be brighter than wine;* these are to be translated, *His teeth whiter than milk.*

Out of these three verses foregoing, Bochartus thinks the whole story of Silenus was forged by the poets. (See his Canaan, lib. i. cap. 18. p. 482.)

Ver. 13. *Zebulon shall dwell at the haven of the sea.*] Near the lake of Tiberias; called in Scripture the *sea of Galilee.*

*He shall be a haven for ships.*] The lot that fell to him extended from thence to the Mediterranean, where there were ports for ships.

*His border shall be unto Zidon.*] He doth not mean the city of Zidon; for the tribe of Zebulon did not extend themselves beyond Mount Carmel, which is forty miles at least from thence, but the country of Zidon, *i. e.* Phœnicia, (as Bochart observes in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 34.) which the Zebulonites touched. For as the Phœnicians were called Syrians from Sur, *i. e.* Tyre: so they were called Sidonians from Sidon, as Hesychius tells us, who interprets Σιδόνιοι, by Φοίνικες. Whence the LXX. have Phœnicians for Sidonians, (Deut. iii. 9.) and Phœnice for Sidon, (Isai. xxiii. 2.)

It is very much to be admired, that Jacob should foretell, so many years beforehand, the situation of his posterity in the land of Canaan; when their several portions fell to them by lot, and not by their own choice, (Josh. xix. 10, 11.) This could not have been, but by the spirit of prophecy. And it is remarkable also, that he mentions Zebulon before Issachar, who was his eldest brother, (xxx. 11.) for no other reason, that I can discern, but because Zebulon's lot was to come up before Issachar's, in the division of the land, his being the third, and Issachar's the fourth, (Josh. xix. 17.) By this they were taught that their habitation in the land of Canaan was the gift of God; and did not come by chance: their forefather having so long before predicted the very portion they should inherit.

Ver. 14. *Issachar is a strong ass.*] As he compared Judah to a *lion*, because of his valour, so he compares Issachar to an *ass*, and a *strong ass*, because he foresaw they would be very patient and unwearied in rustical labours, in which asses were principally employed in those countries.

*Couching down between two burdens.*] There are various opinions about the signification of that word, which we translate *burdens*. But none seem to me so apt as that, to express the great strength of an ass; which lies down, with its load hanging down on both sides. Whence a she-ass is called *athon* (as Bochart observes) from the word *ethan*, which signifies *strength;* because no beast of that bigness can carry such heavy burdens.

Ver. 15. *And he saw that rest was good.*] Or, as some will have it, their *resting place;* the country that fell to their share in the land of Canaan, no part of which was more fruitful than some parts of Issachar's portion. Which way soever we take it, he seems to foretell they would choose to follow husbandry rather than merchandize (as Zebulon did), and love quiet and peace, as husbandmen do; especially when they live in a rich soil, as this tribe did. For so it follows.

*And the land that it was pleasant.*] The famous valley of Jezreel was in this tribe: whose border extended as far as Jordan; where there was a very pleasant country, (Josh. xix. 18. 22.)

*Bowed his shoulder to bear.*] Taking any pains to till the land; and to carry in the corn, with other fruits of the earth.

*And became a servant unto tribute.*] Submitting to the

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heaviest taxes, rather than lose their repose: for the preservation of which they were content to give any money; that they might redeem their services in the wars or otherways by large contributions.

Ver. 16. *Dan shall judge his people,* &c.] In the word *judge* he alludes to the name of Dan, which signifies *judging, i. e.* ruling and governing. A great many follow Onkelos, who expounds it thus: *a man shall arise out of the tribe of Dan, in whose days the people shall be delivered,* &c. And accordingly we read that Samson, who was of this tribe, judged Israel twenty years. So the meaning is, the tribe of Dan shall have the honour to produce a *judge,* as well as other tribes. But there is this exception to this interpretation, that all the tribes did not produce *judges;* and all Israel (whom the *judges* governed) cannot be said to be Dan's people. But by *his people* (whom he is said here to judge) are properly meant those of his tribe. And therefore Jacob's meaning is, that though he were the son of a concubine, yet his posterity should be governed by a head of their own tribe: as the other tribes of Israel were. So by this he took away all distinction between the sons of his concubines (of whom Dan was the first) and those which he had by Leah and Rachel.

Ver. 17. *Dan shall be a serpent by the way.*] The next words shew, what kind of serpent he should be like, *an adder in the path.* The Hebrew word *schephiphon* some take for a *basilisk;* others for an *asp,* or a *viper;* others a *snake,* or *adder,* &c. The Vulgar translates it *cerastes,* which is a kind of viper: and Bochartus (in his Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. 12.) hath confirmed this translation, by shewing how well it agrees to the characters which authors give of it: that it lies in sand, and in the ruts which cart-wheels make in the highway; and so is ready to bite travellers or their horses. Which is the harder to be avoided, because it is of a sandy colour; so that οἱ πολλοὶ ἀγνοοῦντες πατοῦσι, *many tread upon it unawares:* and Nichander says, the poison of these serpents is chiefly felt in the thighs and hams of those they bite. Which perfectly agrees with what Jacob saith in the following words.

*That biteth the horse-heels, so that his rider shall fall backward.*] The horse not being able to stand, when the venom works in his legs, the rider must needs fall with him. All this some make to be a description of Samson, who led no armies against his enemies, but overthrew them by subtlety and craft. But it rather belongs to all the Danites (as what was said before to all the Zebulonites and Issacharians) who Jacob foresaw would, "astu potius, quam aperto marte rem gerere," *manage their wars rather by cunning and craft, than by open hostility,* as Bochart speaks. An example of which we have in Judg. xviii. 27.

Ver. 18. *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.*] They that refer the foregoing words to Samson, make an easy interpretation of this verse. Which is, that Jacob, foreseeing his great achievements for the deliverance of his children, prays that God would, upon all occasions, vouchsafe to send such deliverers unto them, from their oppressors. And the Chaldee paraphrasts make him look beyond such deliverers unto Christ, the great Saviour of the world. For these are the words of Onkelos (in the Complutensian edition, for they are not to be found in Buxtorf's or Bomberg's), "I do not wait for the salvation of Gideon the son of Joash, which is temporal salvation; or of Samson the son of Manoah, which is also a transitory salvation; but I expect the redemption of Christ, the Son of David," &c. Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum say the same. And if we take all this prophecy to belong to the whole tribe (as I believe it doth), that doth not exclude such a sense. But Jacob foreseeing the distresses wherein they would be, (Josh. xix. 47. Judg. i. 34.) prays God to help them, and deliver them, and teach them to look up to him in all their straits and necessities: and especially to wait for the Messiah. Yet after all, I think, the words may have another meaning, which is this: Jacob, perceiving his approaching death, and his spirits beginning to fail him, in the middle of his speech to his sons, breaks out into this exclamation (which belongs to none of them), saying, *I wait, O Lord, for a happy deliverance out of this world, into a better place.*

And then, having rested himself awhile, to recover his strength, he proceeded to bless the rest of his sons.

Ver. 19. *Gad, a troop shall overcome him.*] Or invade him. There is an allusion in every word to the name of Gad: whose inheritance being in a frontier country beyond Jordan, was very much exposed to the incursions of the Amorites, and Moabites, and the rest of those envious neighbours, that dwelt in or near Arabia. And some think the word *troop* hath a great propriety in it; signifying, not a just army, but a party, as we speak, a band of men, that came oft-times to rob and spoil. But it appears by the prophet Jeremiah, (xlix. 1.) that the Ammonites sometime possessed themselves of the country of Gad, or, at least, of some part of it, and exercised great cruelties there, (Amos i. 13.) Long before which the book of Judges informs us, how they were oppressed by this people for eighteen years together, (x. 8.) and came with a great army and encamped in Gilead, (ver. 17.) which was in the tribe of Gad.

*But he shall overcome at the last.*] This was eminently fulfilled, when Jephthah the Gileadite, fought with the children of Ammon, and "subdued them before the children of Israel," (Judg. xi. 33.) and when this tribe (together with their brethren of Reuben and Manasseh) made war with the Hagarites, and possessed themselves of their country: which they kept till the captivity, "because the war was of God," (1 Chron. v. 22.)

Ver. 20. *Out of Asher.*] *i. e.* Of his country.

*His bread shall be fat.*] Shall be excellent provision, of all sorts, for the sustenance of human life. For *bread* comprehends not only corn, but wine and oil, and all sorts of victuals, (xxi. 14.)

*And he shall yield royal dainties.*] His country shall afford not only all things necessary, but the choicest fruits, fit to be served up to the table of kings. For part of it lay about Carmel, (Josh. xix. 26.) where there was a most delicious valley.

Ver. 21. *Naphtali is a hind let loose.*] As he had compared Judah to a *lion,* and Issachar to an *ass,* and Dan to a *serpent;* so he compares this son to a *hind,* which is not confined within pales or walls; but runs at large, whither it pleaseth. Whereby is signified that this tribe would be great lovers of liberty.

*He giveth goodly* (or *pleasing*) *words.*] Which denotes their address (as we now speak), charming language and affability, to win the favour of others; and thereby preserve their peace and liberty. Mercer makes this verse to sig-

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nify their speed and swiftness in dispatch of business; and their smoothness in the management of it: which might render them acceptable to all men. There are no instances, indeed, in Scripture to make out this character: for Barak, who was of this tribe, was very slow in undertaking the deliverance of Israel. Nor do we read they were more zealous assertors of liberty than others. But yet this will not warrant us to alter the punctuation of the words (as Bochart doth, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 18.) to make a quite different sense, which is this: *Naphtali is a well-spread tree, which puts out beautiful branches.* For we do not find that they were either more beautiful or numerous than other tribes: but we find, quite contrary, that Simeon, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, and Dan, were all more numerous than they, when Moses took an account of them, (Numb. i. 23. 27. 29. 31. 39.) Besides, this interpretation makes this verse, in a manner, the very same with the next concerning Joseph. Therefore, though the LXX. agree to Bochart's version, we had better stick to our own; which makes a sense clear and proper enough.

Ver. 22. *Joseph is a fruitful bough.*] Or young plant. It is an allusion to his name; which imports growth and increase: and may well be understood of the great dignity to which he was risen in Egypt. Unto which he was advanced in a short time, after Pharaoh took notice of him: like a bough or young plant, which shoots up apace; and thence compared in the next words to

*A fruitful bough by a well.*] Or spring of water: which in those dry countries made the plants which were set near them to grow the faster, and to a greater height, (Psal. i. 3.) and therefore signifies his extraordinary advancement.

*Whose branches run over the wall.*] Cover the wall that surrounds the spring; or the wall against which the tree is planted. Which seems to denote the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh; which sprang from him, and were very flourishing: as appears from Josh. xvii. 14. 17. where they tell him, they were "a great people, whom the Lord had blessed hitherto." And Joshua there acknowledges as much, saying, "Thou art a great people, and hast great power:" and therefore assigns them a larger portion of land, than they had at first. The Hebrew word *banoth*, which we translate *boughs*, literally signifying *daughters;* some think that, as he speaks of the *sons* of Joseph in the foregoing part of the verse, so in this he speaks of his *daughters*, that they should *go to the wall, i. e.* saith Dr. Lightfoot, *even to the enemy:* to repair the hostile tribe of Benjamin; which otherwise had decayed for want of wives. For so the word *schur* signifies, and is translated by us an *enemy*, (Psal. xcii. 11.) And D. Chytræus understands here by *daughters*, the *cities* of the tribe of Ephraim which should be well governed, though some should set themselves against it.

Ver. 23. *The archers.*] In the Hebrew the words *baale chitsim* signify *masters in the art of shooting;* and therefore denote those here spoken of to be skilful in doing mischief: such were his brethren, who were full not only of envy, but hatred to him, (xxxviii. 4, 5. 11.) Some refer it also to Potiphar's wife, who wickedly slandered him: and others to the whole tribe of Ephraim, who were encompassed with enemies (who in general are meant by *archers*), when the kingdom was settled in them, over the ten tribes.

*Have sorely grieved him.*] By their unkind, or rather churlish behaviour towards him; "for they could not speak peaceably to him," (xxxvii. 4.) and it is likely they reviled him, and threw out bitter words against him: which are properly compared to *arrows*, (Psal. lxiv. 3.)

*And shot at him.*] Designed to destroy him; and did actually throw him into sore afflictions, (xxxviii. 22. 24. 28.)

*And hated him.*] Which arose from their hatred to him.

Ver. 24. *But his bow abode in strength.*] He armed himself with invincible patience; having nothing else to oppose unto their malicious contrivances. It seems to be a metaphor from those soldiers, who have bows so well made, that though often, never so often bent, they neither break, nor grow weak. Such was the temper of Joseph's mind.

*And the arms of his hands were made strong.*] *i. e.* He was strengthened and supported: being like to a strenuous archer, the muscles and sinews of whose arms are so firm and compact, that though his hands draw his bow continually, he is not weary.

*By the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.*] Which fortitude he had not from himself, but from the Almighty; who had supported Jacob in all his adversities; and made all that Joseph did (when he was sold and imprisoned) to prosper in his hands, (xxxix. 3. 22, 23.) The Hebrew word *abir*, which signifies *potent* or *powerful*, and we translate *mighty One*, is as much as *the Lord of Jacob.* For from power it comes to signify *potestas, authority* and *dominion* also, as Bochart observes.

*From thence.*] From the Divine Providence over him, before mentioned.

*Is the shepherd.*] Joseph became the feeder and nourisher of his father, and of his family, and of their flocks and herds: preserving them all from being famished.

*And the stone of Israel.*] Who upheld them all, and kept them from being ruined. Or, *shepherd* may signify his being made governor of all the land of Egypt; *and the stone of Israel*, the support of his family. For *shepherd* is a name of dignity and authority: and *stone* signifies *the foundation* (as Abarbinel here expounds it) upon which the whole building relies: as Jacob and all his children did upon Joseph for their sustenance.

Some I find (particularly D. Chytræus) refer the words *from thence* unto Joseph: and then by *the shepherd and stone of Israel*, understand those excellent men, who by their wisdom and valour supported the commonwealth of Israel. Such as Joshua, the captain of the Lord's host, and Abdon, one of the judges, who were of the tribe of Ephraim: and Gideon, Jair, and Jephthah, who were of the tribe of Manasseh. But the following words incline rather to the former sense.

Ver. 25. *Even by the God of thy father.*] Or *from* him that blessed me; and advanced thee to be the support of my family. For it refers to all that went before.

*Who shall help thee.*] Having said what God had already done for him; he now foretels what he would do hereafter: which relates to all his posterity; whom God would protect and defend.

*And by the Almighty.*] Or, from him who is *all-sufficient;* by which name he revealed himself unto Abraham, when he entered into covenant with him and with his seed, (xvii. 1.)



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*And bless thee with the blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under.*] The meaning seems to be, that his posterity should be planted in a very fertile soil: watered from above with the dew of heaven and with showers of rain; and watered beneath with springs and rivers. As G. Vossius well interprets it, lib. i. de Idolol. cap. 77.

*Blessings of the breasts, and of the womb.*] A promise of a numerous and thriving progeny. Or, of a vast increase of cattle, so well fed, that they should bring up their young prosperously, as well as bring them forth abundantly.

Ver. 26. *The blessings of thy father.*] Either the blessings bestowed by God upon Jacob; or the blessings Jacob conferred on his son Joseph.

*Have prevailed.*] Are greater.

*Above the blessings of my progenitors.*] Than the blessings God bestowed upon Abraham and Isaac: who had not so many sons as God had blessed him withal: upon every one of whom also he conferred a share in the inheritance of the land of Canaan; whereas Ishmael was excluded by Abraham, and Esau by Isaac. Or, the meaning may be, *I have done more for thee, than they for me, i. e.* thou shalt be happier than I. For Jacob led an unsettled life: but Joseph flourished in great splendour in Egypt, to the end of his days.

*Unto the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills.*] As long as the world shall last. For perpetuity is expressed in Scripture by the durableness of mountains, (Isai. liv. 10.) And here he seems to allude to the noble mountains, which fell to be the portion of Joseph's children, *viz.* Bashan and Mount Ephraim. But there are those who think he hath not respect to the durableness of these mountains, but to their fruitfulness; translating the Hebrew word *tavath* not *bounds*, but *desires*, as the Vulgar Latin doth. And then the sense is, *Unto all that is most desirable in those ancient hills*, which abounded with the most excellent fruit. And this translation is grounded on Moses's blessing, which seems to be an interpretation of Jacob's, Deut. xxxiii. 15. where he blesses him; "for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills."

*Of him that was separate from his brethren.*] The word *nazir*, which we translate *separate*, signifies one that is separated from others, "vel voto, vel dignitate," (as Bochart observes, par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. v. cap. 6.) *either by a vow, or by his dignity.* And in the latter sense Joseph is called *nazir*, because of his eminent dignity; whereby he was advanced above all his brethren: being the viceroy of Egypt.

Ver. 27. *Benjamin shall raven as a wolf.*] This sets forth the warlike temper of this tribe: a wolf being both a strong and undaunted, and also a very rapacious creature: and thence in aftertimes dedicated to Mars. From whence wolves are called *Martii* and *Martiales* in Virgil and in Horace: and warlike men are called by the Greeks Λυκόφρονες, *of a wolf-like temper.* And the history justifies this character: the tribe of Benjamin alone maintaining a war with all the other tribes; in which they overcame them in two battles, though they had sixteen to one against them. And they killed then more men of Israel than they had in their whole army. (See Bochart, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 10.)

*In the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.*] This doth not signify (as the forenamed author observes, in the same place) the whole *day*, but the whole *night:* one part of which is the *evening*, and the other the *morning.* And therefore the particle *and* signifies here as much as *after:* and this is the sense: *the tribe of Benjamin shall be like a ravening wolf: who shall have his prey to eat till morning-light; after he hath divided it in the evening.* For the division of the prey goes before the eating of it. This passage is like that Josh. vii. 25. "They burnt them with fire, and stoned them with stones," *i. e.* burnt them, after they had stoned them; as we there rightly translate it. And this applied to Benjamin, signifies such success in their wars, that they should come home loaded with the spoils of their enemies.

I omit the fancy of the Talmudists, who imagine Benjamin is compared to a wolf, because the altar of burnt-offering, where the morning and evening sacrifices were daily consumed, stood in this tribe. They that would know what they say of this, may look in Codex Middoth, cap. iii. §. 1. and L'Empereur's Annotations there.

Ver. 28. *All these are the twelve tribes of Israel.*] From these sprang the twelve tribes of Israel: or, these are the blessings of the twelve tribes: for these words plainly shew, that what he had said was not to be fulfilled in their persons, but in their posterity.

*And blessed them; every one according to his blessing,* &c.] He did not give them a new blessing after all this: but the meaning is, he blessed them (in the manner foregoing) every one according to the blessing designed by God for them. There seems indeed to be no benediction bestowed on the three first tribes; but that is to be understood only comparatively: for he provided for them all a portion in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 29. *I am to be gathered to my people.*] Must die shortly.

*Bury me with my fathers,* &c.] The reason of this injunction is well explained by Mercer: to whom I refer the reader.

Ver. 30. *In the cave that is,* &c.] He describes the place so particularly, in this and the two next verses, because he would not have them mistake it when they went to bury him; and that he might shew his title to it, if the inhabitants of Canaan (from which he had been absent some years) should dispute the laying his body there.

Ver. 33. *When Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons.*] Concerning his burial; which he briefly added to his prophecy.

*He gathered up his feet into the bed.*] The Hebrews think that out of reverence to God he sat up when he pronounced a blessing on his sons: his feet hanging down upon the ground. And indeed it is very propable he endeavoured to put himself into a posture of authority at least: and therefore *sat* on his bed-side while he spake. And now the prophetic spirit, which had raised his natural spirits above their ordinary pitch, departing from him, they presently sunk so much the lower; and in a short time he expired.

*Yielded up the ghost.*] The Hebrews will have it to express an easy death.

*And was gathered to his people.*] To his ancestors. From whence there are some (particularly Theodoret) who

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infer the belief they had, in those days, of another life: in society with those who were departed out of this life. For brutes are never said to be gathered to those of their kind, that died before them.

## CHAP. L.

Ver. 1. *JOSEPH fell on his father's face.*] He was transported by his affection, to the tenderest expressions of it: though he was a man in great dignity and authority.

*And kissed him.*] It is likely he first closed his eyes, as God promised he should do, xlvi. 4. (and as the custom was,) and then parted from his body with a kiss. Of which we find many examples both among heathen and Christian people: but they will not warrant us to say that it was done by every body; for all that I have observed were such near relations as Joseph was to Jacob. Thus Ovid represents Niobe as kissing her slain sons; and Meleager's sisters kissing him when he lay dead: and Corippus represents Justin the younger falling upon Justinian, and weeping, and kissing him, just as Joseph did here:

> "Ut prius ingrediens corpus venerabile vidit,
> Incubuit lachrymans, atque oscula frigida carpsit
> Divini patris."

Yet Dionys. Areopag. cap. vii. Eccles. Hierarch. describing the funerals of Christians, saith, the bishop prayed over the corpse when it was brought into the church, and after prayer, Αὐτὸς ἀσπάζεται τὸν κεκοιμημένον, &c. *Both he himself kissed the dead person,* and after him all that were present did the same: so it seems to have been their taking a solemn leave of the dead, till they met in another world.

Ver. 2. *His servants the physicians.*] Great men anciently, among other servants that waited on them, had a physician. And Joseph, being viceroy of Egypt, may well be supposed to have kept more than one in his retinue.

*To embalm his father.*] Of which there was now the greater necessity; because his body was to be carried a great way to its sepulchre. And both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus tell us there were those in Egypt who professed the art of preserving bodies from corruption. Which, it is likely, was a part of their physicians' employment: for the word *ropheim* (which we translate *physicians*) constantly signifies in Scripture, such as cure or heal sick bodies. But the LXX. here aptly enough translate it ἐνταφιαστὰς (*those that prepared and fitted bodies for their interment,* by embalming them, as we translate it), because this now was their proper business. Whence it is that Pliny saith, (lib. xi. cap. 37.) "Mos est Egyptiis cadavera asservare medicata," *it is the custom of the Egyptians to preserve dead bodies ordered by the physician's art.* In which art they excelled all other people: bodies of their embalming remaining to this day; and are often brought into these countries, under the name of *mummy:* concerning which a late German physician (Joach. Struppius) hath written a peculiar treatise.

*And the physicians embalmed Israel.*] The forenamed authors (Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus) tell us the manner how it was performed; and at what rates: there being three several prices, according to the cost that men would bestow upon their friends. Upon the first rank of funerals they spent a talent of silver: the second cost about twenty pound: about the third they made small expense, as Diodorus expressly tells us, (lib. i. §. 2. p. 57. edit. Hen. Steph.) And Herodotus, in three distinct chapters, shews how they ordered the bodies of the better, middle, and meaner sort, so as to preserve them; and yet with greater or lesser expense. (Vid. Euterpe, cap. 86, 87, 88.) If things were thus in Joseph's days, it is not to be thought that he would spare any cost, but had his father's body embalmed in the noblest manner.

Ver. 3. *And forty days were fulfilled for him.*] That is, for his embalming: which could not be finished in a little time. For Diodorus tells us of several officers who were employed about it, one after another; and says expressly they spent more than *thirty* days in it. Which differs something from what is here related: but, it is likely, in future times (when Diodorus lived) they might have attained to a greater perfection in this art; and made their spices penetrate the whole body in less than *forty* days, but more than *thirty.* And Herodotus doth not really differ from this, when he saith, in the place beforenamed, Ταῦτα ποιήσαντες, *when they had done these things* (stuffed the body with myrrh, cassia, and other spices, except frankincense), ταριχεύουσι νίτρῳ, κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα, *they pickled it in nitre, where it lay soaking seventy days.* That is, *thirty* days more; till the *forty* were made up *seventy:* longer than which neither the bodies of the better nor the meaner sort were to be salted. But after that, they were wrapped in fine linen and gums; to make it stick like glue: and so they delivered the body to the kindred of the deceased entire (as Diodorus writes, p. 58.) in all its features, the very hairs of the eye-lids being preserved.

There have been some so morose as to censure Joseph for following the perverse customs, as they call them, of the Egyptians: who spent too much upon dead bodies. But they should have considered how much more perverse it is not to follow the decent customs of the country where we live; and that dead bodies, especially of the faithful, are not to be neglected, but treated (as St. Austin speaks, lib. i. de Civ. Dei, cap. 13.) as the organs of the Holy Ghost: which the ancients, he thinks, did well to carry to their funerals, *officiosâ pietate.*

*And the Egyptians mourned for him seventy days.*] *i. e.* All that time they were preparing his body, in the manner before related, for its funeral: which Herodotus says, was just seventy days. He and also Diodorus describe their manner of mourning; and say that they daubed their heads with mud (as the Jews sprinkled ashes on their heads), and went about lamenting till the corpse was buried: abstaining from bathing and from wine, and from all delicate food, or fine clothes. Which latter part of their mourning, it is likely, might be in use in Joseph's time; though not the former, of besmearing their heads and faces with mud. But it is sufficient to say that they appeared in the habit of mourners (all the time the body was embalming), which was very various in different times and places: and continued in some countries a great many days longer than in others. This time of seventy days may seem to some too long: but Jacobus Capellus proposes this to their consideration, (Hist. Exot. et Sacra, ad A. M. 2310.) that Joseph being next to their king, the Egyptians honoured his father



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with a royal funeral, and a mourning of seventy days: which he thinks is a round number for seventy-two: for Diodorus says so many were the days of mourning for their king. "It seeming reasonable to them, that as they gave the fifth part of the increase of their land to their king when he was alive; so they should bestow the fifth part of the year upon him in mourning for him when he was dead: which was just seventy-two, not reckoning the five odd days, which did not come into their account. As to those who object that this was immoderate mourning, having more of ambition than piety in it; his answer is, That (granting it to be true) Joseph did not bring in this custom; and had peculiar reason to follow what he found in use there: that they might be the more condemned who vexed the innocent posterity, on whose parent they had bestowed royal honours. Besides, there is something due to kings and great men, to distinguish them from the dregs of the people."

Ver. 4. *And when the days of mourning were past.*] That is, the seventy days beforenamed.

*Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh.*] To the great officers of the court; unto whom, it is most probable, he spake by a messenger: strict mourners (such as Joseph was) using to keep close in their chambers, and not to appear in public, or make visits. At least it was against the custom to appear in the court (if the same usage was there in those days, which was in the Persian court in Mordecai's time; and such rational customs one cannot but think were very ancient) in the habit of a mourner, (Esth. iv. 1, 2.) For which reason he did not go himself to make the following request to Pharaoh: they who were in the state of mourning being looked upon as defiled.

Ver. 5. *My father made me swear,* &c.] See xlvii. 29, 30. where Jacob engaged him by an oath to carry his body into Canaan, to be buried there: that he might keep up some claim to that country, by virtue of the sepulchre, which his grandfather had there purchased; and where his father Isaac lay buried.

*Which I have digged for me.*] In the cave that Abraham had bought, Gen. xxiii. (which was a large place) Jacob it seems had taken care to have a grave digged for himself. From which and such-like examples St. Austin argues (in the place quoted above, on ver. 3.) the bodies of the dead, especially of good men, are to be treated with such a regard, as they themselves thought was due to them.

Ver. 6. *According as he made thee swear.*] The religion of an oath, it appears from hence, was in those days so sacred, that the king, who had not sworn himself, would not have another man violate it, for his sake: who might have pretended he could not spare Joseph so long from his business, being his chief minister in the land of Egypt. Such heathen kings as these will rise up in judgment against those Christian princes who make a jest of their oaths.

Ver. 7. *All the servants of Pharaoh.*] This seems to be explained by the next words, the *elders of his house;* the principal officers of court. For the word *all* must be understood with some limitation, as usually in Scripture: some being left behind, no doubt, to wait upon the king. Thus in Matt. iii. 5. *all Judea* is said to have gone out to John's baptism, *i. e.* a great many.

*The elders of his house,* &c.] I have observed before on xxiv. 2. that *elder* is a name of dignity: as the Jerusalem Targum there expounds it; instead of *his servant the elder of his house,* having these words, *his principal servant, who was set over all the rest, as their governor.* And it appears by this place that this was used not only by the Hebrews, but by the Egyptians, long before Moses's time, as a title of honour and dignity: as it hath since been by all nations whatsoever. (See Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 14.)

*All the elders of the land of Egypt.*] The principal persons in authority and dignity, throughout the whole country, as well as those of the court: such as were governors of provinces, and cities, and counsellors, &c. Which honour they did to Jacob, in all likelihood, by Pharaoh's command: for how well soever they might stand affected to Joseph, they could not of their own accord desert their charge.

Ver. 8. *All the house of Joseph,* &c.] Their whole family; except such as were necessary to look after their little ones and their flocks, &c. This verse also shews the word *all* must have a limited sense.

Ver. 9. *And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen.*] As a guard to him; which, it is likely, always attended him, as viceroy of the kingdom: but now might be necessary for his safety, as he passed through the deserts, in case he should meet with any opposition, when he came to challenge his burying-place. Though it is probable that matter was settled beforehand with the Canaanites; who were in no condition to oppose the kingdom of Egypt: which was grown very rich, and they very poor, by the late famine.

*And it was a very great company.*] That he might appear in greater state, at such a solemnity.

Ver. 10. *And they came to the threshing-floor of Atad.*] Some take Atad for a place, and translate the word before it in the same sense, as if he had said they came to Goren-Atad. But Forsterus in his Lexicon thinks Atad was the proper name of a man, who was eminent in that country for his threshing-floor. Though there are those who take it for a *bramble,* with which that floor was fenced in: for so the word signifies, Judg. ix. 14. And the Africans called a bramble *atadim* (as Bochart observes, lib. ii. Canaan, cap. 15.) which is the plural number of Atad. But the Talmudists are so fanciful, that, not satisfied with such reasons, they say Jacob's coffin was here surrounded with garlands (crowns they call them) just like a threshing-floor, which is hedged about with thorns. For the tradition, they say, is, that the sons of Esau, Ishmael, and Keturah all met here; and seeing Joseph's crown hanging over the coffin, they all pulled off theirs, and hanged them up in the same manner. So the Excerpt. Gemaræ in Sota, cap. i. §. 45.

*Beyond Jordan.*] Some translate it, *On this side Jordan.* Both are true, with respect to several places: for it was *on this side Jordan* with respect to those in Canaan: but *beyond Jordan* with respect to those who came unto Canaan, through the deserts; as Joseph did now, and the Israelites afterward. Why Joseph passed this way, which was very much about, and not the direct road, which was a great deal shorter, is hard to tell. Perhaps it was a better way for chariots: for it is not probable they feared any opposition from the Philistines, or Edomites; with whom the matter might have been concerted (as we now speak) beforehand,

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if they had apprehended their passage would meet with any hinderance from them.

*There they mourned,* &c.] Wherein this *great and sore lamentation* consisted, we are not able to give a certain account: but in aftertimes they sat with their faces covered; having ashes sprinkled on their heads; crying out with a mournful voice; sometimes wringing, sometimes clapping their hands together; smiting their breasts, or their thighs; with many other expressions of grief and sorrow. But why they made this lamentation at the floor of Atad, rather than at the grave, is harder to resolve. Perhaps it was a more convenient place to stay in seven days, than that where he was to be buried: and the mourning being made in the country where the body was laid, was the same as if it had been made at the grave. Or, it was the fashion, perhaps, at the very entrance of the country, where they carried a corpse to be buried, to fall into a lamentation: and they made the same again, when they came to the place where it was interred: though there is nothing of that here mentioned.

*Seven days.*] That that was the time of public mourning among the Jews in succeeding ages, it appears from many instances: particularly 1 Sam. xxxi. 13. Ecclus. xxii. 13. Judith xvi. 29. And just so long their joy lasted at solemn weddings; as we read in chap. xxix. of this book, ver. 27.

Ver. 11. *This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians.*] By this it appears this was a solemn public mourning, in which the Egyptians themselves joined, though not related to him. And therefore, it is likely, consisted in such wailings, and outward expressions of sorrow, as were made even by those who had no inward grief. For in following times there were a sort of men called מספדים, *lamenters* (from the Hebrew word *saphad* used in the foregoing verse), who had a public office, as our *bearers* have, to attend upon funerals and make doleful lamentations. (See Buxtorf. Lex. Talm. f. 1524.)

*Abel-Mitzraim.*] This shews the lamentation was exceeding great, that it changed the very name of the place where it was made: or, at least, gave a name to it.

Ver. 14. *And Joseph returned into Egypt,* &c.] They had a prosperous journey: and there is no ground for what some Jews bid us here note; that not one man was lost, though they had a battle with the Edomites in their way to Canaan.

Ver. 15. *Joseph will peradventure hate us,* &c.] Their guilt was so great, that it continued to make them suspicious.

Ver. 16. *And they sent messengers unto Joseph.*] The same guilt made them fearful to go themselves; but they first tried how he would answer a messenger they sent to him (for it doth not appear there was more than one) in all their names; with a letter, perhaps, confirming what he delivered by word of mouth. Some think this message was sent before they went to bury their father; while the time of mourning lasted: when Joseph's heart, they thought, was tender, and his father fresh in memory. But this is not a sufficient reason to make us think it was not done in order of time as it is here placed in the story.

*Thy father commanded before he died.*] This was a feigned story: for we do not find that Joseph had acquainted his father with their usage of him. Or, if he did, it would have been more proper to have left this charge with Joseph, than with them; or rather, he knew him so well, that he needed not to command him to take no revenge.

Ver. 17. *Forgive the trespass.*] So we well translate the Hebrew phrase, *take away the trespass:* which is used elsewhere in this book, xviii. 24. 26. and in Hosea xiv. 2. And by *forgive* is meant, "Remitte pœnam, quam ab illis possis jure exigere propter peccatum in te commissum;" as Bochart well explains this passage; (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 41.) *Remit the punishment, which thou mayest justly exact of them, for the offence they committed against thee.*

*Of the servants of the God of thy father.*] They urge besides the command of their father, and the relation they had to him as his brethren, that they were of the same religion with him: which makes the greatest conjunction of minds and affections, if it be rightly understood and practised. For how can the worshippers of the same God hate one another? There are those who think they call themselves *the servants of God,* not merely upon the account of their worshipping the true God, but because they were teachers also of the true religion: for this made them, above other Israelites, to be the *servants of God.* So Jac. Alting. lib. iii. Shilo, cap. 14.

*And Joseph wept when they spake unto him.*] By their messenger. Which shews he was so far from being angry at them, that he pitied them, and had a tender affection to them.

Ver. 18. *And his brethren also went,* &c.] The messenger acquainting them how he stood affected to them; and, it is likely, carrying back a kind message from him, and an invitation to come to him; they went to his house, and humbled themselves at his feet. In which Joseph's dream was still further fulfilled.

*We are thy servants.*] They had not yet overcome their fear (so close did their guilt stick to their consciences), and therefore call themselves his *servants,* not his *brethren.* They had sold him to be a servant; and now they offer themselves to be so to him.

Ver. 19. *For am I in the place of God?*] His father Jacob had said the same to Rachel, (xxx. 2.) to persuade her to submit to Divine Providence: which seems to be the scope of the words here. *Shall I presume to oppose myself to what is come to pass; as if I were God, and not He, who hath ordered things so much for our good?* This appears to be the sense by what follows: and may be thus expressed: *shall I punish you for that* (for that may be meant by being in the *place of God,* to whom vengeance belongs) *which God hath turned so much to all our advantage?* Though the words may be simply rendered, *I am in the place of God,* without an interrogation. As much as to say, *I have nourished and sustained you all this while, and can you think I will now do you hurt?*

Ver. 20. *But as for you, ye thought evil against me,* &c.] It is true, indeed, ye thought to destroy me: but God designed by that very evil contrivance of yours, to bring about the greatest good both to you and me.

*To bring to pass as it is this day,* &c.] To accomplish what you now see, the preservation of our whole family: which he understands by *much people,* in the next words, who by this means were *saved* from perishing. Herein appears the wonderful wisdom of God's overruling providence: which, contrary to the nature of sin, and the will

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of sinners, turns the evil they do into good, and directs it to the most excellent ends.

Ver. 21. *Now therefore fear you not.*] He again encourages their hope; by repeating what he had said, ver. 19.

*I will nourish you,* &c.] I will still take care of you all, as I have done hitherto.

*And he comforted them,* &c.] With such discourse as this he raised up their drooping spirits: for he spake most kindly to them.

Ver. 22. *And Joseph dwelt in Egypt,* &c.] He continued in Egypt; and so did his brethren, to their dying day. And, no doubt, made his word good to them: being one of the greatest examples of heroic virtue; to which none can arrive, unless they be meek and placable as he was. For, "Nihil est magnum, quod non idem sit placidum;" as Seneca truly said.

*Joseph lived a hundred and ten years.*] Not so long as his forefathers; for he was the son of his father's old age, and lived a great part of his time full of thought and care: having the weight of a great kingdom's affairs lying on him. For eighty of these years he spent in Egypt (being but thirty years old when he first stood before Pharaoh), in great prosperity, indeed; but in no less solicitude to discharge so great a trust as was committed to him.

Ver. 23. *Ephraim's children of the third generation.*] *i. e.* His great grandchildren. In which Jacob's prediction began to be fulfilled, (xlviii. 19, 20. xlix. 25.) We find indeed that after Joseph's death (I suppose) Ephraim had some of his children slain, (1 Chron. vii. 21, &c.) But God so blessed those who remained, that when Moses took an account of them after their coming out of Egypt, they were increased to above eight thousand more than the children of Manasseh, (Numb. i. 33. 35.)

*Brought up upon Joseph's knees.*] He lived to embrace and dandle them (as we now speak), in which old men and women much delight. Machir had only Gilead by his first wife; but he had more children by a second, as we read 1 Chron. vii. 16. All which were born before Joseph died; and, perhaps, by *children* he means the children of his grandchildren.

Joseph's great authority, and his children's great increase, overawed his brethren so that they never durst dispute their father's will: inwhich he gave a double portion unto them. Which one would guess by their temper, was as displeasing to them, as their father's kindness to Joseph anciently had been: but they durst not oppose it; nor do we find they quarrelled at it.

Ver. 24. *God will surely visit you.*] He explains his meaning by what follows; *and bring you out of this land,* &c. For the word *visit* is used indifferently either for bestowing good things, or inflicting evil. Thus he died in the same faith with his ancestors; that God would make good his promises to them.

Ver. 25. *And Joseph took an oath.*] As his father had done of him, (xlvii. 30, 31.)

*Of the children of Israel.*] Not only of his brethren mentioned before, (ver. 24.) but of all their family, who were to succeed them; and might live (when his brethren were dead) to carry his body out of Egypt; which he desired, for the same reason his father had done.

*Carry up my bones from hence.*] He did not desire to be carried immediately after his death, as his father was when his embalming was finished; but that they should carry him when they themselves returned to Canaan: by which time he knew his flesh would be quite dried up, and nothing left but bones. The reason why he did not desire to be carried away presently, was, that his body remaining with them, they might look upon it as a pledge and security of the promise God had made, of giving them the possession of that land, wherein he desired to be buried, or not buried at all. But he had repeated it twice, that God would *surely visit them,* (ver. 24, 25.) and was so confident of it, that he desired to be kept unburied, till the time of that visitation. Perhaps also he considered that they could not be of such authority as he had been: to prevail to have his body carried to Canaan, as his father's was: and therefore desired them not to think of laying him there, till that time came, when they should make a solemn and universal departure thither.

We read nothing what became of the rest of his brethren, but Josephus saith they were all carried into the land of Canaan to be buried: for they had the same desire, in all likelihood, and gave the same charge concerning their bodies;. to keep posterity in hope, that God would certainly bring them thither. Which the words of St. Stephen also may seem to import, when he saith, (Acts vii. 15, 16.) "Jacob died, and our fathers, and were carried over into Sychem," &c. Though we read of none of their fathers beside Joseph; yet it seems the tradition was, that they were all carried thither, after his example. And so St. Jerome saith, that he saw at Sychem the sepulchres of the twelve patriarchs. (Epitaph. Paulæ, cap. 6.)

Ver. 26. *So Joseph died.*] After he had taken the forenamed oath of them, and assured them again of the truth of God's promise: which were the last things he did.

Some, perhaps, may think it strange that so wise and great a man as Joseph, whose dying words, one cannot but think, would have left a deep impression upon his brethren, should not give them abundance of good counsel at his departure from this world: and lay some other charge upon them, besides this of carrying up his bones to the land of Canaan. But Moses did not intend to write all that excellent men said and did: and we may very well think, when he declared his steadfast faith in the promise made to Abraham, (which the apostle takes notice of, Hebr. xi. 22.) and assured them God would perform it, he enlarged himself on that subject, in more words than are here related.

*Being a hundred and ten years old.*] This was said before, (ver. 22.) but here repeated, to signify he did not live a year beyond it; and so died just fifty-four years after his father; and a hundred and forty-four years before their departure out of Egypt.

*And they embalmed him.*] His brethren took the same care of his body, that he had done of his father's, ver. 2. See there. For that Joseph died before any of his brethren, the Jews gather from Exod. i. 6, where it is said, "Joseph died, and all his brethren." He first, and they followed him. But not content with this, some of them adventure to tell us how many years every one of them lived; nay, the very month and day of their birth, as may be seen in R. Bechai. Reuben, for instance, they say was born the 14th day of Cisleu, and died when he was a hundred and twenty-five years old, &c.

*And he was put in a coffin in Egypt.*] To be pre-

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served in that *chest* or *ark* (as the Hebrew word is commonly translated) till they themselves went from thence. Herodotus, in the book above named (Euterpe, cap. 86. 90.) speaks of the Θήκαι, *chests*, wherein dead bodies were enclosed after their embalming: which they laid ἐν οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ, *in the house or cell where these chests were reposited*, reared against the wall of it. Whether Joseph's coffin was put into such a common repository, or rather preserved in a place by it, we cannot determine. But the Chaldee hath an odd conceit, (as G. Schikkard observes in his Jus Regium, p. 159.) that it was kept in the river Nile. Which arose, perhaps, from a mistake of the relation which that author had met withal, of the place where they laid their bodies: which were let down very deep *wells*, or *vaults* some call them (some of which were not far from the river Nile), and so put into a *cave*, which was at the bottom of those *wells*. For so F. Vansleb and others, who have gone to search for mummies, describe the place where they lie: and tell us they found some of the coffins made of wood (not putrified to this day), and others of clothes pasted together, forty times double; which were as strong as wood, and not at all rotten.

The reader cannot but observe, that from the time of Joseph's advancement to the government, till the time of his death, *i. e.* for eighty years, there is no mention of the death of any king in Egypt. For it was not Moses's intention to write the history of that kingdom, or to give us the series of their kings: but only to acquaint us with the series of the patriarchs, and give some account of them, from the creation to his own time. All other things must be learned out of other authors. And, according to Eusebius, whom Jac. Capellus follows, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty (when the Egyptian history he makes account ceased to be fabulous) was Amos: whose dream Joseph interpreted, and was by him preferred. After he had reigned twenty-five years, he left the kingdom to Chebros; who reigned thirteen years. Next to whom was Amenophis (as much as to say, *a servant of Noph*, i. e. *Memphis*), who reigned twenty-one years: and then left the kingdom to Mephres, who held it twelve years. To whom Josephus, out of Manetho, substitutes Amersis, and says he reigned twenty-two years. And then succeeded Mephramuthosis, who reigned twenty-six years: in the beginning of whose time Joseph died.

THE

# SECOND BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

# EXODUS.

## CHAP. I.

THIS book hath its name from the principal subject of it, *viz.* the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt. For so the Greek word Ἔξοδος signifies, *going out*, or *departing* from one place to another. It contains a history of about a hundred forty and five years (some make it two or three years less) from the death of Joseph, to the building of the Tabernacle. For it treats of several things which went before their *departure*, and which followed after it: but they all relate to that, and depend upon it.

Ver. 1. *Now these are the names of the children of Israel which came into Egypt*, &c.] Being to relate the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt, it was very proper first to set down the number of those who came into it; and the heads of them: whereby it might the better appear also how God had fulfilled his promise to Abraham, of multiplying his seed: which Moses had recorded in his first book (Genesis), where he shews this promise was made at that very time, when he declared, after a long affliction in Egypt, he would conduct his posterity into Canaan, (Gen. xv. 5. 13. 18.)

Ver. 2, 3, 4. *Reuben, Simeon*, &c.] He doth not set down their names (in these three verses) according to their birth: but first the children of Leah; then one of Rachel's; and then those of his handmaids: and last of all (in the next verses) Joseph, who was in Egypt before.

Ver. 5. *And all the souls.*] *i. e.* Persons.

*Who came out of the loins.*] In the Hebrew, out of *the thigh*, which signifies that part whereby mankind is propagated: as was observed upon Gen. xlvi. 26. And so the author of the Tripartite history uses the word *femur*, when he speaks of the martyrdom of Benjamin, (as Bochart observes, par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. v. cap. 15.) "Alium rursum acutum Calamum in ejus femur, unde humana origo descendit, jussit immitti."

*For Joseph was in Egypt already.*] In the Hebrew the particle *vau* (which we commonly translate *and*, and here *for*) sometimes also signifies *with:* (see Gen. iv. 20.) And so it doth in this place: which should be translated *seventy souls, with Joseph; who was in Egypt already.* For Joseph is not to be added to the *seventy*, but reckoned among them; to make up that number: as appears from Gen. xlvi.

Ver. 6. *And Joseph died.*] See Gen. l. 26.

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*And all his brethren, and all that generation.*] All that came with Jacob into Egypt.

Ver. 7. *And the children of Israel were fruitful,* &c.] Here are several words for the same thing; to shew their extraordinary increase, beyond what was usual in that or any other country. And because there are six words in all, to express this great increase, some of the Hebrews conclude they brought forth six children at a birth. Which others of them gather from the second word here used, *jischretzu:* which is a word whereby the increase of fishes is expressed in Gen. i. 20. So Theodoric Hackspan observes out of Baal-hatturim and Jalkut, and thinks the tradition is not to be rejected, because they bring frivolous conceits to support it. For Aristotle saith (lib. vii. Histor. Animal. cap. 4.) the Egyptian women were so fruitful, that some of them at four births brought *twenty* children. No wonder then, if some of the Israelites brought *six* at a time, by the extraordinary blessing of God upon them. For Caspar Schottus names the wife of a citizen in Florence, who had two-and-fifty children, and never brought less than three at a birth; lib. iii. Phys. Curiosæ, cap. 29. where he hath collected a vast number of examples of such strange fruitfulness.

But nobody hath explained this verse more soberly and unexceptionably than Abarbinel; who considers every one of the words here used very judiciously; and shews they are not multiplied in vain. For, as the first word,

*Were fruitful*] Signifies, he thinks, that none among them were barren, but brought forth every year, as trees are wont to do; so the next word,

*And increased abundantly*] Signifies, that they commonly brought forth more than one at a time, as *creeping* things do; to which this word alludes. And because when more than one are born at a birth, they are frequently very weak, and not long-lived; therefore he adds,

*And multiplied.*] Which signifies, that they grew up to be men and women; and lived to have children of their own. And those not feeble, but lusty and strong; as the next words, he thinks, import, *waxed exceeding mighty:* of which more presently.

Now this vast increase began at their first coming into Egypt, (Gen. xlvii. 27, 28.) and so continued till the death of all that generation, mentioned in the foregoing verse. When it began to be taken notice of by the Egyptians; who thought it might prove dangerous to them: for the Israelites having *multiplied exceedingly,* during the space of seventeen years, that Jacob lived in Egypt; there is no doubt they increased proportionably in the space of fifty-four years more, which Joseph lived after the death of his father. And so in sixty-four years more, from the death of Joseph to the birth of Moses, must needs be grown so numerous, as to *fill the country.* So that in eighty years more, they were increased to six hundred thousand men besides children, (Exod. xii. 37.) And the next year their number being taken, they were found to be six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty men, from twenty years old and upward; as we read, Numb. i. 45, 46. And therefore, reckoning women, children, and youths under the age of twenty, we cannot but think they were three times as many: or perhaps two millions. Which is not incredible, by a moderate computation, if we consider how many might spring from seventy persons in the space of two hundred and fifteen years (which the forenamed sums make), as Bonfrerius, and several others from him in our own language, have been at the pains to demonstrate.

*And waxed exceeding mighty.*] This is commonly thought to signify, that they were not only numerous, but robust and strong. And it may as well denote, that their vast numbers made them very formidable to the Egyptians: who began, it appears by the sequel, to be jealous of their power, if they should have a will to attempt any thing against them.

*And the land was filled with them.*] *i. e.* The land of Goshen; and perhaps some other parts of the lower Egypt.

Ver. 8. *Now there arose up a new king over Egypt.*] Some by a *new king* understand a king of another family, or race (as Josephus interprets it), nay, a stranger of another nation: just as *new gods* are strange gods, in Scripture language. Thus Sir John Marsham; and then it is no wonder, that he knew not Joseph, as it here follows. But this is not certain: and the conceit whereby Aben Ezra justifies it (which is, that the word *rose up* implies as much), is justly censured by Abarbinel as frivolous; it being the common word, which is used every where, when a new king succeeds his predecessor. It is most likely therefore that Moses means no more, but that the king in whose time Joseph died, being dead likewise (who many take to have been Mephramuthosis), and another after him, whom they call Thutmosis; the next successor in the throne (Amenophis) either had heard nothing of Joseph, or did not mind what was said of him. Our great primate of Ireland gives a different account of the succession of the Egyptian kings; and takes this king to have been Ramasses Miamum: but still supposes him to have been of the old line, and not a stranger.

*Who knew not Joseph.*] There is no doubt that Joseph died, as he lived, in high esteem and great reputation in that country: and that his memory continued precious, as long as any of that generation lasted. For Diodorus Siculus saith (lib. i.) that the Egyptians above all other people, εὐχαρίστως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς πᾶν τὸ εὐεργετοῦν, *were disposed to be grateful to all those who had any way merited of them:* looking upon the requital of the kindness of benefactors to be one of the greatest supporters of human life. And something to the same purpose is noted by Clemens Alexandrinus (lib. i. Strom. p. 303.) where, having said that barbarous nations highly honoured αὐτῶν νομοθέτας καὶ διδασκάλους, their *lawgivers* and *instructors,* whom they called gods; he presently adds, that the Egyptians, ἐθεολόγισαν ἀκριβῶς, *were very careful to deify such persons.* But if this was their inclination, in times so ancient as those of Moses, we must not think them all to have been so disposed; or that time did not obliterate the memory of benefits. For this prince (whom Artapanus in Eusebius, lib. ix. Præp. Evang. cap. 27. calls Palamanothes, so uncertain is his name) not having seen Joseph himself, nor having any knowledge perhaps of the benefits his country had received by his means, did not treat his kindred so kindly as they had been used in former times. But this phrase, *he knew not,* is commonly interpreted *he regarded not* the services which Joseph had done; of which he is supposed not to have been ignorant. For words of knowledge, in Scripture, include the affections also. As God is said *to know* those whom he loves; and *not to know* those

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whom he doth not love, (Psalm i. 6. Matth. vii. 23.) Whence the Jews have raised this observation, that *he who forgets the benefits he hath received from other men, at last forgets those he hath received from God.* For he of whom it is said here, that *he knew not Joseph;* said, not long after, *I know not the Lord,* (ver. 2.) But this is grounded upon a mistake; for it was another Pharaoh, long after this king, who spake those words.

Ver. 9. *And he said unto his people.*] He called a council of the great men of the nation: to whom he represented how necessary it was to lessen the number, and weaken the power, of the Israelites.

*Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we.*] This was not true (unless he meant that no part of Egypt of that bigness had so many people and so strong as the Israelites in Goshen), but he said it to awaken his people to consider how to suppress them. And perhaps he was afraid of their power, or out of popularity would, in the beginning of his reign, give a proof of his care of his people by suppressing foreigners.

Ver. 10. *Come on.*] The Hebrew word *habah* is sometimes used in *petitions,* (Psalm lx. *ult.*) but most commonly in *exhortations;* when men excite and stir up one another, not to be slack in any business. (See Gen. xi. 3.)

*Let us deal wisely with them.*] He would not go about to destroy them by force, being loath to lose so many subjects; but was desirous to diminish them by subtle devices.

*Lest they multiply.*] Grow still more numerous and mighty.

*Lest when there falls out any war.*] With the Arabians, Ethiopians, or other neighbouring nations. For I see no reason to believe that he means the ancient Egyptians (with whom the Israelites had lived in great friendship, but now were expelled by the shepherd kings), and the people of Thebais; who at length made war with those kings, who reigned in the lower Egypt. This is Sir J. Marsham's conjecture (in his Canon Chron. sec. viii.) which I thought good to mention, though I do not follow it.

*They join also to our enemies, and fight against us.*] As it was natural for men to do, who were under grievous oppressions; and hoped thereby for relief.

*And so get them out of the land.*] They had heard the Israelites discourse, it is likely, that they never meant always to stay there; their fathers coming only to sojourn in Egypt: and the nearer the time approached, when God promised to bring them from thence, the more, we may well think, they spake of it. Which raised this jealousy, that, in case of any war, they would join with their enemies, that by their assistance they might be delivered.

Ver. 11. *Therefore they did set over them taskmasters,* &c.] This was the result of the council; that they should be brought low by laying heavy taxes upon them, to squeeze them of their money; and by making them labour very hard, whereby they thought to weaken their bodies. For the Hebrew word *missim* coming from *mas,* which signifies *tribute,* it may be reasonably thought, that these *taskmasters* (as we call them) exacted great sums of money of them, as well as *afflicted them with their burdens, i.e.* hard labour of all sorts, as the eastern writers expound it.

*And they built for Pharaoh.*] They did not labour for themselves, but for the king; who, it is likely, gave them no wages; but used them as mere slaves.

*Treasure cities.*] Fortified cities, wherein he had his magazines (as we now speak) of all sort of ammunition, and stores of corn, and public provisions; as well as treasures of money. For so we translate this word *miskenoth,* 2 Chron. xvi. 4. xvii. 12. *storehouses:* and xxxvi. 28. *storehouses for corn, and wine, and oil.* There was great labour, no doubt, employed in building such cities; surrounded with walls, and towers, and deep ditches, &c.

*Pithom.*] This is thought by Bochart to be the city which Herodotus calls Πάτουμος, (lib. ii. cap. 158.) but Herodotus there saith it was πόλις τῆς Ἀραβίας, *a city of Arabia.* And therefore Sir J. Marsham's conjecture seems more reasonable, who takes it for Pelusium: which was the most ancient fortified place in Egypt; called by Ezekiel, (xxx. 15.) *the strength of Egypt;* and by Suidas, long after him, κλεῖς τοῦ Αἰγύπτου, *the key of Egypt:* because it was the inlet from Syria into this country. Which was the reason, as Diodorus saith, (lib. xv.) that they most of all fortified τὸ Πελουσιακὸν στόμα, as his words are. And this agrees with the signification of *Pithom,* if C. Chytræus guesses aright, which is as much as *pi* and *tehom, i.e.* the *mouth of the deep:* being seated near the sea, at the mouth of one of the streams of the Nile. And thus I find it expounded in the Talmud, Tit. Sota, in the Gemara, cap. 1. §. 32.

*And Rameses.*] It is an ignorant conceit of Benjamin Tudelensis that this city is that called *Ein-Alschemes,* i. e. *the fountain of the sun;* in Greek, Heliopolis. (See his Itiner. p. 120. and L'Empereur's Annot. p. 223.) For the city was in the upper Egypt; whereas Rameses was in the lower, in the land of Goshen; and gave name to the whole country where the Israelites dwelt, (Gen. xlvii. 11.) And, it is most likely, it was a frontier town, which lay in the entrance of Egypt from Arabia, or some of the neighbouring countries. They that take the name of the king who now reigned to have been Rameses, think this city had its name from him, and the other called Pithom (as Mercator thinks) from the name of his queen.

Ver. 12. *But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew.*] Here is a new word, different from all the former (ver. 7.) to express their extraordinary increase; for so *jiphrots* signifies, *breaking out;* as water doth which bursts out with a greater force, when it hath been pent up. This, as St. Austin observes, (lib. 8. de Civ. Dei. cap. 6.) is to be ascribed to the Divine blessing, for naturally tiresome labours would have dispirited them, and made them less fruitful.

*And they were grieved because of the children of Israel.*] It vexed them to see this device prove so unsuccessful, that it promoted what they thought to hinder.

Ver. 13. *And the Egyptians;* rather *therefore.*] The Egyptians resolved to take a more severe course with them.

*Made the children of Israel to serve with rigour.*] Used them more tyrannically and cruelly; without any mercy: whereby their strength, in all likelihood, would be broken, as the Hebrew word signifies. Some of the Jews think they beat and scourged them sorely.

Ver. 14. *And they made their life bitter.*] The Hebrews call all things *bitter,* which extremely grieve and afflict the soul, (Gen. xxvii. 34. Lament. iii. 15.) Whence Naomi bids her daughters call her no more by that pleasant name,



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but call her *Mara*, i. e. *bitter:* because of the very great afflictions she had endured in a strange country.

*With hard bondage.*] Such drudgery as if they had been mere bond-slaves.

*In mortar and in brick.*] Πηλὸν εἰς πλίνθον σχηματίζοντες, *by making clay into bricks* (as Philo well interprets it, lib. i. de Vita Mosis), or in working the clay, and then turning it into bricks. And so Bochart expounds it, by the figure of ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, *lateribus ex luto conficiendis.* There was great store of clay in that place; Pelusium (one of the cities which they built) having its name from thence, both in the Greek and in the Hebrew languages. For *sin* signifies the same with πηλὸς, *clay* or *dirt.*

*And in all manner of service in the field,* &c.] Not merely in ploughing, &c. but in digging trenches, to convey the water of Nile into their ground (as Philo expounds it), and in cleansing those trenches that had been formerly made; and in carrying dung, as others add, into the field; and such-like nasty services. And all these, Moses adds, were *rigorously* exacted of them: *i. e.* they did all they could to *break their hearts,* as we speak.

Ver. 15. *And the king spake to the Hebrew midwives.*] The former device failing him, or contributing little to his end, he betakes himself to one that, if it were pursued, could not but prove effectual. Some will have these *midwives* to have been Egyptians, but called Hebrew, because the women of that nation made use of their assistance, when they were in labour. But it is not likely that the Hebrews had not midwives of their nation, or that Pharaoh would impose his midwives upon them, and let them have none else; for that would have too plainly discovered his drift; whereas he intended to hide it, and to act cunningly against them, (ver. 10.)

*The name of the one was Siphrah,* &c.] We cannot well think there were only two midwives, to serve the whole nation: but these were the chief; who had the rest under their government, and gave orders and directions to them. So Aben Ezra; whom Abarbinel contradicts; but with slight reasons, to advance a subtle rather than solid conceit of his own; that every woman in Egypt had two midwives, and those were the common names of them, signifying what each of them was to do for the women in travail. There are those among the Jews who have fancied Jochabed the mother of Moses to be one of those here named: and some of them, who are pleased with seeming ignorant of nothing, say she is the person here called Siphrah: her daughter Miriam being the other, called Puah: so the Jerusalem Targum.

Ver. 16. *When ye do the office of a midwife,* &c.] Are called to their assistance in their labour.

*And see them upon the stools.*] The Hebrew word *obanajim,* which we translate *stools,* is so obscure, that the LXX. content themselves to translate this passage thus, *when you see them delivered:* which fully expresses the sense; and must be supposed to be the meaning, if we take *stools* for such seats as are purposely contrived for labouring women to sit on, that the midwives might the better do their office. For they could not tell whether they brought forth male or female, till they were delivered: unless the Hebrew doctors say true, who constantly affirm that boys come into the world with their faces downwards, and girls with their faces upwards; whereby they might know what sex a child was of before it was quite born. (See Tit. Sota in the Gemara, cap. 1. sect. 33.)

*If it be a son, then ye shall kill him.*] The Egyptians feared the men of Israel only; without whom they could have no children at all, but such as would be half Egyptians; and in time be wholly ingrafted into that nation.

*But if it be a daughter then she shall live.*] For, as Clemens Alexandr. well observes, (lib. i. Stromat. p. 343.) ἀσθενὲς εἰς πόλεμον γυνὴ, *women are feeble and unfit for war;* therefore they had no fear of them, but reserved them to increase the Egyptian breed.

Ver. 17. *But the midwives feared God,* &c.] They that take them for Egyptians, say these midwives were proselytes to the Jewish religion. But such faith in God, as made them not fear a great king, is hardly to be expected from any but those who had been always bred up in a deep sense of his Divine Majesty. Which gave them such courage, that, as Chytræus expresseth it in Herodotus's phrase, (which is in a manner the same with St. Peter's, Acts v. 29.) τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, *they made account the things of God were to be preferred before those of men:* and therefore would not obey the king's command, by doing contrary unto God's.

Ver. 18. *And the king called for the midwives.*] Sent out a summons to appear before him.

*And said unto them, Why have ye done this thing,* &c.] Their being questioned for their disobedience, made their constancy the more remarkable.

Ver. 19. *For they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them.*] It doth not appear that these midwives told a lie, but only concealed some of the truth: which is not unlawful, but commendable, when it is to preserve the innocent. For many of the Hebrew women might be such as they are described, though not every one of them. The Hebrew word *chajoth* signifies three things; either *vivaces,* i. e. *lively,* or *obstetrices, midwives* (as Kimchi tells us), or *animantia, living creatures.* The LXX. follow the first notion, and so do we, which is very proper. Aquila follows the second, who translates this passage thus, Μαῖαι γάρ εἰσι, καὶ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὰς Μαίας τίκτουσιν; *they can do the office of midwives themselves, and are brought to bed before we can get to them.* Thus the Vulgar also take it, *they have skill in midwifery.* And the author of the Life of Moses (as several other Jews do) takes it in the third sense, expounding it thus; *they are like other living creatures, who do not need any midwives to help their young ones into the world.* And so Rasi also, and Theodotion, who thus translates it, ζωογονοῦσιν αὐταὶ, which doth not signify (as Gualmyn observes), *they bring forth living children,* but *ad instar animantium pariunt, they bring forth like animals.* Such lively women undoubtedly there have been, and are still in some parts of the world. For Varro reports (lib. ii. de R. R. cap. 10.) that the women of Illyricum, when they found their pangs coming, were wont to go a little aside from the work they were about, and presently were delivered of a child, *quem non peperisse, sed invenisse putes; which one would think they had found, not brought forth out of their womb.* Which place our Gataker mentioning in his Cinnus, (p. 213.) saith it is credibly reported, by those who had lived there a great while, that the Irish women sometimes rise from table, and are delivered,

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and return to the company again before all be taken away.

Ver. 20. *Therefore God dealt well with the midwives,* &c.] He rewarded their service; whereby the children of Israel still more *multiplied, and waxed very mighty.*

Ver. 21. *Because the midwives feared God, he made them houses.*] These words seem to declare, wherein God rewarded them; which was in *making them houses.* Some indeed (particularly Mr. Calvin) refer this to the Israelites; because the word *them* is of the masculine gender: and therefore cannot, they think, be meant of the midwives; but must be interpreted, *by this means the children of Israel were exceedingly increased.* But, besides that this was said just before, it is not unusual in Scripture, when the speech is of women, to use the masculine gender. Thus Ruth (i. 8.) prays for her daughters-in-law in these words, "the Lord deal kindly with you;" where in the Hebrew the masculine gender is used, and not the feminine. But we need go no further for an instance of this than the very next chapter to this, (Exod. ii. 17.) where Moses is said to *water their flock,* speaking of Jethro's daughters, and the word for *their* is of the masculine gender. It agrees also best with the whole story, to take it so here; that God made the midwives houses (so the Chaldee and the LXX. understand it), that is, gave them a numerous offspring, out of which arose many families, which in Scripture language are called *houses;* (Gen. xxx. 30.) "When shall I make myself a house?" (the same phrase with this,) *i. e.* take care of my own family, (Deut. xxv. 9. Ruth iv. 5.) Or else the meaning may be, *he increased their estate,* and gave them great riches: which the Psalmist may be thought to mean, when he saith, "Except the Lord build the house," (*i. e.* preserve and increase the estate of a family) their labour is in vain that endeavour it. (See also 2 Sam. vii. 11. Psalm cxiii. 9.) Some that take these midwives to have been Egyptian women, proselyted to the Jewish religion, think the sense may be, that they married to Israelites, and God made their families eminent in Israel.

Ver. 22. *And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son,* &c.] Not being able to effect his end by the midwives, he commanded every body to inform his officers when any Hebrew woman fell in labour, and appointed searchers (it is likely) to examine whether they were delivered of male or female, and to act according to what is here ordered. Some, that understand the foregoing words of the Israelites, make this the sense of the two last verses: *Because the midwives feared God, and thereby the families of the Israelites were increased, not diminished; Pharaoh took a new course, and charged all his people to see that done, which the midwives refused.* The Jews (in the book called the Life of Moses), say that many of their people, upon this decree of Pharaoh, resolved not to marry, or not to come near their wives: and those who did, were forced to have them brought to bed alone, and throw their children into the fields, where the angels took care of them, &c. But this is confuted by what follows in the next chapter. And yet they are so fond of such fables, that in one of their Medraschim (or books of homilies) they say God made milk to come out of one stone, and honey out of another, to suckle them, while they lay hid in the earth. (See Buxtorf. of the education of their children, Synag. Judaic. cap. 7.)

## CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. *AND there went a man of the house of Levi,* &c.] We are told both the man's name, and the woman's whom he married, (Exod. vi. 20. Numb. xxvi. 59.). Where Amram, grandson of Levi, is said to have been Moses's father; and Jochabed, daughter of Levi, to have been his mother. So Amram married his father's sister (as the text expressly tells us), which Moses was so ingenuous as not to conceal, though it might not be for his credit in future ages: when such marriages were forbidden by that law which he gave them from God; though practised before the giving of his law. (See Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 9.) The Jews also, fancying his mother Jochabed to have been born as soon as the Israelites came into Egypt, make the birth of Moses a miracle: because she must be, by that account, a hundred and thirty years old when he was born. But it may as well be thought that he was born to Levi in his old age, by another wife; and so she was younger than her nephew Amram, and but his half sister. Which makes their marriage no more strange than Abraham's marriage with Sarah. Besides, it is not certain she was his father's sister (in the strict sense of that word), but might be only one of his cousins, who in Scripture are frequently called sisters. And then, when it is said she was *a daughter of Levi,* the meaning must be, his *granddaughter,* or the child perhaps of one of his grand-daughters: who, in these writings, are commonly called *daughters.* And so all the objections against this marriage vanish; and the first words of this verse expound the last: *A man of the house of Levi, took to wife a daughter of Levi;* that is, one of the same house or family. But see vi. 20.

Ver. 2. *And the woman conceived, and bare a son.*] She had one before this, *viz.* Aaron; who, it is probable, was born before this persecution begun, being three years older than Moses, (vii. 7.)

*And when she saw him, that he was a goodly child.*] His goodly aspect (which seems to have been an early indication of his future greatness) is taken notice of by strangers; particularly by Justin out of Trogus, an ancient heathen historian, lib. xxxvi. cap. 2. where he saith, That besides the inheritance of his father's knowledge (whom he takes to have been Joseph), "etiam formæ pulchritudo commendabat," *the gracefulness of his person recommended him to others.* Insomuch, that the whole fable of Adonis among the heathen was framed (as Huetius conjectures) out of this story of Moses. For Apollodorus relates (lib. iii.) how Venus, admiring the great beauty of the infant, took him away privily, without the knowledge of the gods; and, hiding him in an ark, delivered him to Proserpine, &c. (See Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 3. n. 3.)

*She hid him three months.*] R. Simeon, in Pirke Eliezer, (cap. 48.) saith, she hid him in a vault under ground. But in Sota they say (in the Gemara, cap. i. sect. 38.) he being hid in a secret inner room of their house, was in danger to be detected by his crying; when some of the Egyptians came into the outer room, and brought a crying child with them on purpose; supposing the Israelites' infants would answer, if any were in the house. But there is no certainty of this.

Ver. 3. *And when she could no longer hide him.*] Some



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discovery being made of him, by some means or other, by their neighbours; or the search after new-born children being now more narrow and diligent; she thought he could be no longer concealed, and therefore resolved to expose him, in the manner following.

*She took for him an ark of bulrushes.*] Or of *wicker:* for Kimchi observes the Hebrew word *gome* signifies the lightest wood. Patricides, an Arabian writer, saith it was made of that which the ancients call *papyrus:* and so the LXX. and Josephus, and Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. i. p. 343. ἐκ βίβλου τῆς ἐγχωρίου σκεῦός τι ποιησάμενοι), which was a *frutex* that grew particularly upon the banks of Nile, as Salmasius shews in Solin. p. 1002, &c.

*And daubed it with slime and with pitch.*] Of this word *slime,* see Gen. xi. 3. It is most probable that this was used within, and pitch without, to keep the water from coming into the ark. And so I find in the Gemara of that title, in the Talmud called Sota, (cap. i. sect. 29.) where this is said to have been an ancient tradition. Only they say, as many of the rabbins do, that *chemar* signifies *plaster,* not *bitumen:* because the bad smell of that, they think, would have been noisome to the child. R. Solomon's opinion is, that it was *pitched* both within and without; and plastered within over the pitch.

*And she laid it in the flags by the river's brink.*] That it might not be carried away with the stream; but she might come in the night and suckle it. Some think that the ark, notwithstanding, was made below in the form of a boat, that, if it should chance to be carried from among the flags upon the shore, it might swim in the river. For it is certain the Egyptians made ships of the forenamed reed, as we find in Pliny and Solinus, who both mention *papyraceæ naves;* and in Theophrastus, who mentions Πλοῖα ἐξ αὐτοῦ, speaking of *papyrus:* as Salmasius observes in his Plin. Exercit. p. 1003. 1115, 1116. Herodotus also mentions, Πλοῖα ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιεύμενα, in his Euterpe, cap. xcvi. (See Isa. xviii. 2.)

Ver. 4. *And his sister stood afar off, to wit what,* &c.] By her mother's order no doubt; that she might not seem to be set there, on purpose to watch him. We read of no other sister he had but Miriam, (Numb. xxvi. 59.) who therefore is thought to be the person.

Ver. 5. *And the daughter of Pharaoh.*] Called Thermutis by Josephus, (lib. ii. Antiq. cap. 5.) but by Artapanus, in Eusebius's Præpar. Evang. (lib. ix. cap. 27.) called Meris, or Merris. Which is her name, as Jacobus Capellus observes, in his Fasti Siculi. The same Artapanus there says, she was married to Cenephres, king of the country above Memphis; but had no child by him. Clemens Alexandrinus says the same, that she was not only a married woman, but had been long married, without being with child, τέκνον δὲ ἐπιζυμοῦσα, *but very desirous to have one.* (Lib. i. Strom. p. 343.)

*Come down to wash herself at the river.*] Not for pleasure, but for purification: this being an ancient rite of religion in all nations, to cleanse themselves, by washing their bodies, after any defilement. Thus Philo seems to understand it, in his book of the Life of Moses: where, speaking of this matter, he uses the word περιῤῥαντήρια, which is proper to sacred cleansing. And it seems far more probable, than that the scorching heat of the weather (caused by an extraordinary hand of God) made her betake herself to the cool streams for her refreshment (as the tale is told in the Hebrew book called the Life of Moses), or that the desire of children carried her hither; the waters of Nile being thought to make women fruitful. Clemens Alexandrinus seems to have put both these together, refreshment and religion; when he saith she came hither, λουτροῖς καὶ περιῤῥαντηρίοις χρησαμένη, (lib. i. Strom. p. 343.) It is still a further fetch of Jonathan, who would persuade us that at this time God had smote the Egyptians with a burning ulcer; which made their flesh so hot, that they could not endure it, but run to the river to cool their bodies. And in Pirke Eliezer, (cap. xlviii.) this inflammation is said to have seized on Pharaoh's daughter, whom he calls Bathia. Which is indeed the name of a daughter of one Pharaoh, (1 Chron. iv. 18.) but to make her the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, (as G. Vorstius observes they do, in Schemoth Rabba, and Vaijra Rab.) is altogether senseless. And yet it is upon that ground they make her a proselyte also, and say in the title of the Talmud beforementioned, called Sota, (cap. i. of the Gemara, sect. 40.) that she went into the river *to purge herself from the idolatry of her father's house: i. e.* to become a proselyte, who was received (in following times) into the Jewish religion by baptism.

*And her maidens walked along by the river side.*] While she washed herself, in a private place, which, no doubt, was made by the king for that purpose. For it is not to be imagined, that she washed herself publicly in the river; but in some inclosure, whereby she was separated from the sight of company. For Zoan (or Tanis) the royal city, it is certain, lay near the river; and it is likely the king's gardens extended themselves to the very bank of it; where convenient bathing-houses were contrived for himself, and the royal family, to bathe in the river when they pleased. Patricides seems to say, that the river run through the city, or by the side of it; for so the words are: *the ark was put in the banks of the river Nile, where the water was shallowest, in the city of Tzana, which was the metropolis of that part of the country.* And to the same purpose Elmacinus, another Arabian writer, as Hottinger observes in his Smegma Orientale, (lib. i. cap. 8. p. 400.)

*And when she saw the ark among the flags.*] In such a bathing-house, as I suppose her to have now been, there were lattices through which she could see what was done in the river, though nobody could see her. And she spying an unusual vessel among the flags, commanded it to be brought to her. Patricides saith, she heard the child cry. And Chuskuni observes, it was more easy for her who was in the river to espy the ark, than for her maidens who walked above the banks.

*She sent her maids to fetch it.*] The Hebrew word *amatha,* which we translate *maid,* is much different from that for *maidens* mentioned just before: signifying one that waited immediately upon her, whom we call a *handmaid:* the other properly signifying only young women; who were such, perhaps, as we now call *ladies of honour.*

Ver. 6. *And when she had opened it, she saw the child.*] And together with him the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, as Rabbi Jose saith in Sota: which is agreeable to their opinion who make her to be now proselyted, but hath no other foundation.

*And behold, the babe wept.*] There is nothing strange in

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this, that a babe (which perhaps had been a good while without the breast) should weep: but it is remarkable, that Pharaoh's daughter should not find it, till tears ran down its cheeks: because this helped to move her *compassion* towards it, as it here follows.

*And she had compassion on him.*] Resolved to preserve him, contrary to her father's order.

*And said, This is one of the Hebrews' children.*] None else, she thought, would expose so goodly a child; and she was confirmed in her opinion, when she found he was circumcised, as the same R. Jose conjectures. And the truth is, we have no good reason to believe, that the Egyptians had, as yet, received circumcision.

Ver. 7. *Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter,* &c.] We cannot think his sister would be so imprudent as to step in immediately, upon the finding of the child, and ask if she should call a Hebrew nurse for it: but stayed some time (that she might not seem to know any thing of him, but what she heard them say), till they had tried other nurses (as the Hebrew doctors in Sota understand it, cap. i. sect. 43.) whose breasts the child refusing to suck, she took the opportunity to ask if she might see for a nurse among the Hebrew women. Josephus saith the very same.

Ver. 8. *And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Go.*] It is likely that Miriam addressed herself to her so discreetly, that it moved her easily to agree to her proposal. Though a singular providence of God guided this whole business.

*And the maid went and called this child's mother.*] Whose breast the child readily taking (having been used to it) she was instantly accepted to be his nurse. So it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 9. *Take this child away, and nurse it for me,* &c.] Thus by the wonderful providence of God, Jochabed had the pleasure of suckling her own child; and was also well paid for her pains.

Ver. 10. *And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter.*] The Hebrew writers say, that when he was two years old, he was taken from her: which is not so likely, as that he continued with her till he was grown capable to be instructed in true religion, and to understand and remember whose true child he was; whereby he was disposed to behave himself accordingly, when he came to live at court.

*And he became her son.*] She having no child of her own, adopted him for her son, with the consent, no doubt, of Pharaoh: not to succeed in the throne, as some have fancied; but to be the heir of her private estate. And accordingly she gave him a princely education, and took care he should be instructed in all *the wisdom of the Egyptians,* as St. Stephen hath remembered, (Acts vii. 22.) and, as Philo (in the Life of Moses) would have it believed, sent for the ablest masters out of Greece (as well as out of Assyria, and other eastern countries), to teach him their learning. Which is a piece of Jewish vanity; for there was no learning among the Greeks in the days of Moses, who was ancienter, not only than their philosophers and poets, but than most of their gods, as Clemens Alexandrinus demonstrates, Καὶ Θεῶν ἄρα τῶν πλείστων παρ' Ἑλλήνων οὐ μόνον τῶν λεγομένων σοφῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν ὁ Μωσῆς πρεσβύτερος, (lib. i. Strom. p. 323.) And what learning there was now in Egypt is not certain; for there is no evidence that the *wisdom* St. Stephen speaks of, comprehends the knowledge of so many things, as some learned men are pleased to ascribe to them in those days.

*And she called his name Moses.*] The reason of this name is given in the following words:

*And she said, Because I have drawn him out of the water.*] This name seems to be derived from the Hebrew word *mashah,* which is never used in the Bible, but for drawing out of the water, (2 Sam. xxii. 17. Psalm xviii. 17. Isa. lxiii. 11.) And therefore there is no need to have recourse to any other language for the original of his name; which Philo, Josephus, and Clemens Alexandrinus, will have to be derived from the word Μῶ, which, in the Egyptian tongue, they say, signifies *water,* and ὕσης, which signifies *saved.* So that it is as much as *saved from the waters,* or preserved from drowning. It may be said, indeed, that it is not likely she should give him a name from any other language than her own: but it is to be considered, that the word *mashah* (from whence this name must naturally flow, and to which she herself said she had respect) might have the same signification in her language, that it had in Hebrew; there being a great affinity between these two tongues. (See Gen. xl. 45.) Alexandrinus saith, that the name he had given him by his parents at his circumcision was Joachim. Which he had, I suppose, out of some fabulous book; for, in the same place, he speaks of the name that was given him after he was translated to heaven, (lib. i. Strom. p. 343.)

Ver. 11. *And it came to pass in those days when Moses was grown.*] When he was not only arrived at man's estate, but was full forty years old, as St. Stephen observes, (Acts vii. 23.) and may be gathered from this history.

*That he went out unto his brethren,* &c.] He had a motion from God (as St. Stephen there seems to interpret it) to go, and acquaint himself with the condition of his brethren; and to own himself, more than he had done hitherto, to be one of them. The Jews tell many tales of what passed between him and Pharaoh till this time; but there is no more credit to be given to them, than to what Artapanus, a heathen historian, relates of his military exploits in a war with the Ethiopians, against whom Cenephres sent him as general of his forces: though this is remarkable, that his name and several passages of his life (mixed with some fables) were known to other nations, and by them magnified and admired. As appears by what Eusebius hath extracted out of Artapanus, Eupolemus, Demetrius, and other heathen writers, (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 26, 27, &c.)

*And looked upon their burdens.*] Which he did very often (as Philo understands it, lib. i. de Vita Mosis), and not without great grief and heaviness; that he was neither able to hinder their oppression, nor to help them under it. But he exhorted Pharaoh's officers to moderate their severity; and the Israelites to be patient, in hope of deliverance.

*And he spied an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew.*] The cause of it is reported (in the Life of Moses, in Hebrew, and in Schalschalah Hakkabalah) that this Egyptian had broken the Hebrew's house, and bound him, and ravished his wife, and now endeavoured to murder him. But this looks like a tale; which is a little better told by the author of Schemoth Rabba, and others mentioned by Mr. Selden, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 1.) who say, that this Egyptian was one of the taskmasters, who called this man out of his bed in the night to go to work, and then took his opportunity

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to slip into it, and lie with Selomith, his wife, who took him for her husband. The plainest account and most likely, is this of Philo (in the place abovementioned), that some of Pharaoh's officers, little differing from the most furious beasts, not at all mollified, but more exasperated by entreaties; one of them, of the most violent temper, fell in an outrageous manner upon an Hebrew, because he did not do his work so fast as he would have him, beating him most cruelly till he had almost killed him.

*One of his brethren.*] All the Hebrews were his brethren; but this man was of his own tribe, and one of the children of Kohath, as the forenamed authors take it.

Ver. 12. *And he looked this way and that way,* &c.] Round about him; that he might not run into danger himself, by delivering his brother from it.

*He slew the Egyptian.*] Being stirred up to it by a Divine motion; otherways he could not have justified this fact to God and his own conscience. And therefore St. Stephen plainly makes this an indication to the children of Israel, that God intended to deliver them by his means; and says, Moses thought they would have so understood, (Acts vii. 25.) Nay, Maimonides himself gives this account of it (par. ii. cap. 45. More Nevochim), where, he making this the first degree of prophecy, when a man is moved and animated by God to some great and heroic enterprise (either for the preservation of the whole church, or the deliverance of eminent men from oppression), he reckons Moses, among others, as an instance of it, in these words: "Moses was endued with this power, when he grew up to be a man; by the impulse of which he slew the Egyptian, and checked him who unjustly strove with one of his brethren," &c. The Hebrews generally say that Moses did not kill this man with a sword, or any other weapon, but merely by the word of his mouth, pronouncing him dead in the name of God. Which tradition is so old, that it is mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, (lib. i. Strom.) φασὶ δε οἱ Μύσται λόγω μόνῳ ἀνελεῖν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, &c. *They that pretend to secrets, say, that he killed the Egyptian with his word alone,* as Peter afterwards, in the Acts, killed Ananias and Sapphira.

*And hid him in the sand.*] An inaccessible desert lay on the west of Egypt, as Diodorus Siculus observes; and there was another also on the east of it: so that if this happened upon the borders, there was sand enough wherein to bury him.

Ver. 13. *And when he went out the second day.*] Having begun to act by the Divine commission, he seems to have resolved every day to give proofs of his authority; and awaken the people to expect deliverance by his means. And therefore went out, among them, this day, as he had done the day before.

*Behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together.*] He was surprised to find two of his brethren contending one with another; when they were so grievously oppressed by the Egyptians.

*And he said to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?*] He had no less authority to admonish and reprove his brethren, than to chastise their oppressors.

Ver. 14. *And he said, Who made thee a prince and a judge over us?*] It is plain by this that he acted as one that had authority; but this man questioned from whence he had it.

*Intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian?*] It is not likely the man thought he had any such intention, but meant only to fright Moses from meddling in his matters, by letting him know, that what he had done already was not such a secret as he thought it.

*And Moses feared.*] He had not yet received a commission from God to act publicly as their governor, and therefore durst not stay to answer a charge against him (which he thought might be possibly brought), for what he had done privately. Some have troubled themselves to reconcile this with what the apostle saith, Hebr. xi. 27. that "he feared not the wrath of the king;" which doth not seem to agree with what is said here, that *Moses feared.* But there he may very well be thought to speak, not of his flight out of Egypt, but of his last departure with the whole body of the Israelites. Though if we should allow Moses, and the apostle, to speak of the same thing, there would be no contradiction between them. For he might so fear, as to make him cautious, and consult for his safety; rather than basely either deny or excuse what he had done, or ask pardon for it; unto which no *fear of the wrath of the king* could have moved him.

Ver. 15. *Now when Pharaoh heard this thing.*] Which was soon brought to his ears, as Moses suspected; and aggravated extremely by the great men of the court, as Philo represents it, (lib. i. de Vita Mosis.)

*He thought to slay him.*] Not so much because he had killed the man, as because he pretended to assert the liberty of the Israelites, and to be their deliverer. Demetrius bears witness to this story, just according to what is here related, in Eusebius's Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 29.

*And Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh.*] Wisely foreseeing the danger, he avoided it by flight into another country where he was out of his reach. For though the time of Israel's deliverance was not yet come, he was assured, that God intended to work it by his hand: and therefore thought it prudent to reserve himself till he received a further commission from God. But though this flight of Moses be here so plainly affirmed, yet the Jews are so fond of their own conceits, and so bold in their invention, that they say he was not only condemned to have his head cut off, but brought to the block; and when the executioner came to do his office, his sword would not enter; Moses's neck being, by a miracle, turned into a pillar of marble; and from thence he called his son Eliezer, &c. So the tale is told by the author of Moses's Life. What Pharaoh this was is not certain, but Eusebius calls him Orus (who succeeded Amenophis, in whose time Moses was born), and he is said to have reigned two-and-forty years.

*And dwelt in the land of Midian.*] Where some of Abraham's posterity were settled (Gen. xxv. 2.) in a part of Arabia Petræa. And therefore Philo only saith, ὑπανεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ὅμορον Ἀραβίαν, *he withdrew into the neighbouring Arabia.* Into which country he chose to flee, both because his escape was easy thither, and because they were descended from the same stock with himself; and continued still good people; or at least had some good governors and families among them, as appears by what follows:

*And he sat down by a well.*] To refresh himself; and expecting, it is likely, to meet some company there, at the time when the flocks came to water.

Ver. 16. *Now the priest of Midian.*] Or *prince,* as it is

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in the margin. For the word *cohen* indifferently signifies either *priest* or *prince:* but most anciently it signifies the latter (a *prince*), for so it is used in the Book of Job, xii. 19; he leadeth *cohenim (princes) away spoiled.* And in aftertimes it continued to have the same signification; David's sons being called by this name of *cohenim*, 2 Sam. viii. 18. which in 1 Chron. xviii. 17. is expounded, "were chief at the hand of the king." And so Ira is called, 2 Sam. xx. 26. *cohen*, a chief ruler about David. And so I think it is to be taken here, for a *ruler* or *governor*, (see Gen. xli. 50.) not of the whole country of Midian, but of some province of it. And it may be most truly rendered *a prince* (*i. e.* one of the princes, or rulers) *of Midian.* But in ancient time princes executed the priesthood also, as Plato observes they did among the Egyptians; and the consuls and emperors of Rome were ambitious of the same dignity: by which means the word *cohen* came to signify both. Though where the place or territory of which any person was *cohen* is mentioned, there it always signifies him to have been prince or civil governor of that place. So S. Jarchi observes, "the word *cohen* always denotes some Divine ministry or function, except where there is an addition of some particular principality to it, as *Cohen of Midian*, and *Cohen of On*," (referring to this place, and that I now mentioned in Genesis), where it signifies a prince, though the priesthood might be joined with it. And so Artapanus in Eusebius, (lib. ix. cap. 27.) relating Moses's flight into Arabia, saith he came to Raguel, τῷ τῶν τόπων ἄρχοντι, *the ruler of those parts.* And the Jews, in their German translation of the Bible, call him *Heer, Lord of Midian.* See our most learned Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. c. ult. p. 648. I shall only add, that it is most likely that this *prince* (or *priest*) was a worshipper of the true God, and not an idolater: for Moses, we may be confident, would not have married his daughter, if she had been bred in a false religion.

*Had seven daughters, and they came and drew water*, &c.] He was but a small prince it appears by this; though it must be acknowledged it was a noble employment in old time (as I observed upon Genesis) to look after sheep: and we must not imagine these young women drew the water themselves, but had servants to attend them and obey their orders.

Ver. 17. *And the shepherds came and drove them away.*] Some rude and idle shepherds would have made use of the water which they had drawn; and had the benefit of their pains, without any labour of their own. This looks like an argument that their father was not a *prince*, for then, one would think, these shepherds would not have dared to contest with them. But it is as much an argument that he was not a *priest;* for they were great men also in those days. And it seems probable to me, that these were the shepherds of some other greater prince in those countries; who made thus bold with Jethro's daughters and their servants. For one cannot think, as I said, that they alone looked after this flock, but were overseers of those that did, like Rebekah and Rachel. (See Gen. xxix. 9.)

*But Moses stood up and helped them*, &c.] This was an act (as Maimonides suggests) of the same heroic spirit, mentioned before, (ver. 12.) which still rested on him, and moved him here, as it had done in Egypt. And thus Philo also represents him as ἐνθουσία μεταμορφούμενος, transported by such an enthusiasm when he spake to the shepherds, that it affrighted them from their attempt. Though it is not certain that he overcame them by persuasions, but the whole discourse seems rather to imply that he forced them to desist: which he could not do alone, but at the head of those servants that belonged to these young women. and it is not improbable he had some servants of his own, who attended him in his flight. Certain it is, that the Arabians' great employment was feeding of cattle, as Philo there notes, (lib. i. de Vita Mosis, κτηνοτροφοῦσιν Ἄραβες, &c.) "and that not only men, but women, young men and virgins, looked after them; and not those only of the meaner sort, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν, but they that were of noble families."

Ver. 18. *And when they came to Reuel their father.*] He is thought to be the same with Jethro, (iii. 1.) or was Jethro's father; and so the grandfather of these young women; which Drusius thinks most probable. (Miscell. Centur. 2. cap. 69.)

*He said, How is it you are come so soon to-day?*] It seems Moses not only valiantly defended and protected them; but so vigorously assisted them also in all their business, that they dispatched it sooner than they were wont to do.

Ver. 19. *And they said, An Egyptian.*] So they took Moses to be by his speech and his habit; and perhaps he told them he came out of that country.

*Delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds.*] This justifies what I said (ver. 17.) that these shepherds belonged to some other prince in those parts, who were wont, it seems, to infest those that were weaker; and that Moses by his extraordinary courage drove them away.

*And also drew water enough for us*, &c.] They had drawn water before, (ver. 16.) which the shepherds took from them: and he now did it with greater expedition, and in great plenty.

Ver. 20. *And he said unto his daughters, Where is he?*] This is a form of chiding, as Philo observes, or upbraiding for their ingratitude; as appears by what follows.

*Why is it that ye have left the man?*] Suffered him to remain in the field. Ye ought (as Philo explains it) to have invited him to my house; and if he had declined it, to have entreated and urged him to it.

*Call him, that he may eat bread.*] Go back (as he goes on) with all speed, and pray him to come and refresh himself; and receive my thanks, which are due to him. This shews Moses had done them some considerable service.

Ver. 21. *And Moses was content to dwell with the man.*] After some conversation with him, Raguel liked Moses so well that he offered him such terms as he accepted, and became one of his domestics.

*And he gave Moses Zipporah his daughter.*] The Divine writers do not relate all the passages of a story (as other authors delight to do) but only the most material. Therefore we are to suppose a great many things to have preceded this: which was not accomplished presently after he was entered into Reuel's house, but after he had had such experience of Moses's other virtues, as well as of his valour. Though the observation of Philo here is not to be slighted, that Ἀρίδηλοι αἱ μεγάλαι φυσεις, καὶ οὐ μήκει χρόνου γνωριζόμεναι. *Men of a great genius quickly shew themselves, and are not made known by length of time.* "And therefore, he thinks, that Reuel, being struck first with admiration of

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his goodly aspect, and then of his wise discourse, immediately gave him the most beautiful of all his daughters to be his wife: not staying to inquire of any body what he was, for his own most excellent qualities sufficiently recommended him to his affection," (lib. i. de Vita Mosis, p. 611.)

Ver. 22. *And she bare him a son, and he called his name Gershom,* &c.] This word *Gershom* signifies a *desolate stranger;* which he made the name of this child, because he was born, not only in a foreign country, remote from his own people, but in a place where he had nothing but what he earned by his labour. For it is not to be thought, that in a hasty flight he could bring any great matter with him into Midian. Either this son was born long after his marriage, or he did not marry till he had been long in this country: for when he left it, after forty years' stay in it, his children were but young, as appears from iv. 20.

Ver. 23. *And it came to pass, in process of time.*] After many days (as it is in the Hebrew), *i. e.* years: for this king reigned a long time. (See ver. 15.)

*The king of Egypt died.*] That king from whom Moses fled, *viz.* Orus. After whom Eusebius makes Acencheres to have reigned: and after him Achrois: both which died before Moses returned into Egypt.

*And the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage.*] Their cruel servitude did not end with the life of Orus; but the new king, who succeeded him, was so far from giving them any ease, that he laid more heavy burdens upon them.

*And they cried.*] This signifies they lay under the most grievous oppression; which grew intolerable.

*And their cry came up unto God.*] A cry that *comes up unto God,* signifies, in the holy language, the loudest and sorest cry. (See Gen. xix. 13.)

*By reason of the bondage.*] This may be referred both to their *cry,* and its *coming up to God:* who resolved speedily to free them from such insupportable burdens.

Ver. 24. *And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant,* &c.] There are four different words in these two last verses, (viz. *heard, remembered, looked upon them, had respect unto them,*) which, every one of them, signify God's kind intention towards them; but seem also to me to denote that the Divine Providence determined to proceed gradually in the deliverance of the children of Israel from their cruel servitude. For when he saith, *God heard their groaning,* the meaning is, he favourably condescended to grant their petition; which was the *first* step to their deliverance. And then,

*He remembered his covenant with Abraham,* &c.] This gives the reason of it, because he was mindful of his ancient promises to their forefathers; which was a further assurance of his favour. And then he

*Looked upon them.*] *i. e.* Took notice of their affliction and hard labour, (as Maimonides explains it, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 48.) which was another motive to relieve them. And in the last place,

*God had respect to them.*] Which imports that he determined to *have mercy upon them* (and that includes all blessings in it). For so this phrase *to respect* another signifies, as Bochart hath shewn from many instances, particularly Psal. xxv. 12. Isai. lxvi. 2. (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 49.)

## CHAP. III.

Ver. 1. *NOW Moses kept the flock.*] So Moses was taken from the sheepfold (as David was in aftertimes) to be the ruler of God's people, (Psal. lxxvii. 70.) "For as hunting of wild beasts (saith Philo) is proper to men of a martial genius, and fits men to be captains and generals of armies; so the feeding of sheep is Μελετὴ καὶ προγυμνασία βαζιλείας, &c. the best exercise and preparation for a kingdom, and the gentle government of mankind." Clemens Alexandrinus hath the same notion, and the same words; (lib. i. Strom. p. 345.) God's power also herein appeared the more wonderful, that he delivered his people from the Egyptian tyranny, by one that was contemptible, or rather abominable, to that nation, *viz. a keeper of sheep.*

*Of Jethro.*] It is most likely that Reuel, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, (ver. 18.) was now dead; to whom Jethro his son succeeded in that principality where he ruled: for it was now forty years since Moses came first into Midian.

*His father-in-law.*] This shews that the seven daughters spoken of, ii. 16. were the children of Jethro, and Reuel their grandfather: unless we will say, as a great many do, that Jethro had two names. Nay, they fancy he had three, being called Hobab they think, Judg. iv. 11, where Hobab is said to be *the father-in-law of Moses.* But the word *son* is there to be supplied (which in other places is sometimes to be understood), he seeming to be Jethro's son, brother to Zipporah: and accordingly is said, (Numb. x. 29.) *to be the son of Raguel the Midianite, i. e.* of Jethro, as many understand it. See there.

*And he led the flock to the backside of the desert.*] Or, as St. Jerome understands it, "ad interiora deserti," *to the inner parts of the desert* (where there was better pasture than in the place where he was before), to which he was conducted by the providence of God, who intended here to reveal himself more fully to him.

*And came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb.*] Sheep delight to feed on mountains, as Bochart observes out of Theocritus and Virgil. Whence such mountainous places are often called in Homer οἴπολα, *sheep-walks;* they being wont to feed there, as Eustathius and Hesychius interpret it: (see Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 46.) And this is called *the mountain of God,* because, when Moses wrote this book, there had been a Divine appearance upon Horeb, which St. Stephen calls Sinai, (Acts vii. 30.) For Horeb and Sinai seem to have been two tops of one and the same mountain: which it is plain by this was not far from the country of Midian. We understand also by St. Stephen's words when this fell out, *viz.* after he had dwelt forty years in Midian: for so long, it is certain, he continued there, (Exod. vii. 7.) But how he employed all that time, we are not told. No doubt, in something else than mere feeding sheep. For, being learned in all the Egyptian wisdom, we may well think he both taught others, and made also great improvements himself in studying the records of that, and all other neighbouring countries: and besides, received, it is likely, Divine revelations. There are those, likewise, who think he now wrote the book of Job, to comfort the Israelites, by the example of his admirable patience, under their heavy oppressions in Egypt;

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and the book of Genesis also; that they might the better understand what promise had been made to their noble ancestors, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and that the time drew near when they would be fulfilled.

It is noted by Ludovicus Capellus, in his Chronol. Sacra, that the number *forty* was much observed in the administrations of Divine Providence: Moses being forty years old when he fled into Midian, and staying there another forty years, and then leaving the world in the end of the next forty years of his age. It was so many years before the Israelites got to Canaan, after they were delivered out of Egypt. *Forty* days Moses continued with God in the Mount, both the first and second time of his going up thither. So many days the spies were in searching out the land: and the Israelites had just so many mansions in the wilderness. Their first judge governed just forty years, and the next twice as many. Deborah, Barak, Gideon, Eli, al ljudged forty years: and so long David reigned.

Ver. 2. *And the angel of the Lord appeared to him.*] So St. Stephen also, (Acts vii. 30.) By which some understand the eternal Word, the Second Person in the blessed Trinity. But I think he is not called simply an *angel* any where, but with some addition, as the *angel of the covenant:* for it would be a dangerous insinuation, that he was but a mere creature. Yet I believe he is not here to be excluded: for I take this to have been the appearance of the Schechinah; which comprehended both the Lord himself, and the angels that attended him as his ministers. One of which now appeared so gloriously, that he shewed God to be present: and accordingly we find, in the following words, that he himself spake to Moses. And thus the Lord is said to have sent his angel, when they cried to him, and brought them out of Egypt, (Numb. xx. 16.) Which angel is called Michael, by Menachem; and the same which they also call Goel, who redeemed Jacob from all evil, (Gen. xlviii. 16.)

*In a flame of fire.*] The glory of the Lord (as the Schechinah is frequently called) appeared in a flaming manner like fire: exceeding bright, and with an amazing splendour. So it appeared, though not so bright, when the first promise was made of their deliverance, (Gen. xv. 17, 18.)

*Out of the midst of a bush.*] To shew, say the Jews in Pirke Eliezer, (cap. xl.) that God was present with them, in their great affliction and tribulation: which was represented by this bush of thorns or briars (for so the Hebrew word signifies, such a bush as pricks those that touch it), or, as the prophet Isaiah speaks, (lxiii. 9.) "in all their affliction he was afflicted." And by his providence ordered things so, that their affliction did not consume them, but rather multiplied and increased them; for, as it there follows, "the angel of his presence saved them." And thus Eusebius tells us (in the latter end of lib. v. Demonstr. Evang. cap. 13.) some Christians understood it, *αἰνίττεσθαι δὲ φασὶ, τὴν μὲν βάτον, τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀγρίαν καὶ ἀπηνῆ καὶ ἀνήμερον μοχθηρίαν*, &c.

This fire also in the bush might be intended to shew, that God would there meet with the Israelites, and give them his law in fire and lightning; and yet not consume them. For this is the place, where God, after they came out of Egypt, delivered the law to them: which thence was called Sinai (saith the forenamed author in Pirke Eliezer), from this bush; which in Hebrew is *Sene*, and signifies in Arabic *a thorn-bush:* whereas before it was called Horeb, from its dryness and barrenness, as that word imports.

*And behold, the bush burnt with fire, and the bush was not consumed.*] The heathens had either read, or heard of this wonder, as appears by Artapanus, who mentions it, (in Eusebius, lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 27.) but he disguises it and misreports it; saying, it was a fire which suddenly broke forth out of the earth, and flamed, *μήτε ὕλης μήτε ἄλλης τινὸς ξυλείας οὔσης ἐν τόπῳ, when there was no matter, nor any kind of wood in the place to feed it.* But in the next chapter but one, an ancient tragedian reports it exactly, saying, just as Moses doth here, that "the bush burnt in a great fire, and yet remained entire and green in the flame," which he calls *τεράστιον μέγιστον, the greatest miracle.* The meaning of which I have already explained, in the foregoing observation. There is a story something like this in Dion Prusæus, Orat. xxxvi. where he saith the Persians relate concerning Zoroaster, that the love of wisdom and virtue leading him to a solitary life, separate from company, upon a mountain, he found it one day all in a flame, shining with celestial fire: out of the midst of which he came without any harm, and instituted certain sacrifices to God, who then he made account appeared to him. Which Joh. Henricus Ursinus, a good while ago, endeavoured to prove was nothing else but a corruption of this apparition to Moses. And Huetius lately (in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 5.) hath made such a laborious comparison between what is said of Moses and Zoroaster, as is sufficient to make it probable the ancient Persians derived their religion from these books of Moses.

Ver. 3. *And Moses said, I will now turn aside.*] It seems this glorious appearance was not directly before him, but on one side of him, and some distance from him.

*And see this great sight.*] This wonderful appearance; or, as Philo translates it, *ἐκπληκτικώτατον, this most stupendous and astonishing sight or vision.*

*Why the bush is not burnt.*] A fire which did not burn (that is, consume what it laid hold on) was very amazing. Yet the gentiles did not think such things incredible, as appears out of Seneca in his Thyeste, where he speaks of a forest which appeared all on a flame, without fire: and out of Lucan, and divers other authors, among the pagans, produced by the learned Huetius in his Quæstiones Alnetanæ, (lib. ii. cap. xii. n. 10.)

Ver. 4. *And when the Lord saw that he turned aside,* &c.] It is plain by this, that the Lord himself was here present: his angels being but attendants, as I said, upon his Majesty. (See Gen. xii. 11. 15.)

*God called unto him out of the midst of the bush.*] He now calls him *God,* whom just before he called *Lord.* Both which are sometimes put together, as comprehending all the Divine attributes. Maimonides, who makes eleven degrees of prophecy (or Divine communications to men), justly thinks this the very highest of all, and it was peculiar to Moses, to hear God himself speaking to him in a vision, when he was entirely awake.

*And said, Moses, Moses.*] He repeats his name, to excite his attention. And some take it for a token of familiarity. (See Gen. xlvi. 2.) This is called by Gregor. Nyssen. (de Vita Mosis, p. 172.) *ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς φωνὴ,* &c. *a voice of that Light,* or *splendour; i. e.* of the Divine Majesty, which appeared to him.



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*And he said, Here am I.*] A common expression of readiness to hearken and to obey.

Ver. 5. *And he said, Draw not nigh hither.*] He commands him to keep his distance, and not to approach nearer to him. This, and what follows, plainly demonstrate what I said before, that this was an appearance of the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty; to whom he could not pay too great a reverence.

*Put off thy shoes from off thy feet.*] Many frivolous reasons have been given for this precept, as may be seen in Braunius, (lib. i. cap. 3. de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr.) But the plain reason is immediately added in the text, because the place where he stood was *holy:* into which it was irreverend to enter with their shoes on; because thereby it might be defiled with the dirt that adhered to them. Certain it is, that, in the temple afterwards, the priests officiated barefoot; and all the eastern people came into their holy places in the same manner: which Justin Martyr thinks they learnt from this example of Moses. But Mr. Mede's opinion seems truer, that Moses did not give the first beginning to this rite; but it was derived from the patriarchs before him, and transmitted to future times from that ancient general tradition. For we find no command in the law of Moses, for the priests performing the service of the tabernacle without shoes; but it is certain they did so, from immemorial custom: and so do the Mahometans and other nations at this day. (See Mr. Mede, book ii. p. 442, &c. and p. 516. and Huetius in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. xi. sect. 2.)

*The place whereon thou standest is holy ground.*] It was made holy by the special presence of God, which was now there, who is most holy, and makes every thing relating unto him to be holy also. For thus the tabernacle, the temple, and the utensils thereof, with all things destined to the Divine service, were called *holy*.

Ver. 6. *Moreover he said, I am the God of thy father.*] *i. e.* Of Amram: who it seems was a very pious man.

*And the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.*] Who were so dear to him, that he made a covenant with every one of them (which is the reason he is distinctly called the God of each of them), as Maimonides observes, (More Nev. par. iii. cap. 51.) from Lev. xxvi. 42. And this covenant was, that he would be *their* God after a peculiar manner. For otherwise, he was the God of Noah, and of all the holy patriarchs before him: but he is called the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for a peculiar reason, because of the promise made to these three of the blessed Seed which should spring from them; in opposition to the pretensions of other neighbouring people; who (as the learned Dr. Allix observes) were their rivals in that hope. These words being as much as if he had said, the *God of Abraham,* and not of *Lot,* as the Ammonites and Moabites pretended: the *God of Isaac,* and not of *Ishmael,* as his posterity pretended: the *God of Jacob,* and not of *Esau,* as the Edomites boasted.

*And Moses hid his face.*] In token of humility, submission, and reverence. So Elijah did in aftertimes, (1 Kings xix. 12.) Nay, the angels cover their faces in the presence of God, (Isa. vi. 2.)

*For he was afraid to look upon God.*] The splendour of the Divine Majesty was so great, that it dazzled his eyes; and he was not able to behold it. For though he stirred not a step further, after God prohibited him to come nearer; yet we may suppose him to be now nearer to it than he was at the first, (ver. 3.) and its glory also was much increased.

Ver. 7. *And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction,* &c.] To *see* signifies more than to observe and take notice; including in it such resolutions of Divine Providence, as would certainly produce their deliverance. For the doubling of the expression (*Seeing I have seen,* as it is in the Hebrew) denotes there was no doubt of it.

*And have heard their cry.*] Both this and the next phrase, *know their sorrows,* signify more than the simple words *hear* and *know* import, *viz.* such a regard to their miserable condition, as moved him to order a speedy relief to be given them.

Ver. 8. *And I am come down to deliver them.*] I now appear unto thee for that purpose.

*Out of the hand of the Egyptians.*] From their tyrannical power.

*And to bring them up out of that land.*] Where they are strangers, and used as slaves.

*Into a good land.*] A fruitful country of their own.

*And a large.*] Where they shall not be pent up so as they are in Goshen. And if it were considered according to the extent of the original promise, it was large and spacious indeed, even from the river of Egypt unto Euphrates, (Gen. xv. 18.)

*Unto a land flowing with milk and honey.*] By which phrase the poets express the greatest plenty; as Bochart shews out of Euripides, Horace, Ovid, &c. (Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 12.) For abundance of *milk* and *honey* argue a country to be well watered, fruitful, full of fair pastures and flowers: from whence the flocks may fill their dugs with milk, and the bees their cells with honey. Ælian (lib. iii. de Hist. Animal. cap. 35.) saith, "The goats of Syria (which includes this country) afford such plenty of milk, as is in no other country."

*Unto the place of the Canaanites,* &c.] See concerning all these people here mentioned, Gen. xv. 19, &c.

Ver. 9. *Now therefore, behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come upon me,* &c.] This was said before, (ver. 7.) but here repeated, as a reason of the commission he intended immediately to give to Moses, to go and deliver them.

Ver. 10. *Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh,* &c.] Leave thy flock; for I have another more weighty business, wherein I will employ thee. For thou shalt go with my authority to Pharaoh; and command him not only to release my people out of their servitude, but to let them go also out of Egypt. He had called them by the name of *his people,* (ver. 7.) and now mentions it again, to encourage their hope that he would take care of his own.

What Pharaoh this was (it being a common name to all the Egyptian kings) is very much disputed. The common opinion is, that after Orus (in whose time Moses fled into Midian), Acencres (or Acherres) reigned twelve years; and after him Achoris reigned seven years more; and then succeeded Cenchres, the worst of them all, to whom Moses was now sent. But Clemens Alexandrinus tells us, that Appion (a great enemy of the Jews, and who wrote against them) mentioning their going out of Egypt (in his fourth book of his History of Egypt), saith, it was in the reign of

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Amosis. For which he quotes Ptolomæus Mendesius, an Egyptian priest, who wrote three books about their affairs, in which he saith, κατ' Ἄμωσιν Αἰγύπτου Βασιλέα, Μωϋσέως ἡγουμένου, γεγονέναι Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορείαν, (lib. i. Stromat. p. 320.) But Tacitus calls him Bocchoris, or, as some read it, Occoris, (lib. v. Hist. cap. 3.)

*That thou mayest bring forth my people,* &c.] From this time we are to consider God as the king of this people: not in general only, as he is Lord of the whole world; but in a proper and peculiar manner. For whatsoever authority or power of jurisdiction the kings of other nations did exercise over their subjects, (as power of life and death, of making laws and leagues, &c.) the same prerogative did the Lord of heaven and earth reserve to himself alone, over the children of Israel. Upon which ground, as Dr. Jackson well observes, Moses was delegated to be his ambassador to the king of Egypt; and constituted (it appears by the whole story) his deputy or viceroy over Israel.

Ver. 11. *And Moses said unto God, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh,* &c.] He modestly declines the service, considering how mean a person he was, in comparison with Pharaoh; and how unable to do any thing for the Israelites. He had felt some extraordinary motion in himself, forty years ago; which he took to be an indication that God would use him as an instrument of their deliverance, (see chap. ii. 11, 12.) but at that time he was a far greater man than now; and had more interest at court: the princess who adopted him for her son being then perhaps alive, or having left him what made him very considerable. In short, he was then the son of Pharaoh's daughter; but now a poor shepherd.

Ver. 12. *And he said, Certainly I will be with thee.*] In answer to his objection, God bids him depend on this; that he would preserve him by a special providence from being hurt by Pharaoh. So Maimonides shews this phrase *(I will be with thee)* signifies in Scripture, (More Nev. par. iii. cap. 18.) And the confidence which God wrought in him of this, gave him courage and resolution: which is also denoted by this phrase, as he shews, (par. ii. cap. 38.) For all the prophets were endued with an extraordinary fortitude and magnanimity; which was in Moses above all the rest: he encountering a great king, and all his court and people, barely with a staff in his hand.

*And this shall be a token to thee that I have sent thee; when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain.*] This could not be a token to him now, but was afterward: when God by his power brought them to this very place, to worship him, according to this promise, upon this mountain. In the meantime, there were many other tokens God gave him (as we find in this history) which were all confirmed by this at last.

Ver. 13. *And they shall say unto me, What is his name? What shall I say unto them?*] This doth not argue that they knew not what the name of their God was; for they and their fathers had been long acquainted with him: and they cried unto him, and he heard them, (ii. 23, 24.) But Moses being the first that ever spake to men in the name of God, (none of the patriarchs, either before the flood or after it, having said any such words as these; *God hath sent me to you: the Lord commands me to bid you do so or so,* as Maimon. observes in several places of his More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 63. par. ii. cap. 39.) it was natural for the Israelites to ask him by what name, or peculiar attribute, God had made himself known unto him, so as to authorize him to speak to them, as never any man before did. He had spoken unto Noah and unto Abraham, &c. but it was only for their own instruction; he never bid them deliver any message unto others: and yet it is observable, that, upon particular occasions, he still made himself known to them by different names or titles. As he saith to Abraham, (Gen. xv. 7.) "I am Jehovah, who brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees." But, xvii. 1. he saith, "I am El-shaddai." And to Isaac he saith, "I am the God of thy father Abraham," (xxvi. 24.) To Jacob he adds, "I am the Lord God of thy father Abraham, and the God of Isaac," (xxviii. 13.) And after this, "I am the God of Bethel," (xxxi. 13.) No wonder then that Moses should think the people would expect, upon so great an occasion, when he came to them as an ambassador from heaven, that the God of their fathers should speak to them in a new style, beyond all that had been known in former days.

Ver. 14. *And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM.*] That is, saith Maimonides, in the place abovenamed, *he that necessarily exists.* He who so is, that he must needs be. Or, as some translate it, *I will be what I will be; i. e.* the eternal immutable Being (so Elmacinus interprets it, *the Eternal that never dies),* who am faithful to my promises; and will be to you, what I told your fathers I would be. Whatsoever I said in the days of Abraham, concerning the giving the land of Canaan, I will certainly perform; for I change not.

*Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you.*] The former words were a declaration of God's nature to Moses; and in these he bids him, in brief, only say to the Israelites that he was sent by him *who is.* That is (as was said before) necessarily exists: *always was, and ever will be.* Who alters not; but, by whatsoever name he makes himself known, is still the very same God. Which was a name not unknown to the gentiles, as one would think by the word *EI;* which was inscribed in the front of the Delphic temple (as Plutarch tells us), and was nothing else but the contraction of *EIMI,* which signifies, *I AM.* Or if we take *EI* to be an entire word (as it is commonly thought) signifying *thou art,* Ammonius rightly understood it to be αὐτοτελῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ προσαγόρευσιν καὶ προσφώνησιν (as Plutarch reports his words in a treatise on this subject), *the most absolutely perfect name and compellation of God.* For God, saith he, in the other inscription on the temple, speaks to us who approach him, saying to every one *KNOW THYSELF:* and we are taught to answer to him again, in the words of this inscription, *THOU ART:* ascribing to him ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀψευδῆ, &c. *that true, undoubted, and only appellation which belongs to him alone.* For he only is; we are not, &c. Thus he declares this word, to express most perfectly the Divine Essence; which is distinguished hereby from all false gods. See Eusebius, (lib. xi. Præp. Evang. cap. 11.) and in the two foregoing chapters; where he takes a deal of pains to shew that Plato borrowed this notion of τὸ ὂν ἀεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον, *a Being that is always, but had no beginning,* from these words of Moses. And Numenius, a Pythagorean, speaks it more plainly, when he saith, τὸ γὰρ ὂν, ἀΐδιον βέβαιόν τέ ἐστιν, ἀεὶ κατὰ ταυτὸν καὶ ταυτὸν, *that which is, is eter-*



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*nal and steadfast, always the very same without variation.* And no wonder these men, if they met with this passage in Moses, were highly pleased with it; for St. Hilary himself tells us, that he, lighting upon these words (as he was musing about God and religion) before he was a Christian, was struck with admiration: there being nothing so proper to God as *to be.* And therefore he thought it worthy of God, to say of himself, I AM THAT I AM, and HE THAT IS (so he translates the last words) *hath sent me unto you;* (lib. i. de Trinitate.)

Ver. 15. *And said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say,* &c.] For a further explication of what he had now said, and a further satisfaction of their minds.

*The Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham,* &c.] The name JEHOVAH (as we pronounce it) seems to be in sense the same with *Ehjeh,* beforementioned. Which, as it declares his nature, so the word *God* added to it, expresses his favour, care, and providence. And consequently he bids Moses tell the children of Israel, that he who is *the Eternal* was the God of their fathers, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: to whom he had made many promises that he would be gracious to their posterity. This was sufficient for them to know of him.

*This is my name for ever, and this is my memorial,* &c.] Some refer the first words *(this is my name)* to the foregoing verse, I AM: and the next *(this is my memorial)* to those which immediately precede, *the Lord God of your fathers:* which in truth include the whole, *Jehovah* being the same with *I am.* And the meaning is, I will be for ever remembered, celebrated, praised, and invoked, by the name of *the Lord God of your fathers,* &c.

Ver. 16. *Go, and gather the elders of Israel together.*] The word *elders,* in these books, sometimes signifies the men of the great Sanhedrin, as they speak in aftertimes (or the judges in the highest court), Deut. xxi. 2. &c. Sometimes the judges in the lower courts, (Deut. xix. 12. xxii. 15.) Sometimes it only signifies the heads of the tribes, as here in this place: for now there were no such courts of judicature constituted. (See Selden, Uxor. Hebr. lib. i. cap. xv.) Some indeed (particularly Corn. Bertram) think it reasonable to suppose that the Israelites had judges among them all the time they dwelt in Egypt, though not mentioned in Scripture; as they had, no doubt, a form of religion, though we read nothing of it. And Moses, he thinks, is here ordered to send for those, who were their rulers, and administered public affairs among them. But there is this argument against it; that, after this time, when Moses had brought them out of Egypt, there were no such judges among them, but Moses (as we find Exod. xviii.) judged all himself, to his exceeding great trouble. And therefore by *elders* we are here to understand only the wisest and gravest men of the nation, who were in greatest esteem among them, (as Mr. Selden afterwards speaks, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. xv. p. 523, &c.) or, as was said before, the heads of their tribes. The famous H. Grotius confirms this, by a nice observation, that both here and ver. 18. they are barely called *zikne,* not *hazikne,* because there was not as yet, "certum collegium, sed sola qualitas denotatur," (as he speaks, lib. de Imp. Sum. Potest. circa Sacra. cap. xi. n. 15.) *a certain college or society of them, but their quality only is denoted.* And no doubt the word always signified men of dignity, or chief rank among others, both among the Israelites and among the Egyptians; as I have observed on Gen. xxiv. 2. l. 6.

*And say unto them, The Lord God of your fathers,* &c.] See this explained, ver. 6.

*Hath appeared unto me.*] Ver. 2. 4.

*Saying, Surely I have visited you.*] So Joseph, when he died, assured them God would do, Gen. l. 24, where I observed to *visit them,* was to *bring them out of Egypt.* And so it signifies here, as is evident from what God said to Moses when he appeared to him, ver. 8. "I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians." Which was not yet actually done, but so absolutely decreed in the mind of God, that he might say he had already done it. Or the word *pakad* may be translated here, as it is elsewhere, *I have remembered you,* (1 Sam. xv. 2.) that is, so as to resolve to deliver them. And then the next words may depend on this.

*And that which is done to you in Egypt.*] For the word *seen* is not in the original: but either way, it relates to what God saith to Moses, (ver. 7. 9.)

Ver. 17. *And I have said.*] Determined, or resolved.

*I will bring you out of the affliction of Egypt, into the land of the Canaanites,* &c.] See ver. 9.

Ver. 18. *And they shall hearken to thy voice.*] A great encouragement to carry this message to the elders of Israel; which God promises to incline their hearts to receive and obey.

*The Lord God of the Hebrews hath met with us.*] We have received a special command from the eternal God, whom we, and our forefathers, worship: who hath appeared to us.

*And now let us go (we beseech thee) three days' journey into the wilderness.*] They intended to go quite away; but at first are directed to demand only to go as far as Mount Sinai: which was but three days' journey from Egypt, if they went the nearest way to it. For this they were humble petitioners; which is implied in those words, *We beseech thee.*

*That we may sacrifice to the Lord our God.*] When they delivered this message to Pharaoh, (ver. 1.) they call it *holding a feast to him:* which was to be made upon the sacrifices that they offered. For ver. 3. of that chapter, they speak in the same phrase which is used here.

Ver. 19. *And I am sure the king of Egypt will not let you go.*] God understood beforehand the hardness of his heart; and that he would not yield; no, not to let them depart for three days, much less for altogether.

*No, not by a strong hand.*] In the margin, *But by a strong hand; i. e.* by cutting off all the first-born in the country: till which, he knew Pharaoh would be obstinate.

Ver. 20. *And I will stretch out my hand.*] As the *hand* of God signifies his power, so the *stretching it out* seems to signify the exerting of that power in mighty deeds.

*Smite Egypt with all my wonders.*] The Hebrew word for *wonders* comes from a root, which imports something *singular,* and not *common.* Such were all the plagues God sent upon Egypt, which made them the more wonderful.

*After that he will let you go.*] They grew so terrible, at last, that he was afraid the next stroke would be upon his own person: which made him content to dismiss them.

Ver. 21. *And I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians,* &c.] Dispose their hearts to be kind to them,

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so that they should readily furnish them with any thing they desired.

Ver. 22. *But every woman shall borrow.*] The word *shaal* is of a doubtful meaning: for it signifying, in general, to *ask* or to *pray*, one may pray another, either to *give* or to *lend*. And if the Israelites asked their neighbours to bestow such things upon them as are here mentioned, and they, out of a desire to be rid of them, or hoping speedily to recover their goods, granted their requests, no wrong was done to them. And if they borrowed them of the Egyptians, it was by the authority of God, whose the world is and the fulness thereof: and who doth no man any wrong when he is pleased to transfer what he enjoys unto another. (See more xi. 2. xii. 35.)

*Of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house.*] By this it appears that the Egyptians were intermixed with the Hebrews, in the land of Goshen: and so might the more easily go along with them when they left Egypt; as many of them did, (xii. 38.)

*Jewels of silver*, &c.] Rather, *vessels of silver*, &c. Which were of greater use to them than *jewels*; unless they pretended to deck up themselves for the feast they were to keep. (See more xi. 2. xii. 36.)

*And ye shall spoil the Egyptians.*] Not by rapine or stealth, but by their own consent.

## CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1. *BUT behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken to my voice*, &c.] This seems directly to contradict what God had said unto him, (iii. 18.) "They shall hearken to thy voice." Which Maimonides endeavours to reconcile, by saying, that Moses was satisfied they would believe that he told them concerning the *name* of God who spake to him; but not believe, without further proof, that he was *sent* by him, (par. i. More Nevochim. cap. 63.) But the plainest answer is, that God did not mean they would hearken to Moses immediately: but that he would so convince them by undeniable signs and tokens, that they should give credit to him, when he said he came from God to them: such signs he now asks, and God grants, that they might believe the Lord appeared to him, and gave him commission to deliver them.

Ver. 2. *And the Lord said unto him, What is that in thy hand?*] He asks this question to make way for what follows; and to move his attention to it.

*And he said, A rod.*] His shepherd's staff, it is most likely. For he takes occasion from what was in his hand to confirm his faith; and he was now feeding his father-in-law's sheep, when God appeared unto him. The Jews have a world of fabulous stuff about this *rod*, not worth the remembering.

Ver. 3. *And he said, Cast it on the ground*, &c.] As he was to do when he came before Pharaoh, (vii. 10.) that it might not be thought Moses's hand contributed any thing to the change; but it might appear to be wrought by the power of God.

*And it became a serpent.*] Αὐτίκα ψυχωθεῖσα εἵρπε (as Philo speaks), *immediately it was enlivened and crawled about.* The word *nachash* comprehends all sorts of *serpents*; and R. Eliezer takes it to have been a *flying serpent*: but our Doctor Lightfoot thinks it was a *crocodile*; for which there is some reason. For that which is here called *nechash* (which most think signifies a common *snake*, or *serpent*), when he threw down his staff before Pharaoh (vii. 10.) is called *tannin*: which signifies a serpent of the largest dimensions (ὑπερμεγέθης δράκων, Philo here calls it), and, as I proved upon Gen. i. 21. includes in it *crocodiles*, which Isaiah calls the *crooked serpent*, (xxvii. 1.) unto whose devouring jaws Pharaoh had exposed the Hebrew infants, when he commanded them to be cast into the river Nile, (i. 22.) which abounded with crocodiles.

*And Moses fled from before it.*] It being a very frightful sight; enough to dismay the most courageous man on earth: as God himself describes the crocodile in the book of Job, (xli. 14, 15.) "His teeth are terrible round about: when he raises up himself, the mighty are afraid."

Ver. 4. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Put forth thy hand and take it by the tail*, &c.] This shews Moses's faith to have been great, which overcame his fear. Most think this to have been an apt representation of the condition of the Israelites in Egypt, and of their deliverance there. R. Eliezer, in his Pirke, (cap. xl.) hath hinted the best explication of it, if it have any such meaning, when he saith, As a serpent bites and kills those on whom it seizes, so did Pharaoh and his people bite and kill the Israelites: or rather he should have said, So shall the Egyptians be afflicted and tormented by the rod which Moses carries in his hand.

Ver. 5. *That they may believe that the Lord God of their fathers*, &c.] The meaning is, Thou shalt do thus before them, if they doubt whether I have appeared to thee (as he feared they would, ver. 1.) to convince them of it.

Ver. 6. *And the Lord said furthermore unto him, Put now thy hand into thy bosom*, &c.] He did not ask for a new sign, but the Lord was graciously pleased to grant him a further confirmation of his faith; or rather, of the faith of the Israelites.

*And he put his hand into his bosom, and when he took it out, behold, it was leprous as snow.*] It was a wonderful thing, that out of the same place should come both the disease and the cure (as we read in the next verse, that by putting his hand into his bosom again it became sound), and it was the greater wonder, because the leprosy was a disease that was very hard to be cured. R. Eliezer, in the place forenamed, doth not give so good a reason for this sign as for the former: though it is not a bad one. For, he making a question, Why God should give them a sign by an unclean thing, and not by a clean? makes this answer to it; because, as a leper is unclean, and makes others so, in like manner Pharaoh and the impure Egyptians had defiled the Israelites: but God shewed by Moses's drawing his hand out of his bosom again pure and clean, that he would deliver and purge the Israelites from the filthiness of the Egyptians. I should think rather, that the leprosy represented God's smiting the Egyptians with his plagues; and the cure of it, God's removal of those plagues at Moses's prayer. But there is no end of such conceits. Therefore I shall rather observe, that God commanding him to work *all these wonders before Pharaoh*, (ver. 21.) it is very probable, this gave occasion to the fabulous story which was invented in future ages, that Moses was a *leper*, and the Israelites infected with that, and other scabby dis-

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eases. For so Josephus tells us (lib. i. contra Appion.) the tale was told in Manetho's history, and thence descended unto others, that Moses was driven out of the country, διὰ τὴν λέπραν, (see Justin. lib. xxxv. cap. 2. Tacitus, lib. v. Histor. cap. 3.) *because he had the leprosy.* Which, as Manetho, perhaps, did not maliciously devise out of his own head, so those historians from whom he borrowed his work, might have but an imperfect tradition of the truth, derived from this passage of Moses appearing with a leprous hand before Pharaoh: which was presently noised about the country, without the other part, of his being immediately cured. And thus Helladius Besantinus, an Egyptian writer, in his Chresto-Mathia, mentions one who said Moses was called Ἄλφα, because his body, τοῖς ἀλφοῖς κατάστικτος ἦν, *was marked with white leprous spots.* And to this lie he calls Philo to be a witness. The very same is affirmed by Philemæus Hephæstionis, as J. Meursius observes in his notes upon the forenamed author.

Ver. 7. *And he plucked it out of his bosom, and behold, it was turned again as his other flesh.*] A manifest token (as Con. Pellicanus rightly takes it) that God could, with as much ease, restore his oppressed people to perfect liberty.

Ver. 8. *And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, nor hearken to the voice of the first sign.*] Here he gives the reason why he was pleased to add another sign to the former, that he might overcome the incredulity which he foresaw would be in many of them.

*That they will believe the voice of the latter sign.*] Yield their consent to that which is plainly taught them by both these signs, *viz.* that God had appeared to him, and ordered him to say what he did. And he saith they would *believe;* because it was rational to suppose they would: though he likewiso supposes, in the next verse, some might still remain incredulous; and therefore he adds another.

Ver. 9. *Thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry land; and the water shall become blood.*] This sign was not wrought now, when God talked with him, as the two former were: for he was in the desert, far from the river here spoken of, and near no river at all. Therefore, in case the Israelites did not believe upon the sight of the two former signs, this is ordered to be wrought, when he came into Egypt, for their conviction, by taking the water of Nilus, and turning it into blood. Which might be well looked upon as an indication that God was able to spoil that water, which was the great instrument of the fertility of that country, and make their land barren. And also put them in mind that the cry of the innocent blood of their infants, which had been drowned in that river, was come up to God.

There was a necessity that Moses should be instructed with all these powers, because he came with an unusual commission: which would not have been credited, if he had not brought such extraordinary proof of it. All the prophets after him did not work miracles, which were necessary only when some great change was to be made in the world; as there was now at their bringing out of Egypt. After which they were to be put into a new form and order, by a body of peculiar laws, both civil and religious; which when they were notoriously violated, God was pleased, by such wonders as Moses wrought, to turn their hearts back again; as he did in the days of Elijah, (1 Kings xviii. 37.)

Ver. 10. *And Moses said unto the Lord, O my Lord.*] This is a form of speech, whereby he declines this great employment, and desires to be excused. The reason of which follows.

*I am not eloquent.*] In the Hebrew, *Am not a man of words; i. e.* not a good speaker, or not accustomed to make speeches; or, as some take it, a man of few words, and therefore unfit to be sent to the Israelites, and much more to the king of Egypt, to whom none but great orators make addresses. Clemens, in his epistle to the Corinthians, makes this an argument of Moses's humility, and saith, he added these words (from I know not what author), ἐγώ εἰμι ἀτμὶς ἐκ χύτρας, *I am a reek from a pot.*

*Neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant.*] This hath been always my imperfection, that I could not speak fluently: nor do I find that I am altered, since thou hast been pleased to appear to me, and give me this commission.

*But I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue.*] Cannot bring forth my words readily, nor pronounce them well. The Jews think he had some impediment in his speech, so that he could not pronounce some letters or words exactly; at least not without such difficulty, that it was long before he could bring them forth. But the LXX. understand these words, *slow of speech,* as if he had but a weak, small, or slender voice; speaking *voce gracili et exili* (as it may be translated in Latin), which made him very unfit, he thought, to be an ambassador. And this doth not disagree with what St. Stephen saith, that he *was mighty in words,* as well as deeds, (Acts vii. 22.) for the sense of what he spake was great and weighty, though his pronunciation was not answerable to it. Nor did his ill or weak pronunciation, nor his slowness in bringing forth his words, hinder him from being an excellent judge, and deciding causes from morning to night; as we read Exod. xviii. In the determination of which there was no need of oratory; but of a quick apprehension, exact judgment, and proper language; which he never wanted. One would think, also, that by use and exercise he grew prompt in the delivery of his mind; for he made several very long speeches to the people, and especially an incomparable discourse before his departure out of the world, in the beginning of the book of Deuteronomy. In the latter end of which, his song shews that he wanted no eloquent words, when he pleased to use them.

Ver. 11. *And the Lord said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth,* &c.] Cannot I, who formed all the organs of speech, and made the rest of men's senses, and when I please deprive them of their use, take away this impediment of which thou complainest, and make thee to speak as roundly and gracefully as any man living? The author of the Life of Moses (who makes Pharaoh to have condemned Moses for killing the Egyptian, &c. see ii. 15.) fancies, that God puts him in mind of his deliverance at that time: as if he had said, Who taught thee to make thy defence, when thou wast arraigned before Pharaoh? Who made the king dumb, that he could not urge and press thy execution? Who made the executioner deaf, that he could not hear the sentence when pronounced? And who made them all blind, that they could not see, when thou madest thy escape? Which is very ingeniously invented; but we have no assurance of the truth of this explication.

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Ver. 12. *Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say.*] Excuse thyself no longer, but obey the commission I have given thee: and I will both help thy speech, and suggest to thy mind what thou shalt deliver. This doth not signify, as I take it, that if he had without further disputing gone about his business, God would have given him a better elocution: but that he would have made his words as powerful, as if they had been pronounced with the greatest advantage. Or the meaning may be, that he should never want either words or thoughts, to instruct his brother Aaron, whom God always intended to send along with him.

Ver. 13. *And he said, O my Lord.*] The same form of speech with that ver. 10.

*Send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send.*] The Vulgar Latin having translated the word *Schilo,* (Gen. xlix. 10.) *qui mittendus est, him that is to be sent,* it hath inclined several great men to think, that Moses here desires God to send the Messiah. And several of the ancient fathers (Just. Mart. Tertull. and St. Cyprian, &c.) were of this mind: as many later interpreters, both of the Roman and of the reformed churches, have been, particularly Flaccius Illyricus (in his *Clavis* upon the word *Mitto*) thus explains this passage: "*Manda id functionis,* &c. commit this office to the true *Messiah, or blessed Seed; whom thou hast resolved to send:* who will discharge this trust far better than I can do," &c. But there have been and are other very considerable persons, who think Moses means no more than this; *Send a more proper person, one fitter for this employment than I am.* And the truth is, such speeches as these in Scripture, do not denote any certain person or thing; but signify something indefinite, and in general. Examples of which we have in 1 Sam. xxiii. 13. 2 Sam. xv. 20. upon which phrase [*vado quo vado*] *I go whither I may,* the same Flaccius observes, that it denotes an uncertain motion. In like manner, Moses here determines his desire to no particular person: but only wishes God would send any body rather than himself. And that he did not think of the Messiah, there is this argument: that he had no reason to believe he was now born: and yet God's promise was to send one immediately to relieve the Israelites. Upon which errand also, if he had prayed God to send him, it would argue Moses to have been in the same error with the present Jews, that the Messiah was to be a temporal deliverer.

Ver. 14. *And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Moses.*] These words seem to import, that God was highly displeased with him; and consequently that he had very much offended him. Yet some of the fathers, particularly St. Jerome and St. Basil, impute his backwardness to serve in this employment to his great modesty, humility, and a deep sense of his own infirmities: of which the wisest and best men are far more sensible than other persons. And then this anger amounts to no more than such a displeasure as a father hath at his child when he is too diffident, notwithstanding all that he hath said and done to breed in him a just confidence. And therefore no punishment followed his anger (unless we think, as R. Solomon doth, that because of his backwardness God preferred Aaron's family above his, or that this was the cause he would not cure his imperfection of speech), but only a chiding: which we may suppose went before the following question, *Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother?* which carries something of sharpness in it. And indeed this may be said in Moses's excuse, that the most excellent persons are the least forward to embrace the offers of great advancement. According to the observation of Plato, lib. i. de Republ. (which I find Eusebius also hath noted out of him, lib. xii. Præp. Evang. cap. 9.) that no magistracy being designed for the profit of him that governs, but of those that are governed; I must needs conclude, saith he, μηδένα ἐθέλειν ἑκόντα ἄρχειν, that *no man* (who is considerate, he means) *will voluntarily take upon him the government of a people;* but he must be hired to it: or he must be punished if he will not undertake it. For he that will use his power well, οὐδέποθ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ βέλτιστον πράττει, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀρχομένῳ, *never doth that which is best for himself, but for those whom he governs.* Such an one was Moses, who sought not his own profit or glory (as those that now seek for great places, by which they design a benefit to themselves, and not to their neighbours), and therefore was not easily persuaded to accept of the high authority which was offered to him.

*Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother?*] One would think by this that Aaron was now a principal person, and of most eminent quality in the tribe of Levi: as may be concluded also from his marriage with the sister of the prince of the tribe of Judah, (vi. 23.) For it is but a fancy of R. Solomon's that he is therefore called the *Levite,* because the *Levitical* order should have proceeded from him, and the priesthood been entailed on Moses's family: but because of Moses's backwardness to serve God in this present employment, he in anger quite changed his intention, and advanced Aaron to the priesthood.

*I know that he can speak well.*] Is eloquent, and can deliver his mind in fluent words. There are two things which complete a commander, as Pericles speaks in Thucydides; σύνεσις καὶ δύναμις ἑρμηνευτική· *wisdom and eloquence*; which do not often meet in one person: but God is pleased to distribute these gifts, as he did to these two brethren. So Polydamas in Homer tells Hector: God's way is not to give all accomplishments to one man; but some to one, and some to others. Iliad. xiii. ver. 730.

Ἀλλ' οὔπως ἅμα πάντα δυνήσεαι αὐτὸς ἑλέσθαι·
Ἄλλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκε θεὸς πολεμήϊα ἔργα, &c.
Ἄλλῳ δ' ἐν στήθεσσι τίθει νόον εὐρύοπα Ζεύς, &c.

Which he expresses admirably again, Odyss. Θ. v. 168.

Οὕτως οὐ πάντεσσι θεὸς χαρίεντα δίδωσιν
Ἀνδράσιν, οὔτε φυὴν, οὔτ' ἂρ φρένας, οὔτ' ἀγορητύν.

*Behold, he cometh forth to meet thee,* &c.] By God's direction, no doubt, who suggested to him that Moses was coming by his order towards Egypt: which was such comfortable news to him, that when he saw him (after such a long separation), it could not but be a very joyful meeting. The fulfilling of this prediction was a new sign to Moses that God would be with him.

Ver. 15. *And thou shalt speak unto him, and put words in his mouth.*] Tell him from me what he is to speak.

*And I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth.*] Thou shalt have directions from me what to say to him: and I will enable him to speak to the people and to Pharaoh.

*And will teach you what you shall do.*] Instruct you in all your proceedings.

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Ver. 16. *And he shall be thy spokesman to the people.*] Acquaint them with what thou hast to deliver to them.

*And he shall be, even he to thee.*] He doubles the words, to denote that he should need no other assistance but Aaron: who being his brother, he might the more securely rely on his fidelity.

*Instead of a mouth.*] To speak what thou canst not so well deliver thyself.

*And thou shalt be to him instead of God.*] Deliver my mind and will to him. The Chaldee translates the Hebrew word *Elohim*, in this place, a *prince* or a *judge:* who hath the power of life and death; (see Grotius in Acts vii. 35. and L. de Dieu in vii. 1.) For Moses by God's order and appointment executed all those judgments upon Pharaoh which Aaron pronounced. (See Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. ult.) If Justin Martyr did not misapprehend Diodorus Siculus, he saith the Jews called Moses *a God.* For so he reports Diodorus's words, (Adhort. ad Græcos, p. 10.) παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωϋσῆν τὸν καλούμενον Θεόν: which now are otherways in the books of Diodorus, (edit. Steph. p. 59.) where, mentioning several lawgivers, that pretended to receive their laws from God, or some good angel, he names Moses among the rest, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωϋσῆν τὸν Ἰαὼ ἐπικαλούμενον Θεὸν, *who received his from the God called Jao:* so they pronounced that name which we call *Jehovah.*

Ver. 17. *And thou shalt take this rod in thy hand.*] The rod mentioned ver. 2. which is, ver. 20. called *the rod of God;* because it was an ensign of Divine authority and power; by which all the wonders were wrought.

*Wherewith thou shalt do signs.*] By stretching out so mean a thing as this rod, at God's command, great miracles followed; which demonstrated the power of God and not of man.

Ver. 18. *And Moses went and returned.*] From Horeb, where he had all this converse with God, he returned to the place where his father-in-law lived. (See ver. 1.)

*To Jethro.*] In the Hebrew his name is written *Jether.* And the tradition is, in Semoth Rabba, that he was once a gentile, and then his name was *Jether:* but being proselyted to the true religion, there was a letter added to his name, as there was to Abraham's, and he was called *Jethro.* And Mr. Selden observes he is called a proselyte in the Gemara of Babylon; and the first we find mentioned in Scripture, (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2.)

*And said unto him, Let me go, I pray thee.*] He did not think it honest to leave his service without his consent; especially since he entertained him, and gave him his daughter, when he was a stranger to him.

*And return unto my brethren, which are in Egypt.*] To his kindred and countrymen (who called one another brethren), whom he had not seen many years.

*And see whether they be yet alive.*] He concealed his main design from Jethro; not thinking it safe, perhaps, to trust him (who, though a good man, was not a Hebrew) with his commission; or, fearing that he might discourage him from an undertaking, which he had already too much declined, but now was fully resolved upon: and therefore loath to be again disheartened.

It may seem strange that Moses in so long a course of time as forty years, should not have heard of the state of his relations and friends: but it is to be considered, that, as he was afraid, perhaps, it should be known where he was, so intercourse with nations, though not very far distant, was not so easy then, as it is now-a-days.

*And Jethro said to Moses, Go in peace.*] He dismissed him kindly, and wished him a prosperous journey.

Ver. 19. *And the Lord said to Moses in Midian.*] Some translate it, *the Lord had said,* &c. to shew the reason why he now desired to have leave to visit his friends in Egypt. However that be, it is plain, this was a distinct appearance of God to him from that in Horeb: for this was in Midian. Where God (who had set him no precise time before) enjoins him to be gone presently: and assures him, that there were none left in Egypt who designed to be revenged of him for the slaughter of the Egyptian. So it follows:

*For all the men are dead which sought thy life.*] This is an encouragement, which God reserved as a reward of his obedience: having said nothing of it during the time of his hesitancy and reluctance.

Ver. 20. *And Moses took his wife and his sons.*] We read hitherto but of one son born to him: but it is plain he had another from xviii. 4. He carried his whole family with him, to let his brethren see he was so confident of their deliverance, that he ventured not only himself, but his dearest relations in their society.

*And set them upon an ass.*] One ass could not carry them all, with every thing necessary for their removal; therefore the singular number (as is very usual) is put for the plural: though one ass might perhaps carry her and two children, one of which, if not the other, was very small (see Drusius, Quæstiones per Epistol. 86. and Simeon de Muis in his Varia Sacra): asses are vile creatures here with us, but they were not so in those countries: for the noblest persons anciently rode on them; as appears by a great many places of Holy Scripture, Gen. xxii. 1. Numb. xxii. 21. 2 Sam. xix. 6. and several others, which are reckoned up by Bochart, (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 13. Hierozoic.)

*And he returned to the land of Egypt.*] Set out, and began his journey to that country.

*And Moses took the rod of God.*] So called, because God ordered him to carry it with him, (ver. 17.) and had appointed it to be the instrument wherewith he should work wonders.

*In his hand.*] As a sign of his authority. So Conr. Pellicanus hath not unfitly explained it: *he returned* with the rod of God, *signo apostolatus et ducatus, a sign or token of his embassy and government.*

Ver. 21. *And the Lord said unto Moses, When thou goest to return into Egypt.*] When thou art come thither.

*See that thou do all those wonders before Pharaoh.*] The signs mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, with which he was to begin.

*Which I have put in thy hand.*] Given thee power to do.

*But I will harden his heart,* &c.] The meaning is not, that God would harden his heart at the first, as soon as Moses began to work his signs: no more than that he would, at the first, *slay his first-born,* as he threatens, ver. 23. But, as at last he intended to slay his first-born, if he would not be humbled by other plagues; so in conclusion he resolved to harden his heart, after Pharaoh had often hardened it himself. There are three distinct words used in this story about this matter: the first is *chazak,* the next is *kashah,* and the third is *cavad.* Which seem to signify a gradual increase of his obstinacy, till at last it grew very

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grievous. For the last word *(cavad)* intends and increases the sense, whether it be in good or evil qualities.

Ver. 22. *And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh.*] In this God begins to fulfil his promise to Moses, that he would *teach him what he should say*, ver. 12. and 15, 16.

*Thus saith the Lord.*] This shews he came to Pharaoh in the name and by the authority of God.

*Israel is my son, even my first-born.*] Most dear to me, and beloved above all people (as the *first-born* son commonly is above the rest of the children), God having chosen and adopted them to be his peculiar people; on whom he bestowed singular privileges and blessings. Thus God speaks of David, Psalm lxxxix. 28. And Aben Ezra's interpretation of this phrase is not improper; that *their ancestors from the beginning had been worshippers of him the true God.*

Ver. 23. *And I say unto thee.*] I command and require thee (so the word *say* here signifies).

*Let my son go, that he may serve me.*] Not to keep my people in thy servitude any longer, but to dismiss them that they may worship me, as my servants ought to do.

*And if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, even thy first-born.*] Not upon his first refusal, (see ver. 21.) but after a long course of other judgments, which would end, if he were not reformed by them, in this at last. With which he therefore terrifies him, that he might prevent it.

Ver. 24. *And it came to pass by the way.*] To Egypt, *in the inn* where they took up their lodging at night.

*That the Lord met him.*] The Schechinah, I suppose, appeared to him, from whence an angel was dispatched, to do as follows. And so both the LXX. and the Chaldee interpret it, *The angel of the Lord;* because the *Lord* sent an angel to execute what is here related.

*And sought to kill him.*] Appeared in such a manner, as if he intended to fall upon him (with a drawn sword, perhaps, as he did to Balaam and David), which threatening posture could not but very much affright him, and put him into disorder. Others imagine he inflicted a sudden disease upon him; or made as if he would strangle him. They that interpret this of killing his *child*, as many do, (see Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. vi. p. 88.) seem to me to have no reason on their side: there being no mention of a child in the foregoing story, but only of his sons. Therefore Chaskuni hath rightly observed that this verse is connected with the last words of the 20th (the three following coming by a parenthesis), and can refer to none but Moses. All the difficulty is to find, why the angel of the Lord should put him in fear of present death, when he was going upon God's message. The resolution of which seems to be contained in the following words.

Ver. 25. *Then Zipporah.*] His wife presently apprehended what was the cause of Moses's daughter, *viz.* because her child (of which she is supposed to have been not long ago delivered) was not circumcised. And therefore she immediately dispatched that work: her husband being in such a consternation, that he could not do it himself; but (as Kimchi will have it), called to her to do it; or she of herself went about it, having been the cause that it was not done before.

*Took a sharp stone.*] Or a sharp knife made of a flint: for such they used; which Justin Martyr (in his dialogue with Trypho) calls πετρίνας μαχαίρας. And so the LXX. and the Jews say, that such knives were commonly used in this work.

*And cut the foreskin of her son.*] But how came Moses to neglect this duty? Most say his wife was unwilling to it: not because she abhorred this rite, as cruel and unnatural (for she was of a race which came from Abraham, who first received this command of circumcising all his children; and she understood, it appears, how to do it readily, without endangering the child, which had scarce been possible, if she had been a stranger to it), but because the Midianites, perhaps, did not circumcise so soon as the Israelites; but imitated their neighbours the Ishmaelites, who deferred it till their children were thirteen years old, at which age Ishmael was circumcised; (Gen. xvii. 25.) or rather, because they were about to make a journey, when she thought it might be omitted; till they came to be settled among the Israelites. And truly, this seems to have been a good reason, to defer circumcision beyond the eighth day; motion being dangerous when the child was sore. But such a man as Moses should have trusted God to take care of his child; and not have been afraid of the consequence, if he had performed his duty. And because he followed the tender inclination of his wife, rather than a plain precept, (Gen. xvii. 12, 13, &c.) he fell into this great danger. Many other accounts are given of this (for the truth is, the whole matter is very obscure), but I see none more probable, than what I have mentioned.

*And cast it at his feet.*] It is uncertain at whose feet she cast it: whether at her husband's, or the child's, or the angels. The first seems most probable; if the next words be spoken to Moses, as they seem to me to be.

*And said, Surely a bloody husband art thou to me.*] If the foregoing interpretation be true, these are not the words of an angry woman; but spoken with great affection: signifying that she had espoused him again; having saved his life by the blood of her son. Our famous Mr. Mede, indeed, (Discourse xiv.) carries the sense quite another way: because a husband, he saith, is never called *chatan* after the marriage solemnity was over. Which, if it be true, makes nothing against what I have said; because she looked upon herself as a second time espoused (or married) to him by this act, which had restored him to her, when his life was in danger. It must be granted that the word *chatan* doth not signify only a *spouse*, but sometimes a *son-in-law:* but why Zipporah should call her own child by this name, I do not see. Yet so Mr. Mede understands it; and adds, that the rabbins tell us it was the custom of the Hebrew women to call their children, when they were circumcised, by the name of *chatan* (i. e. *spouse*), as if they were now espoused unto God. And, indeed, Aben Ezra saith so: but I cannot find that this was an ancient notion among them. If it were, his interpretation might be the more easily embraced, which is this: that these were a solemn form of words used at circumcision; signifying as much, as *I pronounce thee to be a member of the church by circumcision.* Thus Val. Schindler also expounds it, (in his Lexic. Pentaglot. p. 677.) a child was called *chatan* upon the day of his circumcision, "because then he was first joined to the people of God, and as it were espoused unto God." And he thinks the Targum countenances this sense, when it thus expounds these words, "by this blood of cir-



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cumcision a spouse is given to us." Which may as well be understood of Moses being given to her, as of the child: for he was, as I said, restored to her and to his family, upon the circumcision of the child: so it follows in the next verse. They that have mind to see the sense of an eminent writer of our church concerning this passage, may consult Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, book v. in the latter end of the sixty-second section, where he thus far agrees with me, that these words were spoken "out of the flowing of abundance of commiseration and love," with her hands laid under his feet. For so he thinks these words, *she cast it at his feet*, import.

Ver. 26. *So he let him go.*] *i. e.* The angel no longer threatened Moses with death: but his wife, to her great joy, saw him restored to her in safety. From which in aftertimes sprang the φαλλοφόροι, which were so famous among the Greeks and Egyptians, in the feasts of Bacchus and Osiris; whose stories Huetius hath lately shewn were framed out of this of Moses. From whence also, as he probably conjectures, they used remedies for diseases, *in forma fascini*, which they hung, as amulets, about their children's necks, (Demonstrat. Evang. propos. iv. cap. iv. n. 3.)

*Then she said*, or, when she said, *A bloody husband thou art*, &c.] *i. e.* As soon as Zipporah had circumcised the child, and thrown the foreskin at her husband's feet, and said these words, Moses was delivered from his danger. Or (according to our translation), as soon as her husband was safe, she repeated the foregoing words, saying, *I have redeemed thy life, by circumcising thy son.* They that make these words to have been spoken in a rage, because she was forced to do what she did, suppose her to have had little kindness for her husband; and as little regard to circumcision. I should rather translate the words, *so she let him go; i. e.* let Moses go to Egypt; and went back herself to her father; only repeating these words before she went, *Remember me, how I have saved thy life, and made thee my husband again (when death was at hand) by the blood of thy son, whom I have circumcised.* There is only this exception to it, that the Hebrew word for *let him go* is of the masculine gender; which is of no great weight, because it is usual in this language when they speak of females, (as I observed on i. 21.) and it is certain she returned to her father; but whether in this manner nobody can certainly determine. For we are not told any where, upon what occasion she went back to Jethro (unless it be here insinuated), as we find she did, (xviii. 2.) together with her children. But it is very probable, that she fearing some other danger, into which she and her children might fall by the way, or in Egypt, might desire Moses to send her home again, till he had finished the work he went about: unto which he consented.

Ver. 27. *And the Lord said unto Aaron.*] In Egypt, I suppose, he received this order from God: but we do not know how; whether by an apparition of the Divine Majesty to him, or in a dream, or otherways.

*Go into the wilderness to meet Moses.*] The wilderness was a wide place; therefore he directed him, no doubt, into what part he should go.

*And he went and met him in the mount of God.*] He went almost to Midian; that he might have the more time to hear what Moses's commission was, before they came to Egypt.

Ver. 28. *And Moses told Aaron all the words of the Lord*, &c.] Mentioned iii. 6. 8., &c. and in this chapter, 14—16, &c.

*And all the signs*, &c.] See ver. 2, 3, &c. which he told him to confirm his belief, that God had spoken those words to him.

Ver. 29. *And Moses and Aaron went.*] Came into Egypt.

*And gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel.*] The chief persons in every tribe, who bore a great sway among them. (See iii. 16.)

Ver. 30. *And Aaron spake all the words which the Lord had spoken unto Moses.*] According to what God had promised, (ver. 15, 16.)

*And did the signs.*] The signs are done by Moses, as the words were spoken by Aaron, (ver. 17.)

*In the sight of all the people.*] Who came along with the elders.

Ver. 31. *And the people believed.*] All the rest of the people also (to whom the elders reported what they had heard and seen) believed that God had sent Moses to be their deliverer.

*And when they heard that the Lord had visited*, &c.] See iii. 7. 16, 17.

*Then they bowed their heads and worshipped.*] Most humbly acknowledged the goodness of God, and his faithfulness to his word.

## CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *AND afterward Moses and Aaron went in, and told Pharaoh.*] When they had convinced the elders of Israel of their commission, they desired audience of Pharaoh. Which having obtained, they went to court; taking some of the elders along with them, to attend them. Which is not a mere conjecture, from the decency of the thing, that they should not go alone on such a solemn embassy; but so they were commanded to do, Exod. iii. 18. and it will appear from ver. 3. of this chapter, that so they did.

I have observed before, (iii. 10.) that this Pharaoh is commonly thought to be him called Cenchres.

*Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Let my people go*, &c.] These words contain only the substance of what they said: which was delivered, we may well suppose, in a longer oration. Wherein they declared they had received a commission from their God, the Lord of heaven and earth, to make this address to him.

In all nations there were some persons, who, pretending to greater familiarity with their gods than other men, were highly reverenced, both by their own countrymen and by strangers. And therefore it is no wonder Pharaoh offered no violence to them, when they came to make this demand; because their persons were held sacred; as those of ambassadors now are, who come from one prince to another. This is a better account than that which some of the Jews (in Schalschalah-Hakkabalah) give of it; who say, that when they came into Pharaoh's presence, they appeared in such majesty as daunted him: being like the angels of the ministry; and raised to a taller stature than they had before; and having a splendour in their countenances like that of the sun, &c. In which they seem to imitate the story of St. Stephen, whose face shined like that of an angel, when he appeared before their council.

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*That they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness.*] In order to which, it was necessary they should offer sacrifice, (ver. 3.) which they could not do in Egypt: and therefore desired to go into the wilderness; where they might use their own rites and ceremonies of religion, without offence to the Egyptians. Every word hath its weight in it: for a feast denotes an extraordinary service; and to me signifies such peculiar rites of worship, as should be prescribed and instituted by the Lord, in whose name they spake: for which the wilderness was most proper, because there was no concourse of people likely to be in that place to disturb them in their solemnity.

Ver. 2. *And Pharaoh said, Who is the Lord?* &c.] These are not atheistical words; for he owned such gods as the Egyptians worshipped: but slighted that God whom Moses called JEHOVAH; to whom he saith, he owed no obedience, because he did not know who they meant by him. He speaks also with too much scorn; his pride and passion not suffering him to ask seriously who Jehovah was.

*I know not the Lord,* &c.] Nor did he desire to know; being so transported with anger that he would not examine their commission; but only resolved he would not obey it.

Ver. 3. *And they said, The God of the Hebrews.*] They gave him no other account (since he was so haughty and huffing), but that they came in the name of him, whom they and their ancestors had for many generations worshipped. Whom they had at first called (ver. 1.) *the Lord God of Israel:* Τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης Δεσπότην, as Artapanus in Eusebius expounds it, *the Lord and Governor of the Universe.*

*Hath met with us.*] Appeared to us, and given us this commission, when we thought of no such thing. For they would not have him think that they sought this embassy; but were put upon it by the Divine authority, which they durst not disobey.

*Let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert.*] These are the very words in which God commanded Moses to deliver his message, (iii. 18.) And as their desire was moderate (to go but three days' journey), so it was very modestly delivered; by humble entreaty; and with such a reason as they thought might move him to grant their request.

*And sacrifice unto the Lord our God.*] That he may be propitious to us.

*Lest he fall upon us with the pestilence, or with the sword.*] Send a plague among us (for our neglect of him), or some foreign enemy to infest us, and cut us off. Whereby Pharaoh (they secretly suggest) would lose the benefit of their labours, more than by their going for a little time into the wilderness. (See viii. 27.)

It is observable, that they neither wrought any miracle, nor threatened any punishment to Pharaoh, at their first application to him; but only told him the danger they themselves were in, if they did not obey their God: which was a very submissive way of treating with him. Artapanus, indeed, (in Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 27. and in Clem. Alex. lib. i. Strom.) tells us of several miraculous things which Moses did at this audience; whereby Pharaoh and his servants were astonished and frighted from doing them any hurt; nay, he asked Moses the name of his God, which he whispered in Pharaoh's ear. But he had all this out of some such fabulous author as him I mentioned above, (ver. 1.) and I mention him only to shew that the heathen had the knowledge of this history, and report it as a truth: though with some mixture of human invention.

Ver. 4. *Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, let the people from their works?*] Instead of answering their reasons, he tells them, That he looked upon them two as disturbers of the peace of the kingdom, and hinderers of his business.

*Get you unto your burdens.*] This seems to be spoken unto the elders, which they had brought along with them.

Ver. 5. *Behold, the people of the land now are many.*] They are very numerous, notwithstanding all their labours: to what will they grow, if they have nothing to do? Or, as some expound it, they will think of nothing but sedition, now they are so numerous, if they be suffered to cease from their burdens. Cajetan hence gathers, that the law for throwing their infants into the river was abolished as infamous; or he could not get it put in execution.

*And you make them rest from their burdens.*] Which was the course he took to make them less numerous. Perhaps this was the sabbath-day; on which they had been wont to rest, when they had their liberty.

Ver. 6. *And Pharaoh commanded the same day the task-masters of the people, and their officers.*] The *task-masters* were the chief exactors of their labours, being Egyptians, who had *officers* under them to execute their orders, and to give an account how they were obeyed: and it appears from ver. 14, 15, &c. that they were Israelites.

Ver. 7. *Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore,* &c.] Instead of easing them, he increased their burdens, and made them intolerable. What the use of *straw* was in making bricks is variously conjectured. Some think it was mixed with the clay, to make the bricks more solid. Others, that they only heated their kilns with it, to burn the bricks. Others (who think they were not baked in a kiln) imagine it served only to cover them; that they might not be cracked by the violent heat of the sun, wherein they were baked. For so Vitruvius tells us, that the best bricks were made in the spring and in the autumn, *ut uno tenore siccescant, that they might dry by an equal heat:* they that were made at the solstice being suddenly crusted over by the sun, and left too moist within, (lib. ii. de Architect. cap. 3.)

Ver. 8. *And the tale of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, you shall lay upon them,* &c.] It appears from ver. 13, 14. that there was a certain quantity exacted from them every day.

*For they be idle, and therefore they cry, saying, Let us go and sacrifice to our God.*] They have not work enough to employ their thoughts; which makes their mind wander after other things.

Ver. 9. *Let there more work be laid upon the men.*] Or, make it *heavy upon them* (as it is in the margin).

*That they may labour therein.*] Have no time to think of any thing else.

*And let them not regard vain words.*] So he calls the message of Moses and Aaron; who, he pretends, were mere deceivers, and fed their hope with lies (for so it is in the Hebrew, *words of falsehood,* or *lying words*), or, at least, he resolved their words should not prove true; for he would not let the people go.

Ver. 10. *Thus saith Pharaoh, I will not give you straw.*] The task-masters with their officers proclaimed the king's order, that every body might take notice of it.



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Ver. 11. *Go, get you straw where you can find it,* &c.] A heavy sentence; importing, that whether they could find any or no, no abatement would be made of the number of bricks that was expected from them. This was to drive them to desperation, by demanding things impossible. And added (as Conradus Pellicanus observes) to the burdens on their bodies, very sore anguish of mind. For it tempted them to doubt of the goodness of their God, who they thought had sent a deliverer to them, (iv. 31.) by whom they were now reduced into a more miserable condition.

Ver. 12. *So the people were scattered abroad, throughout all the land of Egypt,* &c.] Some part of them were forced to go and pick up straw, or, for want of it, stubble (and sometimes travel a great way for it), while the rest were working in the brick-kilns without their help, which they were wont to have: whereby they were disabled from making so many bricks as formerly they had done.

Ver. 13. *And the task-masters hasted them,* &c.] Quickened them in their work; when they saw they were likely to fall short of their wonted task.

Ver. 14. *And officers of the children of Israel,* &c.] By this it appears (as I said ver. 6.) that these officers were Israelites. And from this place Bonavent. Bertram concludes, (lib. de Rep. Hebr. cap. iv.) that there was a civil government among the Israelites all the time they were in Egypt: and that these *schoterim* (as they are called in Hebrew) were men of the greatest note among the elders; who executed all their decrees; and consequently of high authority among the people. For which reason Pharaoh's task-masters chose them, to oversee and direct the labours of their brethren. But Mr. Selden (lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 15.) hath made it appear, that there was no such judicature among them at this time; and when there was, this was the name of those who executed the sentence of the judges; being like to our apparitors, and such-like under officers. (See p. 621, &c.)

*Were beaten.*] With sticks; or scourged with rods.

*Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your task, both yesterday,* &c.] They punished the officers, as if they had been negligent in not pressing the people to their duty. Yet it seems they forbore them one day, to see if they would mend their fault the next.

Ver. 15. *Then the officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying,* &c.] They had some hope this oppression might proceed from the task-masters, and not from the king himself: and therefore they represented their case to him, and petitioned for relief. It is said, indeed, (ver. 6.) that Pharaoh laid this command both upon the task-masters and their officers: but it is not unlikely that he gave it immediately only to the task-masters, who were his own ministers, and by them to the officers.

Ver. 16. *Thy servants are beaten, but the fault is in thine own people.*] This shews that they thought such inhuman usage was the effect of the task-masters' cruelty.

Ver. 17. *But he said, Ye are idle, ye are idle,* &c.] He soon made them understand it was by his decree, and not his servants' pleasure, that they were thus used. And which was worse, they saw he was fixed in his resolution; being void of all pity; and mocking at their complaints. For nothing could be more sarcastical, than to tell them they were idle when they sunk under their burdens.

Ver. 18. *Go therefore now, and work,* &c.] Do not spend your time in making complaints to me; but return immediately to your labours, and continue at them till my commands be executed: and expect no mitigation.

Ver. 19. *And the officers did see that they were in evil case,* &c.] By this answer they found themselves reduced to such straits, that now they despaired of all relief; the king himself being set against them.

Ver. 20. *And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh.*] They had placed themselves there on purpose, to hear what success the officers had in their petition.

Ver. 21. *And they said, The Lord look upon you and judge.*] This seems to be an imprecation: or, at least, the officers bid Moses and Aaron expect that God would take them to task (as we speak) for bringing his people into so bad a case.

*Ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes,* &c.] Made us odious; as this phrase signifies, Gen. xxxiv. 30.

*To put a sword into their hand to slay us.*] Who may take an occasion from hence, and make this a pretence for the destroying our whole nation.

Ver. 22. *And Moses returned unto the Lord.*] This plainly intimates, that the Lord had appeared to Moses since he came to Egypt: as he did at Mount Horeb: and that he appeared in some settled place, where he might upon all occasions resort to him.

*And said, Lord, wherefore hast thou so evil-entreated this people?* &c.] It was to no purpose to answer the officers who expostulated with him; for they were too much exasperated, and thereby prejudiced against any thing he could say. And therefore he chose rather to represent to God the complaints they had made to him; that he might be directed what satisfaction to give them. For he was not able of himself to give an account, why the Lord should suffer their condition to grow worse rather than better, since he delivered his message to Pharaoh: no, nor why he should send him on an embassy which was not at all regarded.

Ver. 23. *For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath done evil to this people; neither hast thou delivered thy people at all.*] He might have remembered that God told him more than once, that Pharaoh would not obey him at first, (iii. 19. iv. 21.) But the bitter reflections which the officers of the children of Israel made upon his conduct, had so disturbed his mind, that he forgot himself so far as to ask the indecent questions mentioned in the foregoing verse, and complains here that God had done nothing to fulfil his promise of deliverance to his people.

## CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord said unto Moses.*] The Schechinah, I suppose, appeared to him (see ver. 12.) as it had done often before, since he was first sent upon this business, (iv. 22.) and graciously condescended to satisfy his two complaints, in the latter end of the foregoing chapter. Where he complains, first of all, that he had sent him about a fruitless message: for, secondly, he had not at all delivered his people. To the last of these he answers in the first place, here in this verse; where he tells him,

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*Now thou shalt see what I will do to Pharaoh.*] That is, be patient and wait awhile; and thou shalt see Pharaoh compelled to dismiss my people.

*For with a strong hand shall he let them go,* &c.] I will so terribly scourge him, that he shall not only let them go, but thrust them out of Egypt; and be glad to be rid of them.

Ver. 2. *And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the Lord.*] He also answers here to his first question [*Why hast thou sent me?*] by telling him, *I am Jehovah;* and have sent thee to make known this great name, that is, myself; who am constant to my word, and will faithfully perform all my promises.

Ver. 3. *And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty.*] Or, *God all-sufficient,* as the word *El-shaddai* may be interpreted, (see Gen. xvii. 1.) God infinite in power and goodness: of which he gave their fathers abundant proofs by delivering them in many and great straits.

*But by my name Jehovah was I not known to them.*] This *name of four letters,* as the Jews speak, is by the ancients called the *ineffable name:* for they would never pronounce it. Not because they could not, as Drusius well observes, (lib. i. Observat. cap. 1.) "Sed quod religione et εὐλαβείᾳ quadam ab eo efferendo abstinerent," *but because out of a religious reverence they abstained from it.* And this respect to it all the ancient interpreters observe, even St. Jerome himself: though in several of the ancient fathers (as Irenæus, Clem. Alexandrinus, Epiphanius, and Theodoret), and in some of the ancient heathens (as Macrobius and Diodorus Siculus), it is expressed by Jaho, and Ἰαὼ as the Greeks write it. Which name (however it be pronounced), some of the Jews imagine, was concealed till Moses's time; who was the first to whom it was revealed. But this is evidently false, as appears from the whole book of Genesis; and particularly from xv. 7. where (before he calls himself *El-shaddai*) he saith to Abraham, "I am Jehovah which brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees." In short, the opinion of Reuchlinus (in his Verb. Mirificum) is far more justifiable; which is, that it was revealed to our first parents, at the same time that God breathed into them the breath of life. For as soon as Eve brought forth her first-born, she saith, "I have got a man from the Lord," (Gen. iv. 1.) which name descended in a perpetual succession from Seth to Abraham: who when he went by God's direction out of his own country into *Canaan,* the *Lord appeared to him there,* and there *he built* an altar to the Lord, (Gen. xii. 7, 8.) And it is to be noted, that he doth not say to Moses in this place, *my name Jehovah was not known to them;* but *I was not known to them by this name.* That is, by that which it imports; *viz.* the *giving being* (as we may say) to his promises by the actual performance of them: *i. e.* by bringing them into the land of Canaan; and, in order to it, delivering them out of Egypt. Both which he had promised in the forenamed chapter, (Gen. xv. 14. 18.) and now intended to make good. And thus R. Solomon interprets this place, as P. Fagius notes; *I have promised, but have not yet performed.*

The like expression we find in the prophet Isaiah, as Theodoric Hackspan hath observed (Disput. de Nominibus Divinis, n. 15.) Isa. lii. 5, 6. where the Lord saith, "My name is blasphemed every day continually: therefore my people shall know my name; therefore they shall know in that day that I am he that doth speak; behold, it is I."

Which cannot signify that the Jews did not then know that this was one of the names of God; but that all who blasphemed him should be confuted by sensible proofs which he would give, of his own unchangeable resolution to fulfil his promises, in bringing them out of Babylon; which fully demonstrated that he was Jehovah.

Which word, some think, includes in it, not only his eternal existence and immutable truth, but his omnipotent power, which gave being to all things. The last of which was now made known, so as it had never been to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for Moses was the first that wrought miracles and prodigies: God was known to the fathers, by visions and dreams; but not by signs and wonders. Moses made him known by these unto the world. And therefore upon the whole Maimonides well concludes from this place, that the prophetical spirit on Moses was more excellent than that which had been upon any before him. (More Nev. par. ii. cap. 35.)

Ver. 4. *And I also,* &c.] The Hebrew word *vegam* may be better translated *although.* Which makes a clear connexion of this verse with the former; and explains the meaning of the name Jehovah. By which he was not known in former times, although he had made a covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give them the land of Canaan; and often ratified, confirmed (and *established* as he here speaks), this covenant, (Gen. xvii. 7, 8. xxvi. 3, 4, &c.) But now he not only declares himself mindful of that covenant, (ver. 5.) but, because he was the Lord, (ver 6.) would deliver them from the Egyptian bondage, and that with a miraculous power. Which should make them know more of him than their fathers did, (ver. 7.) both by his delivering them out of Egypt, and by bringing them into the land which he swore he would give to their fathers, (ver. 8.)

This is the sense of these five verses.

*The land of their pilgrimage,* &c.] So it is often called, when he speaks to Abraham, (Gen. xvii. 8.) and so Isaac calls it, (xxviii. 4.) and Jacob also, (xxxvii. 1.) And so it might be called, not only with respect to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but also to their posterity: because of the near union that is between fathers and children. Thus God is said to have given to these three patriarchs (as the famous primate Usher observes) the land of Canaan for an inheritance, (Psal. cv. 11.) which was not fulfilled to them, but to their posterity. And as the possession of posterity is attributed to the fathers, so, upon the same ground, he thinks, the peregrination of the fathers is attributed here to the children, (Chronol. Sacra, cap. viii.)

Ver. 5. *And I have also.*] This verse also begins with the same particle *vegam;* and must be translated *although,* if the former interpretation be right. Or else those words [*by my name Jehovah was I not known to them*] must come in by a parenthesis: and both these verses be connected with what goes before, *appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by the name of God Almighty,* to whom he so appeared, as to make a covenant with them, which he perfectly remembered, and having taken notice to what condition they were reduced, was now come to deliver them.

Ver. 6. *Say unto the children of Israel, I am the Lord.*]

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Tell them, I will now shew that I am what this name imports, (ver. 2.)

*And I will bring them from under the burdens of the Egyptians.*] The heavy oppressions under which you groan, (ver. 5.)

*And I will rid you of their bondage.*] They were mere slaves, and lay also under such insupportable loads, as made it impossible for them to deliver themselves: but it was to be the sole work of God.

*And I will redeem you with a stretched-out arm.*] This word *redeem* implies their servitude; from which he rescued them by a power superior to Pharaoh's, or any power on earth, as appears by the following story.

*And with great judgments.*] When God first promised this deliverance, which Moses was about to effect, he told Abraham, "I will judge that nation," which oppressed them, (Gen. xv. 14.) That is, punish them (which is one office of a judge) according to their deservings. This now he intended to perform (and thereby shew himself to be Jehovah), and that in a most terrible manner; by inflicting not only very grievous, but many plagues upon them. For Greg. Nyssen observes, that all the elements, the earth, the water, the fire, and the air, were all moved against the Egyptians, οἷόν τις στρατὸς ὑποχείριος, *as an obedient army*, (lib. de Vita Mosis, p. 173.) Thus *judgments*, and to *judge*, are used in many places for punishing; (Psal. ix. 17. Prov. xix. 29. 2 Chron. xx. 12.)

Ver. 7. *And I will take you to me for a people.*] By the right of redemption beforementioned.

*And I will be to you a God.*] He was so before; but now after a peculiar manner.

*And ye shall know that I am the Lord your God,* &c.] By seeing my promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob fulfilled.

Ver. 8. *And I will bring you unto the land, concerning which I did swear to give it,* &c.] Two things were promised to Abraham in that vision mentioned Gen. xv. First, he would deliver his seed from this nation which oppressed them, (ver. 14.) And, secondly, that he would bring them into the land of Canaan, (ver. 16.) Both these he now declares should be fulfilled (the former in the foregoing verse, and the latter in this), and thereby they should be convinced that he was indeed Jehovah, true and constant to his word.

*I am the Lord.*] He concludes as he began: having said this twice before, (ver. 2. 6.)

Ver. 9. *And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel.*] He delivered this message, as he was commanded: which, one would have expected, should have raised their drooping spirits. But quite contrary.

*They hearkened not unto Moses.*] They did not believe, or receive what he said, (so Maimon. More Nev. par. i. cap. 45.) or it made no impression upon them. The reason follows,

*For anguish of spirit.*] In the Hebrew, because of *shortness of breath.* They were so extremely oppressed, that they could scarce fetch their breath, as we speak. Or, had no heart so much as to think of deliverance, much less hope for it; but sunk unto their burdens.

*And for cruel bondage.*] Common slaves, though they cannot deliver themselves, rejoice to hear the good news that they are likely to be delivered by those who have power and will to do it. But in this slavery they were used so cruelly, that they were quite dejected and incapable of any comfort. So the LXX. translate the foregoing words *(for anguish of spirit)*, ἐξ ὀλιγοψυχίας, out of *faintheartedness:* they being quite dispirited.

Ver. 10. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] It is likely that Moses, finding the Israelites so regardless of what he said, went to the usual place, where he was wont to have recourse to the Divine Majesty, (see ver. 22.) to receive new directions what to do.

Ver. 11. *Go in, speak unto Pharaoh, king of Egypt,* &c.] The Lord bids him go again to Pharaoh, and renew the demand he made before, (ver. 1.)

Ver. 12. *And Moses spake before the Lord.*] This phrase, *liphne Jehovah, before the Lord,* plainly denotes that God appeared to him in a visible majesty, as I observed above, ver. 1. and see xi. 4.

*Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened to me, how then shall Pharaoh hear me?*] Their faint-heartedness disheartened Moses also, and made him unwilling to renew his address to Pharaoh. And there seems to be good reason in what he says; if the children of Israel, whose interest it was to give ear to him, did not believe him, what hope was there that Pharaoh should comply against his interest?

*Who am of uncircumcised lips.*] This reason he had alleged before, and was fully answered, (iv. 10, 11, &c.) and therefore ought not to have been repeated now. For his being of *uncircumcised lips* signifies no more than that he was an ill speaker, and wanted eloquence: it being the manner of the Hebrews to call those parts *uncircumcised,* which are inept to the use for which they were designed, and cannot do their office. Thus Jeremy saith of the Jews, that their "ear was uncircumcised;" and adds the explication, "they cannot hearken," (Jer. vi. 10.) In like manner *uncircumcised lips,* are lips that cannot utter words; as "uncircumcised in heart," (Jer. ix. 26.) are such as cannot understand. St. Stephen puts both together, "uncircumcised in heart and ears," (Acts vii. 51.) Perhaps Moses thought it some disparagement to him, that he was not able himself to deliver his mind in a handsome manner to Pharaoh; and therefore mentions this again, to move the Divine Majesty to *circumcise his lips* (as they spake), that is, remove this impediment.

Ver. 13. *And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron.*] Here is no express answer made to his objection, but it seems to be included in God's speaking *to Moses and to Aaron;* whereas before he had spoken only to Moses, (ver. 1. 10.) And it is likely Moses was admonished, that the Lord having given him Aaron to supply his defect, he ought to be satisfied therewith; and go with him, and renew his address, both to the children of Israel, and also to Pharaoh. So these words have respect to both parts of the foregoing objection.

*And gave them a charge unto the children of Israel.*] He laid his commands upon them, strictly requiring them to obey him. Which is a higher expression than we meet with before in the foregoing injunctions, (either in ver. 6. or 11.) and makes me think this verse is not a mere recapitulation of what had been said, as some take it; but an enforcement of what he had before commanded.

*And unto Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to bring the children*

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*of Israel out of the land of Egypt.*] I suppose he now gave them authority to threaten him, if he did not obey.

Ver. 14. *These are the heads of their fathers' houses.*] The principal persons of the several families of Israel.

*The sons of Reuben, the first-born,* &c.] See Gen. xlvi. 9. where the sons of Reuben are reckoned up in this very order; in which they are here mentioned again, to introduce the genealogy of Moses and Aaron. Who being chosen by God to be the deliverers of his people, it was fit to shew that they were of the same stock, though not of the eldest family, of the children of Israel. To whom God promised, when he went down into Egypt, that he would *surely bring him up again,* (Gen. xlvi. 4.) that is, in his posterity: which would not have been so manifestly the work of God, if they that were the instruments of it had not been of his posterity.

Ver. 15. *The sons of Simeon,* &c.] They are mentioned for the same reason, and in the same order that they were in Gen. xlvi. 10.

Ver. 16. *These are the names of the sons of Levi,* &c.] Having briefly set down the heads of the two eldest families of Israel, he enlarges now upon the third, from which he himself was descended.

*Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.*] These three are mentioned also in Gen. xlvi. 11. as coming with Jacob into Egypt.

*And the years of the life of Levi were a hundred thirty and seven years.*] He is thought to have lived the longest of all the sons of Jacob: none of whose ages are recorded in Scripture, but only his and Joseph's; whom Levi survived twenty-seven years, though he was much the elder brother. Kohath, also, the second son of Levi, attained near to the same age with himself, (ver. 18.) And his grandson, Moses's father, lived just so long as Levi did, (ver. 20.) Next to Levi, the longest liver of all Jacob's sons was Naphthali, if we may believe the tradition in R. Bechai, who saith he lived to the age of a hundred thirty and three years; which was the age of Kohath.

Ver. 17. *The sons of Gershon, Libni, and Shimi,* &c.] These were born in Egypt, from whom descended two families mentioned afterwards, (Numb. iii. 18. 21.)

Ver. 18. *The sons of Kohath, Amram,* &c.] He had the most numerous offspring of all Levi's sons, (Numb. iii. 28.) from the eldest of which Moses came.

*And the years of the life of Kohath were a hundred thirty and three years,* &c.] He sets down the age of none but only of Levi his great grandfather, and Kohath his grandfather, and of Amram his father. And primate Usher makes account that Kohath was thirty years old when Jacob came into Egypt, and live there a hundred and three years; and died thirty-two years before Moses was born. (See Chronolog. Sacra, cap. 11.)

Ver. 19. *The sons of Merari, Mehali.*] From this Mehali, it is thought, sprung the famous singer Heman, who composed the 88th Psalm, (1 Chron. vi. 33.)

*And Mushi.*] From whom descended Ethan, who composed the 89th Psalm, (1 Chron. vi. 44.)

Ver. 20. *And Amram took him Jochabed his father's sister to wife.*] It must be acknowledged that the Hebrew word *dod* signifies an *uncle;* and therefore some would have the word *dodah,* in this place, to signify only his *uncle's daughter.* So the Vulgar and the LXX. translate it. But Moses tells us so expressly that she was "born to Levi in Egypt," (Numb. xxvi. 59.) that it unavoidably follows she was sister to Amram's father. Which the forenamed great primate maintains (cap. 8. of the same book) against Scaliger and Peirerius, who would have Jochabed called Levi's daughter, only as Ephraim and Manasseh are called Jacob's sons. Which would make a very easy sense (as I observed, ii. 1.) if it would consist with those words in Numb. xxvi. 59. "whom her mother (for that must be understood) bare to Levi;" which shew she was his daughter. And thus R. Solomon understood it; and so did Tostatus and Cajetan, and divers others, whom our Usher there mentions. And see our most learned Selden, (lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. ix. p. 584.) Which shews how sincere a writer Moses was, who doth not stick to relate what might be thought in after-ages (when the law against such marriages was enacted), a blot to his family. And it is observable, that he doth not say one syllable in commendation of his parents; though their faith deserved the greatest praise, as the apostle to the Hebrews shews, (xi. 23.) But Moses (as Jac. Capellus truly observes, ad A. M. 2481.) did not write for his own glory, but for the service of God and of his church.

*And she bare him Aaron and Moses.*] This shews, that God exactly fulfilled his promise of delivering the Israelites out of servitude in the fourth generation (Gen. xv. 16. *i. e.* the fourth from their descent into Egypt), for Moses was the fourth from Levi; being his great grandson.

*And the years of the life of Amram were a hundred and thirty and seven years.*] The very same age with his grandfather Levi, (ver. 16.)

Ver. 21. *And the sons of Izhar, Korah,* &c.] He gives an account of his uncle's sons, but saith not one word here of his own. Who were not to succeed him in his place and dignity, nor to be advanced to any other office. Such was his humility and generous love to his country, that he only sought the good of that; but nothing for his own family.

Ver. 22. *And the sons of Uzziel,* &c.] This was another of his uncles; whose posterity he mentions, that it might be seen how God blessed the tribe of Levi: notwithstanding the sin he had committed at Schechem, and the punishment his father denounced against him for it, (Gen. xlix.) He saith nothing of Hebron, another of his father's brothers; because, perhaps, he died childless; or his children had no issue.

Ver. 23. *And Aaron took him Elisheba, daughter of Aminadab, sister of Naashon, to wife.*] Though he says nothing here of himself, yet he relates particularly what concerned Aaron; who, he shews, was matched into an honourable family, with a sister of a prince of the tribe of Judah, chief commander of their host when they were come out of Egypt, (Numb. i. 7. ii. 3.) The knowledge of this, he thought, might breed in posterity a greater reverence to the priesthood; which was settled in the family of Aaron.

*And she bore him Nadab and Abihu.*] These two perished in the very first sacrifice which their father offered; because they did not take fire from the altar, but offered with strange fire, (Lev. x. 1, 2.)

*Eleazar.*] Who succeeded his father in the priesthood, (Numb. xx. 25, &c.) and assisted Joshua in the division of the land of Canaan, (Josh. xiv. 1. xix. 51. xxi. 1.) From

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him sprung Zadok and the following high-priests, till the destruction of Jerusalem, (1 Chron. vi. 4. &c.)

*And Ithamar.*] From whom came Eli, and Abimelech, and Abiathar (in the time of David), in whom this family was extinct.

Ver. 24. *And the sons of Korah,* &c.] Though he himself perished in his rebellion against Moses, who was his cousin-german, yet his family remained (Numb. xxvi. 58.) and were famous in the days of David; being often mentioned in the Book of Psalms.

Ver. 25. *And Eleazar took one of the daughters of Putiel to wife.*] Who this Putiel was, is not certain. Dr. Lightfoot thinks he was an Egyptian convert, whose daughter Eleazar married. But I see no good ground for this opinion, but rather think it more likely Eleazar would marry one of the race of Abraham; being son to the high-priest. He was married, indeed, before his father was promoted to that dignity; yet Aaron was so great a man in his own tribe, (see iv. 14.) and married into so honourable a family in Israel, (ver. 23.) that it is not probable he would suffer his son to match with an Egyptian proselyte.

*These are the heads of the fathers of the Levites,* &c.] The great persons, from whom sprung the principal families among the Levites. He saith nothing of the other tribes; because his intention was only to derive his own pedigree and his brother Aaron's from Israel.

Ver. 26. *These are that Moses and Aaron, to whom the Lord said, Bring out the children of Israel,* &c.] These are the two persons, to whom God gave commission to be the deliverers of their nation out of the Egyptian bondage. He had mentioned, just before their genealogy, the charge God gave them, both to the children of Israel and to Pharaoh, (ver. 13.) And now he goes on to shew that they were the men, who were peculiarly chosen by God to discharge that office; first, by going to the children of Israel, which he mentions here; and then to Pharaoh, which he mentions in the next verse.

*Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt.*] Assure them of their deliverance, notwithstanding the pressures under which they groan.

*According to their armies.*] Not by a disorderly flight; but every family in such good order as an army keeps, (Exod. xii. 41. 51. xiii. 18.)

Ver. 27. *These are they that spake to Pharaoh,* &c.] Who carried the message from God to Pharaoh, requiring him to let Israel go out of Egypt, (v. 1, 2, &c. vi. 13.)

*These are that Moses and Aaron.*] He repeats it again, that all generations might mark who were the men that God employed, in this great and hazardous work of demanding the liberty of the children of Israel from Pharaoh's servitude; and effecting it in such manner, as is afterward related in this book.

There have been critical wits, who made this an argument, that Moses was not the author of these books; because it is not likely, they imagine, he would write thus of himself. But nobody but these critics can see an absurdity in it, that he and his brother, being the instruments in God's hand of effecting such wonderful things, should not let posterity be ignorant of it; but take care not only to record it, but to set a special note upon it, that none might rob them of the honour God bestowed on them; and He (by whose direction this was written) might have the glory of working such mighty things, by such inept instruments, as Moses often acknowledges himself to have been. Nor is this more than Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel say concerning themselves: and St. John may as well be denied to be the author of the gospel which bears his name, because he saith, "This is the disciple that testifieth these things," &c. (xxi. 24.) And besides this, the history of succeeding ages shews us the necessity of this, which Moses hath said of himself. For if he had not told us what his progeny was, we see by what we read in Justin and Corn. Tacitus, and such-like authors, what false accounts we should have of him: for Justin, from Trogus Pompeius, makes him (as I observed before) the son of Joseph. Nay, the Jewish writers have been so fabulous, that we should have learnt as little truth from them, if Moses had not told it us himself.

Ver. 28. *And it came to pass on the day when the Lord spake unto Moses,* &c.] Having finished the account he thought fit to give of himself and of his brother, whom God was pleased to employ in this great embassy, he resumes the relation of it, which he broke off at the end of ver. 13.

Ver. 29. *That the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, I am the Lord,* &c.] This and the next verse seem to be a recapitulation of what God said in his last appearances to him (ver. 2. 10, &c.) and of his desire to be excused from the employment on which he was sent; urged by two arguments, ver. 12, 13. where they are related something more largely than they are here, in the last verse of this chapter. In which he mentions them again; that there might be a clearer connexion, with what God further added for his encouragement, when he gave him the forenamed charge, (ver. 13.) to deliver a new message to Pharaoh.

Ver. 30. *And Moses said before the Lord.*] We read the very same, (ver. 12.) which makes me think this is not a new objection; but merely a recital of what he had objected there. See what I have said on the foregoing verse.

*Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips,* &c.] See ver. 12.

## CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord said unto Moses.*] He received new orders from the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty; before whom he stood, (vi. 12. 30.)

*See.*] Mark what I say, in answer to all thy objections.

*I have made thee a god to Pharaoh.*] Therefore, why shouldest thou fear to appear before him, who is but a man? Moses is not called absolutely *a god;* but only *a god unto Pharaoh:* which denotes that he had only the authority and power of God over him; or rather, he was God's ambassador to speak to him in his name; with a power ready to execute all that he desired for the humbling of Pharaoh, and punishing his disobedience to his message.

*And Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.*] Let therefore the *uncircumcision of thy lips* be no longer an objection: for he shall interpret thy mind, as prophets declare the mind of God.

Some slight wits have from this place also drawn an argument, that this book was not written by Moses; but by some other author long after his time. Because the word *nabi,* they fancy, was not now in use to signify a prophet:

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as appears, say they, from 1 Sam. ix. 9. where it is said, "He that is now called (*nabi*) a *prophet*, was before time called (*roeh*) a *seer*." Which seems to signify that the word *nabi* (which Moses here uses for a prophet) was but newly come into use, in Samuel's days. But this is very far from Samuel's meaning: whose plain sense is this, that he who foretold things to come, or discovered secrets, was anciently called a *seer*, not a *prophet*. Which signified heretofore only an interpreter of the Divine will: but now they began, in Samuel's days, to apply the word *nabi* (or *prophet*) to those who could reveal any secret, or foresee things future. Which had not been the use of the word formerly: but it signified, as I said, one that was familiar with God, and knew his mind, and delivered it to others: as I observed upon Gen. xx. 7. where God himself calls Abraham a prophet; as he here calls Aaron. And what holy writer would dare to alter the word which God himself used? Which is far more proper also to this purpose than either *roeh* or *choseh* (which these men fancy were the words in use in Moses's time, not *nabi*), for they do not answer the intention of God in this speech concerning Aaron. Who was not to see, and divine, or to receive revelations from God, but to be a mouth to Moses; to utter what God revealed to him, not to Aaron. Which is the original signification of the word *nabi*: there being no derivation of it so natural that I can find as that of R. Solomon's, from the word *nub*, which signifies to utter, or to bring forth, (Prov. x. 31.)

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt speak all that I command thee*, &c.] This explains the latter end of the former verse: that Moses should deliver God's mind to Aaron; and Aaron should deliver it to Pharaoh: requiring him from God to dismiss the children of Israel out of his country.

Ver. 3. *And I will harden Pharaoh's heart.*] Or, *but I will harden*, &c. which Avenarius translates, *I will permit his heart to be hardened*. Though there is no need of it: for God here only foretels what Pharaoh would force him to do, (see iv. 21.) after several signs and wonders had been wrought to move him to obedience. For he was so stupid, and hardened his heart so often, (viii. 15. 32.) that in conclusion God hardened him, by withdrawing all good motions from him. And therefore, the first time that Jehovah is said to harden his heart, there is a special remembrance of this, that the Lord had foretold it, (ix. 12.)

*And multiply my signs and my wonders*, &c.] The first plagues that were inflicted on him proving ineffectual; it was necessary to send more and greater, that, if it had been possible, his heart might have been mollified.

Ver. 4. *But Pharaoh will not hearken unto you.*] Or rather, and Pharaoh shall not hearken to your demands. For this was the effect of his hardening.

*That I may lay my hand upon Egypt.*] Smite all their first-born: upon which immediately followed their march out of Egypt.

*And bring forth mine armies*, &c.] All the tribes of the children of Israel: which were so multiplied, that every one of them singly made an army. (See vi. 26.)

*By great judgments.*] That is, grievous plagues; which he inflicted on them, one after another. And thereby made good his word, that Moses should be *a god to Pharaoh*, (ver. 1.) that is, a judge, as the word *Elohim* sometimes signifies. (See vi. 6.)

Ver. 5. *And the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord.*] Be convinced, or made sensible that none can withstand me.

*When I stretch forth my hand against Egypt*, &c.] This was most especially fulfilled, when he smote their first-born, which made them look upon themselves as lost men, if they continued disobedient, (xii. 33.)

Ver. 6. *And Moses and Aaron did as the Lord commanded them, so did they.*] He repeats what he saith of their obedience to God's commands, because, from this time forward, they no longer disputed, nor made any objection; but roundly went about their business.

Ver. 7. *And Moses was fourscore years old*, &c.] The Israelites were under a heavy persecution when Moses was born; and God exercised their patience (it appears by this) a very long time, that their deliverance might be for ever remembered with the greater thankfulness and obedience. Such grave persons as these were fittest to be employed as God's commissioners in this affair: for they could not well be thought to be hot-headed men, who thrust themselves forward into this embassy without a warrant. So some of the Jews very judiciously have observed, that God made choice of aged men to work all his miracles before Pharaoh, and to receive his revelations, because they were not apt to invent, nor to be under the power of fancy, at those years. See Sepher Cosri, lib. i. sect. 83. where Buxtorf notes, that Aben Ezra observes upon this place, that none besides Moses and Aaron ever prophesied in their old age; because they were more excellent than all the prophets.

Ver. 8. *And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, saying.*] When they were about to renew their addresses to Pharaoh, God was pleased again to appear, and give them his directions in their proceedings.

Ver. 9. *When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, Shew a miracle for you.*] It was likely that Pharaoh would, when he was not in a passion, ask, how shall I know that you come from God with this message to me? give me some proof of your authority: and such a proof as can be done by none, but by the power of God. And therefore God directs Moses what to do in this case.

*Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod.*] The same rod is sometimes called the *rod of God*, (iv. 20.) sometimes Moses's rod, and sometimes Aaron's: as we find it in many places, ver. 10. 19. of this chapter; and viii. 5. 19, &c. Because God wrought all the following miracles by this rod; which sometimes Moses and sometimes Aaron held in their hand. But commonly Moses delivered it unto Aaron, as an agent under him, to stretch it out for the effecting of wonders. For he tells Pharaoh, in this very chapter, that with the rod which was in his hand he would *smite the waters*, &c. (ver. 17.) And immediately the Lord bade him "say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the waters of Egypt," (ver. 19.) By which it appears he had delivered the rod unto Aaron. For a rod being the ensign of authority, prophets were wont to carry one in their hand, in token of their office. And so did the Egyptian magicians also, who had every one their rod ready to throw down, (ver. 12.) And Mercury, whom the Egyptians counted a prophet (and thence called him Anubis), was represented with a wand in his hand.

*And cast it before Pharaoh.*] As God had before directed Moses, (iv. 3. 21.)



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Ver. 10. *And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and did so as the Lord commanded them.*] At their first address to Pharaoh they only delivered their message; but did nothing to confirm it, (ver. 1, &c.) Nor were they commanded now to work any miracle, unless Pharaoh demanded one. Which it is likely he did; this second address to him moving him to ask, how shall I know that you come from God?

*And Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh and before his servants.*] The great men of the court, who are always supposed to be present where the king was; though not mentioned in the foregoing verse.

*And it became a serpent.*] See iv. 3. where we read that Moses himself, when this change was first made, *fled from before it;* the sight of it was so terrible. And therefore it is highly probable, that Pharaoh and his servants were no less startled at the first appearance of it. Artapanus relates several other miracles besides this, in Eusebius's Præpar. Evang. p. 434, 435. and 441. which I mention to shew that the fame of Moses's miracles was spread among the heathen, who were so far from disbelieving them, that they gave credit to other false reports, which some ill people had mingled with them.

Ver. 11. *Then Pharaoh also called the wise men.*] When he had recovered the fright in which we may well suppose him to have been, he sent some of his servants to call in those who he thought could cope with Moses and Aaron in wonderful works.

*Wise men.*] This word is sometimes used in a good sense: and therefore to shew they were such as we now call *cunning men,* he joins another word to it, which is never taken in a good sense, *viz.*

*Sorcerers.*] Which most take to be such as we call jugglers; who cast mists, as we speak, before men's eyes; and make things appear otherwise than they really are. For the Hebrew word *cischeph* (from whence comes *macaschephim,* which we translate *sorcerers*), signifies to delude the sight with false appearances. Sir John Marsham puts these two words together, and (by the figure of ἓν διὰ δυοῖν) translates them, *accersivit peritissimos artis magicæ, he called the most skilful persons in the magical art,* Chron. Can. Secul. ix.

*Now the magicians of Egypt.*] This is a third word, which seems to be of worse import than the two former. Some translate it *necromancers:* but it being a foreign word, we cannot determine its particular meaning: though, in general, no doubt it signifies men, that by evil arts performed amazing things: such as Simon Magus and Elymas in aftertimes. See Gen. xli. 8. and Bochart in his Hierozoicon, (par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 18.) where he hath a large discourse about the meaning of this word *chartumim:* which, after all that others have said about it, he thinks comes from the word *retan:* which in Arabic and Chaldee signifies to *murmur,* as magicians were wont to do in their incantations. So Hartun is properly ἐπαοιδὸς, an *enchanter.* And the name of Ἄρτεμις (the same with Hecate), he thinks alludes to it; whom magicians were wont frequently to invoke.

The names of the principal magicians at this time among the Egyptians were Jannes and Jambres, as not only St. Paul, (2 Tim. iii. 8.) but several, both Jewish, Greek, and Roman writers tell us. I will mention but one, the author of Schalsch-Hakkabalah, who calls them by these names; and saith, that in our language we would call them Johannes and Ambrosius. The reader may find a great many more, if he please, in primate Usher's Annals, ad A. M. 2513. and in Bochart's Hierozoic. (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 53. p. 645.) Artapanus, in Eusebius, calls them ἱερεῖς ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν, *priests at Memphis,* whom Pharaoh sent for to oppose Moses.

The original of which sort of men seems to have been this; that God being pleased to admit the holy patriarchs to familiar colloquies with him, the devil endeavoured to imitate him; that he might keep men in his obedience, by pretending discoveries of secret things to them. And when God was pleased to work miracles for the confirmation of the truth, the devil directed these men, who were familiar with him, how to invoke his help, for the performance of strange things, which confirmed them in their errors.

*They also did in like manner with their enchantments.*] If the Hebrew word come from *lahat,* which signifies a *flame,* (see Gen. iii. 24.) it seems to denote such sorcerers as dazzled men's eyes, and then imposed on them by shows and appearances of things, which had no real being. But it may be derived from *lahat,* which signifies *hidden* and *secret;* and then denotes those that used secret *whispers* or *murmurs,* as enchanters did (as Bochartus in this place now mentioned interprets it), or such as had secret familiarity with demons; as it is expounded in the Gemara Sanhedrin, (cap. vii. n. 10.) where there are many examples of the former sort of enchantments, by the deception of the sight. For instance, R. Asche relates that he saw a magician blow his nose, and bring pieces of cloth out of it. And R. Chajah saw one cut a camel in pieces with his sword, and then set it together again: which was nothing, saith he, but the delusion of the eye. Several other stories are told of the same nature.

Ver. 12. *For they cast down every man his rod.*] They were sent for to confront Moses, and therefore attempted to do the very same thing that he had done. For they took him for a mere magician, like themselves; and it was a common thing, in ancient times, for such kind of men to contend one with another. And their great study was (as Gaulmyn hath observed in his Notes upon the Life and Death of Moses, written by a Jew, p. 241, &c.) to find out the genius that attended their opposer; whom they strove to gain to their side; or to terrify him by a greater and more powerful angel. And they only were insuperable who had a deity to their genius; as Porphyry, saith Plotinus, had. Who contending with Olympius an Egyptian, when his genius was called, εἰς αὐτοφίαν, *to appear visibly;* there came a god and not a demon. Which made the Egyptian cry out, Μακάριος εἰς θεὸν ἔχων τὸν δαίμονα, *he is happy who hath a God for his genius,* as I suppose it should be interpreted. And thus the Jewish author of the Life and Death of Moses fancies, that these magicians, who resisted Moses, turned over all their books to find out the name of that deity, by which he did wonders, so much superior to theirs, &c.

*And they became serpents.*] Not real serpents, but seeming, as Josephus understood it, and several Christian writers; particularly Sedulius, (lib. iv. carm.)

——————" imagine ficta,
Visibus humanis magicas tribuere figuras."

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I omit other ancient authors, who suppose that as spirits can assume bodies like to men, so they can as easily, out of the same air, make the appearance of a serpent; just as Circe is said in Homer to have changed Ulysses's companions into hogs. But there are those who take these to have been real serpents, brought hither by the power of the devil: who withdrew their rods, and put these (which he suddenly transported from some other place) in their room. Which, if it be true, it makes the power that wrought by Moses the more wonderful; whose serpent devoured them all.

*But Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.*] The serpent, into which Aaron's rod was turned, moved towards them, and eat them up. Which was, as I said, the more astonishing, if they were real serpents of the same bigness (as we may well suppose they would endeavour to bring) with that of Moses. However their serpents (whatsoever they were) could not stand before his; but were swallowed up, while his still remained. This might have convinced Pharaoh, if his magicians had not made him believe, that they would in time find a power superior to Moses. The Jews also imagine Pharaoh himself was a magician; and helped to get out of Moses the secret whereby he wrought these wonders. Which were the greater, because Moses, no doubt, in conclusion, took this serpent by the tail (as God had commanded him, iv. 4.) and it became a rod in his hand again. Whereas the Egyptian sorcerers had no rods remaining to take up; they being vanished with their serpents. Greg. Nyssen. (L. de Vita Mosis, p. 173.) takes the devouring of their rods to have been a plain argument, ὅτι οὐδεμίαν ἀμυντικὴν οὔτε ζωτικήν τινα δύναμιν εἶχον οἱ τῶν γοήτων ῥάβδοι, πλὴν τοῦ σχήματος, &c. *that the rods*, i. e. *serpents of the magicians, had no vital power in them able to defend themselves; but were mere delusions, without any real virtue.* And here I cannot but take notice of a remarkable passage in Numenius, a Pythagorean philosopher, recorded by Eusebius, (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 8.) where he tells us, that Numenius (in this third book περὶ ἀγαθοῦ) expressly saith, "That Jannes and Jambres were, Αἰγύπτιοι ἱερογραμματεῖς, inferior to none in magical skill; and therefore chosen, by the common consent of the Egyptians, to oppose Musæus (as the heathens call Moses), the leader of the Jews: of whom he gives this noble character, that *he was a man most powerful with God in prayer,* ἀνδρὶ γενομένῳ Θεῷ εὔξασθαι δυνατωτάτῳ." Which is a plain confession, that he took Moses to be, as he is called in these books, *a man of God:* and may serve to shame those who either believe not this history, or think Moses to have been only a great magician.

Ver. 13. *And he hardened Pharaoh's heart:* or rather, *Pharaoh's heart was hardened.*] For so we translate this very Hebrew phrase, (ver. 22.) and I can give no account why we translate it otherwise here. Especially since the Vulgar and the Chaldee so render it, and the LXX. also in this verse, κατίσχυσεν ἡ καρδία Φαραώ, *Pharaoh's heart grew stiff;* or, *waxed strong and stubborn;* and ver. 22. ἐσκληρύνθη ἡ καρδία Φαραώ, *his heart was hardened.* And it is plainly the like form of speech with that in the next verse, (14.) where God himself interprets his own meaning, *Pharaoh's heart,* βεβάρηται, *is heavy, and will not stir.* Nor is there, in any of these three verses, the least mention of any person by whom his heart was hardened.

*That he hearkened not unto them, as the Lord had said.*] It is likely, upon the first sight of the serpent, his heart was inclined to hearken; but seeing the magicians do the same, it returned to its first bent; and there fixed, notwithstanding Moses's rod devoured theirs. This God had predicted, (iii. 19.) knowing his wicked disposition would not yield to any means he should think fit to use for his reformation.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord said unto Moses,* &c.] It is likely Moses, after he had been with Pharaoh and wrought this miracle, returned to the place where the Divine Majesty was wont to appear unto him, (vi. 12. 30.) and gave him an account of what had passed. Whereupon the Lord told him, he saw Pharaoh was resolved in his way; and therefore it would be to no purpose to wait to see what would be the effect of the late miracle: but bid him go the next morning, and carry a threatening message to him.

*Pharaoh's heart is hardened, he refuseth to let the people go.*] It is observable that he doth not say, *I have hardened Pharaoh's heart,* (and therefore there should have been no such intimation in our translation of ver. 13.) but *Pharaoh's heart is hardened.* Which can imply no other hardening than what proceeded from his own settled resolution, not to lose the service of the Israelites.

Ver. 15. *Get thee unto Pharaoh in the morning.*] Of the very next day, after he had wrought the foregoing miracle: and now begins the first of the ten plagues which God sent upon the Egyptians, for disobeying his ambassadors. Whose treaty with Pharaoh, as Jacobus Capellus (ad A. M. 2502.) thinks, continued about eleven months; from the end of harvest (which he makes account was in our May) to the beginning of the next year: which is the opinion of the Hebrew doctors. But our excellent primate Usher thinks, that all the following plagues were inflicted within the space of one month; in such order of time, as I shall observe in the beginning of each of them. And Bochartus gives good reason for it in his Hierozoic. (par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 8.) For we are told here (ver. 7.) that Moses was fourscore years old when he began to treat with Pharaoh: and in Josh. v. 6. that they "walked forty years in the wilderness." Now, if he had spent a year in inflicting these plagues, Moses, who died just as they were entering into Canaan, must have been a hundred and one-and-twenty years old: whereas he was but a "hundred and twenty," as we read Deut. xxxiv. 5. Nor was it suitable to the Divine goodness to be so long in delivering his people, who were reduced to extreme misery. It was but just, also, that God should follow Pharaoh, whose heart was so obstinately hard, with one plague upon the neck of another; and give him no time to breathe, after one was removed, before another came upon him.

*Lo, he goeth out unto the water.*] God, who knows all things, foresaw his motion beforehand; and speaks as if he then saw him actually going out of his palace to the river: either to walk there for recreation, or to worship the river Nile. For as Bochart (whose words these are) observes out of Plutarch, οὐδὲν οὕτω τιμὴ Αἰγυπτίοις ὡς ὁ Νεῖλος, *Nothing was had in such honour among the Egyptians as the river Nile.* If it was so in Moses's days, it is not unlikely that he went to pay his morning devotions to it. Or, if he were a magician, as the Hebrews fancy, he might be skilled in that which they call ὑδρομαντεία. For



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so, he observes, they say in the Talmud: and make this the reason of Pharaoh's going to the river. Which Jonathan follows in his paraphrase, "*Behold, he goeth out to observe divinations upon the water, as a magician,*" Hierozoic. (par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 15.)

*And thou shalt stand by the river's brink against he come.*] Perhaps Pharaoh (as the same Bochart observes) had forbid him to come any more to the court: and so God directs him to take this occasion to meet with him.

*And the rod which was turned into a serpent, shalt thou take in thine hand.*] To give him the greater authority, and to put Pharaoh in fear at the sight of that rod, which had lately swallowed up all the γοητικὰ ξύλα (as Greg. Nyssen calls them), *magical staves* which encountered him.

Ver. 16. *And thou shalt say, The Lord God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee, saying.*] See ver. 3. To which add, that it is plain by this whole story, that all the messages delivered by Moses, and all the answers which Pharaoh returned, were *true and formal treaties of a solemn embassage* (as Dr. Jackson speaks), upon which Moses was sent to the king of Egypt, from the *Lord God of the Hebrews;* that is, their king (as he was become in a peculiar manner), under whom Moses acted as his deputy or viceroy.

*Let my people go, that they may serve me,* &c.] The merciful kindness of God to a hardened sinner is here very remarkable in renewing his message, and giving him warning of what would come upon him, if he did not yield. Whereas he might in justice have inflicted it, without any notice of his intentions. He sets before him also his sin and his danger, in being hitherto disobedient; *and behold, hitherto thou wouldest not hear*: *i. e.* "thou hast provoked the Divine Majesty, by disregarding several messages I have brought to thee from him."

Ver. 17. *Thus saith the Lord.*] Attend to this new message I bring to thee in his name.

*In this thou shalt know that I am the Lord.*] He had asked in a contemptuous way, *Who is the Lord?* and said after a supercilious manner, *I know him not,* (ver. 2.) nor indeed cared to know him; but slighted him and his messengers; as the word *know not* sometimes signifies, being as much as *not to regard.* Therefore now he bids Moses tell him, He would make him know that he was the omnipotent Lord of the world; by the change of the waters of the river (which Pharaoh perhaps adored) into blood.

*Behold, I will smite with the rod, that is in mine hand.*] God and Moses are represented in this history as one person (according to what he had said ver. 1. of this chapter), and therefore it was the same thing to say, the Lord (whose words Moses had begun to recite) *will smite;* or, to say, *I will smite:* (see ver. 16.) It is to be observed, also, that Aaron smote the river, (ver. 19.) but it being by Moses's direction and order, it was counted his act: so that he might say, *I will smite,* &c.

*The waters of the river, and they shall be turned into blood.*] This plague was the more remarkable, because, as Theodoret here observes, they having drowned the Hebrew children in this river, God now punishes them for it, by giving them bloody water to drink, (Wisd. xii. 7, 8.) And if they had the same notions then, that the Egyptians had in future times, the plague was the more terrible, because it fell on that which they thought had some divinity in it, and (as the same Theodoret observes) was honoured as a God; because it made plenty when it overflowed its banks.

The Hebrew doctors add another reason for this punishment: because the Egyptians had hindered them from their wonted baptisms (as the author of the Life and Death of Moses speaks), that is, saith Gaulmyn, from purifying themselves in the river by bathing, after they had lain in of their children: which, in the scarcity of water in that country, could no where be done but in the river.

Ver. 18. *And the fish that is in the river shall die,* &c.] Here are three grievous effects of this plague: it deprived them of their most delicious food, for so their fish were, (Numb. xi. 5.) And took away the pleasure they had of washing by the river's side, because it stank (both by the death of the fish, and the corruption of the blood, through the heat of the sun), by which means the water was made unfit for their drink.

Ver. 19. *And the Lord spake unto Moses.*] After he had been with Pharaoh, and delivered this message to him.

*Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thy hand.*] This warning being despised by Pharaoh, who would not relent; God requires them actually to do as he had threatened. And now Moses had delivered his rod to Aaron, that he might by his authority execute this judgment.

*Upon the waters of Egypt.*] These are general words, comprehending all the particulars following.

*Upon their streams.*] There were seven branches into which the river Nile was divided before it fell into the sea; which seem to be here understood: being called, (Isa. xi. 15.) the *seven streams,* or *rivers of Egypt.*

*Upon their rivers.*] There were several cuts made by art, out of every stream, to draw the water into their grounds: which seem to be here meant by *rivers.*

*And upon their ponds.*] These were digged to hold rain water, when it fell; as it did sometimes: and near the river also they digged wells, it is likely, which may be here intended.

*And upon all pools of water.*] There were, here and there, other collections of water: particularly in their gardens, derived by pipes from the river, into cisterns.

*In vessels of wood, or of stone.*] Wherein water was kept in private houses, for their present use.

Ver. 20. *And Moses and Aaron did so, as the Lord commanded,* &c.] This first plague our primate Usher makes account was inflicted about the eighteenth day of the sixth month: which in the next year, and ever after, became the twelfth month. Artapanus tells this story otherwise; but it is evident he had heard of it among the gentiles: and Ezekiel the tragedian relates it all right; together with the following miracle: (see Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. xxix. p. 442.) Nor is there any thing more frequent in the Roman story (as Huetius observes, lib. ii. Alnet. Quæstion. cap. xii. n. 12.) than relations of rivers of blood flowing out of the earth; pits full of blood, showers of blood, and waters of rivers changed into blood, &c.

*And he lift up the rod, and smote the waters that were in the river,* &c.] Here is mention only of smiting the water in *the river.* And it is likely, that only *the waters of the river* were turned into blood (as it here follows) at the first lifting up of his rod; and then all the rest of the waters mentioned in the precedent verse.

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Ver. 21. *And the fish that was in the river died,* &c.] All the effects of this plague which were threatened, ver 18. (see there) immediately following. The first of which was the death of the fish; which perished in such great numbers that the river stank, &c.

*And there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt.*] The waters were in all places turned into blood, except perhaps the land of Goshen: which is not comprehended under the *land of Egypt.*

Ver. 22. *And the magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments.*] See ver. 11. In some of the pools or lakes of water they made an appearance of the like change; which made Pharaoh think his God was as powerful as the God of the Hebrews. The land of Goshen, as I said, might possibly be free from this plague; as it was certainly from several of the rest; (viii. 23. ix. 4, &c.) and some fancy the magicians had water from thence, to shew their power upon it. But I cannot think it probable that they made Pharaoh stay so long: and one may as well say they had it out of the sea, or out of the pits that the people digged, (ver. 24.) as Aben Ezra conjectures, and Justin. Martyr, Quæst. et Resp. xxvi. ad Orthodox. But there is no need of any of these conjectures, if it be granted (as the history leads us to conclude) that Moses did not in a moment change all the waters of the country, but only those of the river (as I said on ver. 20.) and afterwards, by degrees, all the rest; when the magicians had tried their art upon some of them. Which Moses also turned into real blood; so that neither they, nor any body else, was able to drink of them.

*And Pharaoh's heart was hardened.*] The very same words in the Hebrew, which we had before, (ver. 13.) where they should have been translated (I there observed) as they are here; and also in viii. 19.

*Neither did he hearken unto them, as the Lord had said.*] See iii. 19. This was more apt to move his heart than the former miracle, because it continued longer, (ver. 25.) and the magicians could not by all their spells, or skill in sorcery, remove this plague in all that time. See next verse.

Ver. 23. *And Pharaoh turned, and went unto his house.*] It seems that upon this refusal to hearken unto Moses's monition (ver. 15, 16, &c.) God sent this plague that very morning before he got home to dinner. So that there was not time to fetch water from distant places: but the magicians exercise their enchantments upon some ponds, which were not as yet turned by Moses into blood.

*Neither set he his heart to this also.*] Here is the reason why his heart was not moved by this miracle. He did not seriously consider what Moses had done, and examine the difference between the effect of this power and that of the magicians. Which was the cause that *his heart was hardened* (as we read before) as all men's are, who will think of nothing; but only to have their own humour satisfied.

Ver. 24. *And all the Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink,* &c.] The whole country was forced to try to get water to quench their thirst, by this great labour. How it succeeded we are not told; but it is likely they found clear water, by percolation through the earth. For Moses smote only the pits that were then in being, when Aaron stretched out his rod: which had no effect upon those which were digged afterwards. Why they did not fetch it from Goshen, if there was any clear water there (as we cannot but think there was, for the use of the Israelites), is not easy to determine. Their pride, perhaps, would not suffer them, till they had tried other ways to supply their wants.

Ver. 25. *And seven days were fulfilled, after that the Lord had smitten the river.*] The rod of Moses could effect nothing without the Lord; by whose power this change was made in the waters. Which lasted *seven* days before this plague was removed. By which means they were convinced that all the waters were really corrupted: and they felt the heavy effects of it in a grievous stench, and perpetual labour in digging pits all about the river. Whether Pharaoh at last begged to have this plague removed, or no, we are not told. It is likely he was so obstinate that he would not stoop to ask this favour of them: which might be the reason it lasted so long; to see whether he would be moved to humble himself so far. To which when he would not yield, God took it away to make room for another stroke: or, as some think, it continued together with the plague of frogs, and were both removed upon his petition.

It is a weak conjecture of the Hebrew doctors, from these words, that all the ten plagues lasted *seven days* a-piece; which is plainly contrary to the story.

## CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses.*] Who attended upon the Divine Majesty, we may reasonably suppose, every day to know his pleasure. And after the *seven* days (mentioned ver. 25. of the foregoing chapter) were fulfilled; the Lord commanded him to address himself again to Pharaoh: and to threaten him with a new punishment; which was inflicted upon the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month; and taken away the day after, (ver. 10.)

*Go unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord,* &c.] The very same message, in effect, which he had delivered to him before, v. 1. vii. 16, 17.

Ver. 2. *And if thou refuse to let them go, behold,* &c.] He again threatens the plague before he inflicts it; both that Pharaoh might know it came not by chance, but by the determinate counsel of God; and that he might prevent it by repentance and submission to God's command.

*I will smite.*] This word commonly signifies in the Scripture language *to kill;* but here only to *afflict grievously.* See Psalm lxxviii. 45. where to *destroy them,* signifies to annoy them.

*All thy borders.*] Every part of his country, to the utmost extent of it; *i. e.* in all places where the Egyptians dwelt. For it is not likely the Israelites were infested with them. (See ver. 4.)

*With frogs.*] The Hebrew word *tsaphadéa* signifies, as Aben Ezra thinks, an Egyptian fish; which some will have to be a *crocodile:* as Gaulmyn observes in his Annotations on the Life and Death of Moses, p. 256. But this is undoubtedly false; for they could not infest them in that manner, as is described in the next verse.

Ver. 3. *And the river shall bring forth.*] Under the name of the *river* is comprehended all the *streams, ponds, lakes,* and other *waters* in Egypt, (as appears from ver. 5.) For

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most of them came, one way or other, out of the river; they having little rain in Egypt.

*Frogs abundantly.*] The Nile naturally produced *frogs*, but such great abundance of them as filled the country, as miraculous; especially being produced on a sudden; and their going out of the river and fields into the cities and houses, &c. was still more miraculous.

*Which shall go up.*] Out of the river, which lay lower than the land.

*And come into thine house,* &c.] This explains what he meant by *smiting* in the foregoing verse: *viz.* inflicting a sore plague, more grievous than the former. For that spoiled only their water, but not their other liquors: whereas this made them uneasy day and night, in every place, whether they sat, or walked, or lay down, or did eat and drink. For their very *dough* (as we translate the word of this verse in the margin) was infested with them, as soon as they had kneaded it; and so was their drink, in all likelihood, as soon as it was poured into their cups. Nay, they got into their ovens: so that for the present, I suppose, they could not bake their bread.

Ver. 4. *And the frogs shall come up, both upon thee, and upon thy people,* &c.] They came not merely into their houses, but crawled upon their persons. And here it is observable, that this plague is limited to the Egyptians (Pharaoh, his people, and servants), the Israelites, one would think by these words, being excepted from it.

Ver. 5. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron,* &c.] No doubt, Moses delivered the foregoing message unto Pharaoh; but he, it seems, turned away, and would give no answer: for here immediately follows a new order (which God, perhaps, gave Moses upon the spot, as we speak, before he returned home), to inflict the plague he had bid him threaten.

Ver. 6. *And Aaron stretched forth his hand.*] He, as the minister of Moses, (who was to him as God, iv. 16.) inflicted this plague upon Egypt.

*Over the waters.*] He did not go to every place where there was water, but stood by the river, and stretched his rod over it, towards every part of the country (as Aben Ezra rightly explains it), and immediately God effected what Moses had denounced.

*And the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt.*] That is, there were vast numbers of them came up; for they did not so cover the land, but there was room for more; which the magicians counterfeited. The Jews think here was *mensura pro mensura, like for like,* as we speak. For they say it was a piece of their bondage, that the Egyptians, when they pleased, sent them a fishing: and now God made the river spawn nothing but frogs. Whose very croaking, others of them think, put the Egyptians in mind of the cries of the poor children whom they barbarously murdered.

Ver. 7. *And the magicians did so with their enchantments,* &c.] They should rather have shewn their skill in removing the frogs, or destroying those which Moses had brought. Which one would think Pharaoh expected from them; for they being unable to do this, he betook himself to Moses, whom he entreats to take them away: which he would never have done, if their power had not quite failed, and been unable to give him any relief. So Aben Ezra observes, he called for Moses, "because he saw the magicians had only added to the plague, but could not diminish it."

Ver. 8. *Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said, Entreat the Lord, that he may take away the frogs,* &c.] He that had proudly said not long ago, *who is the Lord?* &c. (v. 2.) now says, *Entreat the Lord,* &c. This was an acknowledgment that the Lord sent them; and that he only had power to remove them. In the former plague, he did enough to make Pharaoh know he was the Lord, (vii. 17.) but this had that effect upon him for the present: which made him earnestly entreat those, whom he had scorned, to become intercessors to God for him and his people.

*And I will let the people go, that they may do sacrifice unto the Lord.*] This was not his settled resolution, but the present danger made him consent to it: for if the frogs had continued long, there had been no living in the country. As appears from what we read in Athenæus, out of Heraclides Lembus (lib. viii. Deipnos. cap. 2.) who says the whole country of Pæonia and Dardania were covered with frogs, which God rained down from heaven in such abundance, that the houses and highways were full of them. They spent some time in killing of them: and, by keeping their doors shut, they made a shift for awhile to bear this calamity: but when it did no good, but τάτε σκεύη, &c. all their vessels were full of them, and they mingled themselves with their meat, whether boiled or roast, and they could tread no where but upon frogs, they left their country; being forced to it, also, by the stench of the frogs when they died.

They that would see more of this out of several other authors, may consult Bonfrerius upon this very place: and Bochartus in his Hierozoic. (par. ii. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 661, &c.)

Ver. 9. *And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Glory over me, when shall I entreat for thee?*] Do thou appoint the time when I shall pray for thee, as St. Jerome translates it; and so doth the Syriac, and Onkelos, and the LXX. who differ from the Hebrew text in words only, not in sense. For by adding the word *saying* (as we do in Judg. vii. 2. where there is the same expression), this paraphrase of Bochart is very proper, (Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. v. cap. 2.) "though it belongs not to thee to determine the time of thy deliverance, which depends wholly upon the will and pleasure of God; yet I, who am his minister, give thee leave to take so much upon thee, as *to prescribe what time thou pleasest for the removal of this plague.*" For thus he thinks Moses's words are to be translated, *Glory over me, by telling me, when I shall intercede for thee,* &c. Moses saw, perhaps, that Pharaoh was much addicted to astrologers, who fancied all things here below to be governed by the motion and influence of the stars: and therefore would have him name the time; that he might be satisfied there was no day nor hour under such an ill aspect, but he could prevail with God, at any moment he thought good to pitch upon, to deliver him.

Bonfrerius, I think, hath expressed, in short, the literal sense of the Hebrew words, "Tibi hunc honorem defero, ut eligas quando," &c. *I will do thee the honour, that thou mayest assign the time.* And our Dr. Jackson still shorter, *Glory over me;* that is, saith he, *you shall command me.*

Ver. 10. *And he said, To-morrow.*] But why not on that very day? all men naturally desiring to be instantly re-

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lieved from their sufferings. Perhaps he thought (as we said before) to try Moses's power; believing the next day not to be so lucky as the present, on which Moses had condescended to his request. Or, it might now be towards night when he called for Moses: who, he thought, would expect some time to pray to God for what he desired.

*Be it according to thy word.*] Thou shalt have thy desire.

*That thou mayest know there is none like unto the Lord our God.*] Mayest no longer depend upon thy magicians and their gods: being convinced that our God alone, whom we call Jehovah, can wound and heal.

Ver. 11. *And the frogs shall depart from thee,* &c.] This demonstrated the power of Moses with God, that he could as certainly foretell the removal of the frogs, as he had done the bringing them upon the land.

Ver. 12. *And Moses and Aaron went out from Pharaoh.*] To the place, it is likely, where Moses was wont to attend upon the Divine Majesty.

*And Moses cried unto the Lord, because of the frogs.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *Cried to him about the business* (or the matter) *of the frogs,* which God had sent upon Pharaoh. Or, as Aben Ezra understands it, *concerning the frogs,* which he had promised Pharaoh should be removed: as if the words should be translated thus; *He cried unto the Lord concerning what he said about the frogs, and appointed unto Pharaoh.* For so the word *sham* in xv. 25. signifies to *appoint* or *propose,* and so the LXX. here translate the words (which we render *had brought against Pharaoh),* ὡς ἐτάξατο Φαραώ, *as he had appointed to Pharaoh.*

Ver. 13. *And the Lord did according to the word of Moses.*] So powerful was he with God in prayer, as the heathens themselves observed from this story. See what I observed out of Numenius, vii. 12.

*And the frogs died,* &c.] The Egyptians could not kill them; but God took away their breath: yet not removing them from the places where they were, but leaving them dead there. As appears by what follows:

Ver. 14. *And they gathered them together on heaps.*] That they might carry them, it is likely, into the river; and so they might go down into the sea. God could have dissolved them into dust (if he had pleased) or swept them into the river from whence they came; or made them quite vanish in an instant. But he would have them lie dead before their eyes; as a token they were real frogs, and no illusion of their sight.

*And the land stank.*] This was a farther sensible evidence that they were real frogs.

Ver. 15. *But when Pharaoh saw that there was respite.*] That he was freed from the great strait in which he was. For the Hebrew word for *respite,* signifies *breathing* or *enlargement;* and makes the sense to be this: that when the burden that pressed him was taken off, so that he could take his breath, he was of another mind, &c.

*He hardened his heart, and hearkened not unto them,* &c.] Was not so good as his word, (ver. 8.) but returned to his former resolution, not to let Israel go. Which resolution grew so much more stubborn and obstinate, than it had been before; by how much the plague of the frogs had softened his heart, and inclined it to yield to God, more than the two former miracles had done.

Ver. 16. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron.*] The Lord seems to have given Pharaoh no warning of this plague; but to have inflicted it immediately upon the removal of the frogs, *viz.* on the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month. For his breach of faith was such a high provocation, that he deserved no other treatment, but a more notable judgment.

*Smite the dust of the land, that it may become lice.*] Some would have the Hebrew word *cinnim* to signify *gnats,* or some such kind of creature. Thus many of the ancients understand it; and Artapanus calls it ζῶον τι πτηνόν, *a flying sort of living creature:* which made such ulcers by its biting, as no medicine could cure. (See Eusebius, lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. p. 425.) But Bochartus hath sufficiently proved that our translation is right; and that out of the very text. For gnats, and such-like insects, are bred in fenny places; but these were brought out of the dust of the earth.

Ver. 17. *Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod.*] He still is the instrument to execute all the judgments which Moses denounced; as he was his mouth to deliver all the messages he carried to Pharaoh.

*And smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice.*] This shewed the lice were not a natural production; for they come out of the sweat and filth of men's bodies, and of other living creatures.

*In man and beast.*] This proves they were lice; which stick fast both to men and beasts. Whereas gnats, though they sting sorely, cannot be said to be *in man and beast:* for they are a most restless creature, continually buzzing about, and never settling constantly in one place. And there were various sorts of these lice: for beasts do not breed the same that men do: nor have all beasts alike; but some are peculiar to horses, others to oxen, others to sheep, and others to swine and dogs.

*All the dust of the land became lice.*] That is, nothing could be seen but lice, where dust was before. Or, lice were mingled every where with the dust.

*Throughout all the land of Egypt.*] Not of Goshen (it is very probable), which was inhabited mostly by Israelites.

Ver. 18. *And the magicians did so,* &c.] Attempted and endeavoured to do so: by using their wonted invocations and rites of incantation. For the common saying among the Jews is very frivolous, that *demons have no power over creatures so small as lice.* The meaning of which, Gaulmyn thinks, they themselves did not understand; which, according to the principles of the ancient magic, was this; that all animals had a particular genius presiding over them, by whose assistance their worshippers could do any thing among that sort of creatures. But this is meant only of perfect animals, not of insects (among whom they reckoned *lice),* which had no such heavenly power waiting on them. But if there had been any such notions then, these magicians sure would have understood it; and not fruitlessly have attempted that which they had no hope to produce.

*But they could not.*] Though they had counterfeited the former wonders; yet here a stop is put to their power, so that they themselves confess their weakness.

*So there were lice upon man, and upon beast.*] This seems to suggest, that since they could not produce any new lice, they attempted to remove those which Moses had brought upon the country. But they failed in that also: for, notwithstanding all that they could do, both men and beasts

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were pestered with lice. The Hebrews say (in the Life and Death of Moses), that this plague was inflicted upon the Egyptians for another piece of oppression which they exercised on the Israelites: to whom they said, "Go, sweep our houses, and sweep our streets, &c." therefore God made lice to cover the earth a cubit deep. But this savours too much of their fabulous invention. It is more pertinent to observe, that though we read of particular persons, who, for great crimes, were punished with the plague of lice, (see Huetius, lib. ii. Quæst. Alnetanæ, cap. xii. n. 12.) yet we do not find in any story a whole nation infested with them; and that both men and beasts, without exception: the magicians themselves, in all likelihood, being sorely afflicted with them: which made them cry out as here follows.

Ver. 19. *Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God.*] The same with what is called, in other places of Scripture, *the hand of God*, (Psal. cix. 27.) that is, his power. There are those (particularly Bochartus) who think these magicians did not, by these words, give glory to God: but thought to save their own credit with Pharaoh, by telling him that it was not Moses or Aaron who were too hard for them, but a Divine power superior to them all. To this purpose Jonathan. But they ought then to have been sensible that the power which they dealt withal was far from being supreme: being unable to assist them upon all occasions. And, no doubt, God intended to confound them, by taking that time to disable them when they least expected it. For why should not their power have extended to such a small thing as this, when they had done greater? But God would not let them always abuse Pharaoh with their illusions; and gave them a check, when they thought themselves most sure of success.

*And Pharaoh's heart was hardened.*] One would have rather expected to have heard, that his heart began to relent, when he saw his magicians not only puzzled, but quite baffled; so that they owned Moses acted by a power above theirs. But this it was, not to stick to the good resolutions which had lately been wrought in him, (ver. 8.) from which he not only revolted, but grew more resolute not to yield to God. The effect of which was this further induration: it being natural for evil men, who resist the means of their cure, to grow worse and worse affected.

This miracle also of the lice, being more loathsome to Pharaoh than terrible, might haply be the reason (as Dr. Jackson conjectures) that he did not entreat Moses and Aaron to pray for him: as he had done upon the sight of the frogs; and as he straightway did after he felt the next plague of the flies.

I cannot but add also this further reflection of his, (book x. on the Creed, chap. xl.) that though *the finger of God* was very remarkable in producing the lice, which the magicians could not, yet it was no way remarkable in hardening Pharaoh's heart. For it is neither said, nor intimated, that *the finger of God hardened it:* but *Pharaoh's heart was hardened*, that is, remained obstinate. The cause of which was his *not hearkening to them*, as it had been before, (ver. 15.)

Ver. 20. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh.*] As he had ordered him to do, before he sent the second plague, (vii. 15.)

*Lo, he cometh forth to the water.*] This confirms what was said there, that in the morning it was usual with him to walk out by the river; either for his refreshment, or for his devotion. Perhaps that, after washing, he might worship the rising sun. For Moses is commanded to rise up *early* in the morning, and present himself before him.

*And say unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Let my people go,* &c.] The same message he had often sent him, (vii. 16, 17. viii. 1.) together with an admonition and warning of his danger: which God had not given him before the last plague, (ver. 16.)

Ver. 21. *Behold, I will send swarms of flies upon thee,* &c.] The Hebrew word *arob* being generally thought to come from a word which signifies to *mingle*, interpreters commonly think it denotes a *mixture* of several sorts of creatures. And some take it, as we seem here to do, for all manner of flies; which Aquila calls γαμμῆαν, *all sorts of insects.* Others take it, as it is in our margin, for *a mixture of noisome beasts:* and so the author of the Life and Death of Moses; God sent *lions, wolves, bears,* and *leopards,* and such-like wild beasts, which killed not only their cattle in the field, but their children in their houses. And so Josephus expounds it, θηρία παντοῖα καὶ πολύτροπα. But Bochartus hath confuted this notion by very good arguments, in his Hierozoicon, (par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 15.) where he shews no words have more significations than the Hebrew word *arab:* which signifies not only to *mingle*, but, among many other things, to *obscure* and *darken.* From whence the even-time is called *ereb.* And therefore, with great reason, he approves of the LXX. version, who translate it κυνόμυια, *a flesh-fly*, very bold and troublesome; being not easily drove away: which infests dogs very much, especially about the flaps of their ears. Some take it for that large black fly which fastens upon beasts, and sucks their blood, called *arob*, from its black colour: as *oreb* from thence signifies a *crow.* And so Philo describes this fly, called *cynomya*, that it is as impudent as a dog; and makes its assaults with great violence, like a dart; fastening its teeth so deep in the flesh, and sticking so close that it makes cattle run mad.

This plague the Jews say (in the forenamed book of the Life of Moses) was sent upon the Egyptians, because of the hard service they made the Israelites undergo, in feeding their cattle.

Ver. 22. *And I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell,* &c.] Here now the distinguishing mercy of God to the Israelites is plainly expressed; which is to be understood in the foregoing plagues. And the Hebrew word, as well as the Chaldee, signifies, *I will make a wondrous difference.* So Jonathan, in that day, *I will work a miracle in the land of Goshen:* for, indeed, it was a marvellous thing, that countries so near one another should be in such a different condition at the same time. And it was the more wonderful, because there was such store of cattle in Goshen, whose dung is apt to breed flies.

*That thou mayest know that I am the Lord in the midst of the earth.*] Who governs all things here below; or, that have a special care of my people. For so Bochart understood by *earth*, the land of Goshen. In the *midst* of which God is said to be, because he defended and delivered them from this sore calamity which their neighbours suffered. For thus this phrase is used in many places, (Deut. vii. 22. xxiii. 14. Psal. xlvi. 6, &c.) And thus Cour. Pellicanus

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seems to have understood this passage, which he interprets, you shall know *that I am the Lord, and Prince of this country.*

Ver. 23. *I will put a division between thy people and my people,* &c.] It is repeated again, because it was a remarkable thing, and denoted the Israelites to be God's peculiar people; for whom he had a singular favour. Which is the reason that this mercy is called here a *redemption* (as the word in the Hebrew signifies, which we translate *division*), because God exempted and delivered the Israelites from those flies, which sorely infested all the rest of Pharaoh's dominions.

*To-morrow shall this sign be.*] The *finger of God* was so remarkable in the last plague, (ver. 19.) that his contemptuous disregard of it was very provoking: so that God would forbear no longer than till the next morning, before he scourged him with his new judgment. Which was very grievous and noisome, as appears by the following words; especially by his willingness to grant more than he had done before, that he might be rid of it.

Ver. 24. *And the Lord did so.*] Here is no mention of Aaron's stretching out his rod (as at other times), but this was done immediately by God himself: that the Egyptians might not imagine there was any secret virtue in the rod; but ascribe all to the Divine power.

This plague was threatened about the twenty-eighth day of the sixth month; and inflicted on the twenty-ninth: and removed on the thirtieth.

*And there came a grievous swarm of flies,* &c.] Or, *a vast number* of flies: for so the word *caved* (which we here translate *grievous* or *heavy*) is used in Gen. 1. 9. See there.

*And the land was corrupted by reason of the swarm of flies.*] We are to understand here, by *the land,* the *inhabitants* of the land: whose blood these flies sucked, and left such a poison in it, that their bodies swelled, and many of them died. So the Psalmist understood it, (lxxviii. 45.) There is something like this recorded in heathen stories; particularly, they say, that when Trajan made war upon the Agarans, he was so assaulted with flies, when he sat down to eat, that he looked upon them as sent by God, and desisted from his enterprise. And that whole countries have been infested with them, appears from a number of gods that were worshipped, because they were supposed to have drove them away, at Acaron, and several other places mentioned by the learned Huetius (in the place above quoted), from whence came the names of Jupiter, Ἀπόμυιος and Μυιώδης, and of Hercules, Μύαγρος, &c.

Ver. 25. *And Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron,* &c.] Sent a messenger to call them to him.

*Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land.*] He had consented to let them sacrifice, when he last sent for them, (ver. 8.) But he named no place: and also quickly repented of the concession. But now he determines it in the land of Goshen; where he grants them licence to offer public sacrifice. But this Moses tells him (in the next verse) was not fit for them to accept; nor was it what God demanded.

Ver. 26. *And Moses said, It is not meet so to do.*] Besides that this is not the thing that God requires, it is not prudent, because it is not safe for us to do it.

*For we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God.*] There is no indication, that I can find, of any such sottish idolatry now among the Egyptians, as was, it is certain, in after-ages, but what seems to be suggested in this place; which learned men have generally interpreted, as if the sense was this: "We must sacrifice to our God, oxen, sheep, and goats, which the Egyptians worship and adore: and that would be such an abominable thing in their account (to kill their gods) that it would give them the highest provocation." Thus both the Chaldee interpreters, the Syriac, St. Jerome, and others: which Bochartus himself approves of in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34. and 53. and more largely, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 17. But there is an objection lies against this interpretation, that long after Moses's time the Egyptians themselves did offer all the forementioned creatures to their gods: for Herodotus relates (in his Euterpe, cap. xli.) after what manner they sacrificed an ox in his time: and though some parts of the country abstained from sheep, yet they sacrificed goats; as, on the contrary, others abstained from goats and sacrificed sheep. (See upon Gen. xliii. 12.) Therefore it may be a question, whether these words do not refer only to the rites and ceremonies of sacrificing; and to the qualities and condition of the beasts which are offered: about which, the Egyptians in after-ages were every curious. For the same Herodotus tells us (in the same book, cap. xxxviii.) how the sacrifices were examined by the priest, and none allowed to be offered but those which had his mark upon them. And so Plutarch, (in his book de Isid. et Osir.) that the Egyptians, thinking Typho to have been red, sacrificed only such oxen as were of a red colour: making such an accurate scrutiny, ὥστε κἂν μίαν ἔχῃ τρίχα μέλαιναν ἢ λευκὴν, ἄδυτον ἡγεῖσθαι, *that if a beast were found to have one hair black or white, it was judged unfit for sacrifice.* The forenamed Herodotus, indeed, saith, they would not sacrifice cows, because they were sacred to Isis: which shews that in his time there was great superstition about such creatures; so that none durst offer the least violence to them. But, as we have no evidence, that in the days of Moses they were infested with such opinions, so their sacrificing such creatures, as the Jews did long after his days, and all mankind had done from the beginning, seems to be a prejudice against that sense of the words which is generally put upon them. But there were so many various ways of sacrificing in the world, that it is very probable the Egyptians differed very much from the Israelites: who might offer also (it is likely) such creatures as the Egyptians thought unclean; whereby they might be enraged at their profaneness.

Maimonides fancies the Egyptians worshipped the sign or constellation called Aries; and that this was the occasion of this speech: for which I can see no reason, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. xlvi.)

*And will they not stone us?*] We cannot gather from hence, that there was such a punishment among the Egyptians as stoning men to death. For he doth not speak here of punishment by their laws; but of what might happen from a popular fury.

Ver. 27. *We will go three days' journey into the wilderness,* &c.] So God had directed them; and it was not lawful for them to sacrifice in any place but where he appointed. Philo gives this reason why they were to go into a solitary place, there to receive commands from God



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about sacrifice, and all other parts of his worship: because God intended to give them a law different from those of other nations, or rather quite opposite unto them. In which there were so many singular rites, that they would have offended other people, and seemed to them profane, if they had exercised them among them, (de Vita Mosis, p. 615.) And thus Corn. Tacitus understood the design of Moses, not to bring the Israelites to as near a conformity as he could with the gentiles (which some now in these days fancy), but to keep them at the greatest distance from other nations, by opposite rites of worship. His words are remarkable, (lib. v. Histor. cap. iv.) "Moses, quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret, novos ritus, contrariosque cæteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illis omnia, quæ apud nos sacra: rursum concessa apud illos, quæ nobis incesta."

Ver. 28. *And Pharaoh said, I will let you go, that you may sacrifice to the Lord your God in the wilderness.*] He doth not say expressly they should go *three days' journey*, as was demanded: which hath made some think this was but a niggardly concession of Pharaoh's, who intended to deceive them with general words. But Moses understood it otherwise, as appears by his acceptance of the grant.

*Only you shall not go very far away.*] No further than three days' journey.

*Entreat for me.*] This indeed is added so quickly, and, as it were, with the same breath that he granted their three days' journey; that it may make one think it was the least part of his intention to permit that, but only to get rid of this plague. Which if it had continued long, the Egyptians must have left their country to preserve themselves. Several people having been forced by flies to quit their habitations, as many ancient authors inform us, mentioned by Bonfrerius and Bochartus.

Ver. 29. *And Moses said, Behold, I go out from thee, and I will entreat the Lord that the swarm of flies may depart,* &c.] He was not more ready to desire, than the Lord and his servant Moses were to grant, the total removal of this plague: which was sent for his reformation, not his destruction; if he would have duly considered it.

*To-morrow.*] Yet he would not pray that he might be released from it presently; but let him lie awhile under the smart of his rod: that he might be truly humbled, and deal no more deceitfully with him, as he feared he would.

*But let not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any more,* &c.] He had promised fair before, (ver. 8.) but broken his word: which made this solemn caution the more necessary, lest he should be guilty of such false dealings again.

Ver. 30. *And Moses went out from Pharaoh, and entreated the Lord.*] He gave Pharaoh a good example of steadfastness, by making good his promise immediately, which he gave him in the beginning of the foregoing verse.

Ver. 31. *And the Lord did according to the word of Moses.*] Here was punctual performance on God's part, of what was agreed between him and Pharaoh, in the foregoing treaty.

*There remained not one.*] This was a greater miracle than that of removing the *frogs:* for they *remained* in heaps and stank, (ver. 14.) But these were all swept away (by a mighty wind, perhaps), either into the sea, or into the deserts of Lybia.

Ver. 32. *And Pharaoh hardened his heart at this time also,* &c.] This is here made an act of his own; as it was no doubt in all the former refusals to let him go, (ver. 15. 19.) And he hardened his heart, by not *hearkening,* or not *regarding* what they had done, as the word is used and translated, ix. 21. That which made him not to hearken or regard, was his excessive pride and covetousness; for he thought it a dishonour to submit to Moses: and he was very loath to lose the service of so many slaves, which was really more worth to him, than all the land they possessed in Egypt.

## CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. *THEN the Lord said unto Moses.*] See vii. 1.

*Go in unto Pharaoh.*] It seems now he went to the palace.

*And say unto him, Thus saith the Lord,* &c.] He sends the same message to him he ordered at the first, (v. 3.) and had continued ever since, (vii. 16, &c.)

Ver. 2. *For if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still.*] If thy covetous griping humour make thee still resolve to detain them in their slavery.

Ver. 2. *Behold.*] This word, as in most other places (as Dr. Jackson notes) is here a special character of the speedy execution of the plague threatened, and of the remarkable manner of its execution.

*The hand of the Lord is upon thy cattle,* &c.] That is, he will smite them (which is done by the hand), and is just ready to do the execution. Here is no mention of Aaron's rod, no more than in the foregoing plague, and for the same reason. (See viii. 21.)

*A very grievous murrain.*] That is, a great *plague* or *pestilence* (as we call it, in mankind), of which abundance of cattle shall die. For so the word *caved* (which we translate *grievous*) is used for *numerous:* (see viii. 24.) But the greater the number was that died, the more *grievous,* no doubt, was the calamity: God intended to deal more severely than formerly with him, because he had been guilty of a fraudulent contempt of his former solemn monition, (viii. 29.)

Ver. 4. *And the Lord shall sever between the cattle of Israel and the cattle of Egypt,* &c.] See viii. 22. This was the greater wonder (as the word imports), because the Israelites and Egyptians were mingled together in the land of Goshen: and their cattle breathed in the same air, and drank of the same water, &c. By which it appeared this pestilence was not natural; but proceeded, as was said before, from the hand of God.

Ver. 5. *And the Lord appointed a set time.*] That they might know this stroke came from him.

*Saying, To-morrow the Lord shall do this thing in the land.*] This plague was threatened upon the first day of the seventh month (which afterwards was changed into the first month of the year), and inflicted on the second day.

Ver. 6. *And all the cattle of Egypt died.*] Some survived, it is plain, from ver. 19. Therefore the meaning is, either all that were in the field, (ver. 3.) not those in the cities or houses: or, rather a great many of all sorts of cattle, as Drusius expounds it, "omne genus," *all kinds:* as the word *all* must be expounded, (ver. 26. vide lib. ii. Animadvers. cap. xviii.)

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*But of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one.*] Of any sort whatsoever.

Ver. 7. *And Pharaoh sent, and behold, there was not one of the cattle of the Israelites dead.*] We do not find that he sent to make any such inquiry in the former plagues. It is likely he slighted what they said, and would not do them the honour to seem to believe them. Moses also had said nothing of this difference God would make between the Israelites and them, till the last plague; when the flies were so busy and vexatious, that it made travel uneasy: as it was likewise in the two other before that, when they could tread upon nothing but frogs, or lice.

*And the heart of Pharaoh was hardened.*] One would rather have expected to hear that it relented; because he took the pains to satisfy himself that every thing foretold by Moses was come to pass: which looks as if he meant, upon the truth of that information, to alter this course. This plague likewise was much heavier than all, or most, of the preceding: which were rather more noisome and terrible (as Dr. Jackson speaks) than detrimental to Pharaoh and his people. For we do not read before this time of the death of any useful creatures, except fishes, when the waters were turned into blood: and that calamity was not so universal neither, being only in the river (and some think only near the court), as this murrain, which was all over the country; and did them a far greater mischief. But having accustomed himself to do evil, he grew still more obstinate and hardened in pride and covetousness. For he doth not so much as pray to be delivered from this plague; which had done all the execution, he thought, that was designed; and he intended, perhaps, to repair his loss, out of the flocks and herds of the Israelites, which haply might make him less affected with this wonder, than he had been with some of the former.

Ver. 8. *And the Lord said unto Moses and Aaron.*] The former plague having so little moved his proud and stubborn heart, the Lord instantly, without any further message to him (as being now in process of sentence, says Dr. Jackson), commands them to bring another judgment upon the Egyptians, more dreadful and noisome than any of the rest had been.

*Take to you handfuls of ashes of the furnace.*] In which Pharaoh had made them labour, (Deut. iv. 20.) which moved God to punish him and his people with this plague, for their cruel usage of his people there.

*And let Moses sprinkle it.*] The Jews think God employed him only in executing this judgment, being much heavier than all the foregoing. But both he and Aaron being commanded to take ashes (in the words foregoing), as we read they did, (ver. 10.) it is more probable they both sprinkled, and so the meaning is, let Moses (as well as Aaron) sprinkle it.

*Towards heaven.*] To shew that the plague came from thence.

*In the sight of Pharaoh.*] That he might be convinced of it.

Ver. 9. *And it shall become small dust, in all the land of Egypt,* &c.] Instead of these ashes, which they threw up into the air, there came down a small sleet (as we call it) like that of snow, or the hoar frost, which scalded the flesh of man and beast; and raised a blister in every part upon which it fell. The poison of which penetrating into the flesh, made sore swellings, like those we now call buboes. Insomuch that, as Philo understood it (lib. i. de Vita Mosis), they were full of blotches from head to foot. Certain it is, that the Hebrew word *schechin* signifies an *inflammation*, that made a tumour or *bile*, (as we translate the word, Levit. xiii. 18, 19.) which turned into such a grievous ulcer, that Moses speaks of it afterwards as an unusual plague, which he calls the *botch of Egypt*, (Deut. xxviii. 27.) Dr. Lightfoot, indeed, observes, that in the book of Job (ii. 7, 8.) it signifies only a burning itch, or an inflamed scab: an intolerable dry itch, which his nails could not scratch off, but he was glad to make use of a potsherd to scrub himself. But then he confesses, that this *schechin*, here spoken of, was higher than that, having blains and biles that broke out with it; which Job's had not. So that the Egyptians, he thinks, were vexed with a double punishment at once; aching biles and a fiery itch. But our interpreters take it otherwise, and say that Job also was smote with *biles*, which, in conclusion, perhaps, had a scab that itched very much.

Ver. 10. *And they took ashes of the furnace,* &c.] This plague was inflicted about the third day of the seventh month, according to archbishop Usher's computation: who thinks it probable (as many others do), that from hence the tale was spread among the heathens, that the Egyptians drove the Israelites out of Egypt because they were scabby; lest the infection should spread all over the country. For they endeavoured, in future ages, to make it be believed, that what befel themselves was a plague upon the Israelites.

Ver. 11. *And the magicians could not stand before Moses, because of the biles,* &c.] This plague seized on them, as well as the rest of the Egyptians, and that in the presence of Pharaoh (as these words seem to import), which perfectly confounded them. For though, since the plague of lice, which they could not counterfeit, we read of no attempt they ventured to make to vie miracles with Moses and Aaron, yet they still continued about Pharaoh (it appears from this place), and endeavoured to settle him in his resolution, not to let Israel go: persuading him, perhaps, that though Moses for the present had found out some secret beyond their skill, they should at last be too hard for him. But now, being on a sudden smote with these ulcers, they were so amazed, that we do not find they appeared again to look Moses in the face. For now, as the apostle speaks, "their folly was manifested to all men;" (1 Tim. iii. 8, 9.) in that they could not defend themselves from this terrible stroke; which publicly seizing on them before Moses, in the sight of Pharaoh and all his servants, rendered them so contemptible, that we never hear more of them.

Ver. 12. *And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh,* &c.] If we suppose that the magicians, who had hitherto confirmed Pharaoh in his obstinacy, were forced to withdraw in great confusion, when they were smitten with the biles; one would have thought the next thing we should have heard would have been that Pharaoh relented. But here is not the least token of that mentioned in this history, but rather the express contrary; that God was so angry with him, that he himself hardened his heart, which he had never done before. This hardening, therefore, which is said to be God's doing, was something sure very extraordinary.



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Yet it was not an infusion of any bad qualities or ungodly resolutions into Pharaoh's heart, but only that God did not vouchsafe him those convictions that might have softened him, and gave him up to his own heart's lusts: and likewise ordered things so to fall out, that he should hereafter be made by them more and more obdurate. For he had hardened himself against five plagues; therefore God leaves him to himself, and resolves he shall continue in his hardness. Accordingly he doth not so much as desire to be freed from this plague, no more than he had done in the former, which was nothing so grievous. The effect of such induration is well expressed by Dav. Chytræus in these words, "Cor induratum est, quod nec compunctione scinditur," &c. "A hardened heart is neither cut by compunction, nor softened by any sense of piety. It is neither moved by prayers and entreaties, nor yields to threatenings, nor feels the smart of scourges. It is ungrateful for benefits; treacherous to counsels; sullen to judgments; shameless to things most base; fearless of dangers; forgetful of things past; negligent of things present; improvident for the future. In short, it neither fears God, nor reverences man."

*As the Lord hath spoken unto Moses.*] The margin of our Bible directs the reader to iv. 21. where God saith, *I will harden*, &c. See there, and iii. 19. And observe that all along from thence to this place, it is very often said, in the close of the former plagues, that *Pharaoh's heart was hardened as the Lord had said*, (vii. 13. 22. viii. 15. 19. 32.) But this is the first time that it is said, *the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh, as he had spoken unto Moses.* Which different close gives us to understand, that now, after the plague of blains, the sentence of destruction was irreversibly denounced against him; and God resolved to dispose things so, that he should not repent, but run headlong to his ruin.

Ver. 13. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning.*] That he might speak with Pharaoh before he went abroad; or at his going out of his palace.

*And stand before Pharaoh*, &c.] Present thyself unto him, with the same message that I have often sent to him. (See v. 3. vii. 16, &c.)

*Let my people go, that they may serve me.*] But why doth he send any more messages to him, may some say, after he had hardened him, and knew he would not submit? To which Dr. Jackson's answer is very apposite; that God dealt with Pharaoh just as he had done with the poor oppressed Israelites, after Moses had delivered his first message to him. Pharaoh immediately forbids his taskmasters to give them any straw, and yet required the same tale of bricks which they made when they had straw enough. The Lord in like manner demands the same obedience of Pharaoh, after he had deprived him of understanding, and of all good motions, which he had demanded of him before, or at the first exhibition of his signs and wonders. And this is that which gave occasion to the question we find, Rom. ix. 19. *Why doth he yet find fault?* To which there needs no further satisfaction in this place.

Ver. 14. *For I will at this time.*] For now I will begin to send more terrible plagues upon thee, one after another, till I have destroyed thee.

*Send all my plagues.*] All that I have resolved to inflict, as Menochius truly expounds it: "Not all that I am able, but all that I design to send for thy destruction."

*Upon thine heart.*] Such as shall make thy heart ache (as we now speak); not only afflict thy body and goods, but fill thy soul with terror, or grief, or rage.

*That thou mayest know there is none like me in all the earth.*] To teach thee, by sad experience, that my power is superior to all other. To which another reason is added in the next verse; that all the world might see the same. And a third, (x. 2.) that Israel might learn to worship him alone, and teach their children to do so likewise.

Ver. 15, 16. *For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence*, &c.] I do not see how this translation can be maintained; for we do not read that God after this sent a new *pestilence* upon Pharaoh: and the Hebrew word *deber* signifies nothing else. This, therefore, must needs refer to the time past: and the sense of these three verses (14—16.) must be this; "I will send more plagues on thee, and on thy servants, (as was threatened ver. 14.) for the truth is, I had now stretched out my hand to destroy both thee and thy people by my late pestilence, wherewith you had all been cut off, had it not been that I reserve you for further punishments: for which very cause I made thee to stand, when thou wast falling (*i. e.* kept thee from dying), that I might send more plagues upon thee, and make thy destruction more notorious to all the world." See Paulus Fagius, and Theod. Hackspan, and Fr. Junius also, who translate these words, *I had smitten thee and thy people with pestilence* (*i. e.* when he destroyed their cattle with a murrain), and then *hadst thou been cut off from the earth*, as it follows in the end of this verse; that is, when the biles broke out upon the magicians.

Ver. 16. *And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *I have made thee stand;* that is, preserved thee alive, when the pestilence would have cut thee off, as the murrain did thy cattle, if I had not kept thee from perishing then, that I might destroy thee in a more remarkable manner. And thus the LXX. understood it, when they translated it διετηρήθης, *thou hast been preserved*, that is, from destruction. With which the apostle agrees, though he doth not here follow their translation, ἐξήγειρα, *I have raised thee, i. e.* from the foregoing sickness, (Rom. ix. 17.) spared thee in the midst of malignant ulcers.

*For to shew in thee my power.*] By sending more dreadful plagues upon him; and at last overwhelming him in the sea.

*And that my name may be declared throughout all the world.*] If Pharaoh and his people had all perished by the pestilence, when the cattle did, or died when smitten with blains; the terror of God's powerful displeasure had not been so visible to all the world, as it was in overthrowing the whole strength of Egypt in the Red Sea.

Ver. 17. *As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people*, &c.] In these words he returns to finish his message begun ver. 13. which he concludes with this expostulation, which upbraids him with his senseless obstinacy. Which, in other words, may be thus paraphrased; "Dost thou still (notwithstanding all that I have done to humble thee) proudly insult over my people, and resolve to keep them in bondage?"

This expostulation, which is very sharp and cutting, may seem to some unreasonable, now that God himself had hardened him, and taken his understanding from him;

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though before nothing could have been more proper, while there was a possibility of penetrating his heart. But God cannot lose his right to demand that obedience, which men have made themselves unable to pay: and it was but just he should be upbraided with his obstinacy, even when he could not comply, because he had brought upon himself this punishment of stupid insensibility. (See ver. 13.)

Ver. 18. *Behold, to-morrow about this time.*] As his destruction was determined, so it was to come speedily upon him; and therefore there was but one day between this plague and the former.

*I will send a very grievous hail.*] Great hailstones, falling very thick, as we speak.

*Such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof.*] Since it hath been inhabited. This shews that though rain was not frequent in Egypt, yet sometimes they had both rain and hail also. Otherwise, there could not have been a comparison made between this and former hail, if there never had been any at all.

Ver. 19. *Send therefore now, and gather thy cattle,* &c.] It appears by the next verse, that though Pharaoh and his grandees could not be moved by all these judgments, yet there were some persons in the court who were better disposed, for whose sake God gives this warning of the danger, that they might avoid it.

Ver. 20. *He that feared the word of the Lord among the servants of Pharaoh,* &c.] That which is opposed to this in the next verse is, *he that set not his heart unto the word of the Lord;* or, as we translate it, *regarded it not, i. e.* did not attend to what was said and done by Moses, and seriously consider it. Unto which the *fear of God* moves all those who are possessed with it; and serious consideration will not fail to work in men the fear of God and of his judgments.

Ver. 21. *And he that regardeth not the word of the Lord,* &c.] This was the cause of the ruin of all that perished; they did not set themselves to consider the irresistible power of him who inflicted such terrible judgments upon them, as Moses threatened. For at last they grew so stupid that they could not consider; but were perfectly infatuated.

Ver. 22. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch forth thy hand.*] With his rod in it, as it is explained in the next verse; and as he had directed on other occasions, (viii. 16, 17.) where it is said, "Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod."

*Towards heaven.*] To shew the plague was sent from God.

*That there may be hail on all the land of Egypt,* &c.] Here he more fully expresses the damage it would do, both to men and beasts, and to the *herb of the field,* which comprehends all the *trees,* (ver. 25.)

Ver. 23. *And Moses stretched forth his rod.*] Sometimes Aaron did it; but it was at the command of Moses, and as his minister; who sometimes did it himself, and was commanded by God so to do, (ver. 22.) He gave warning of this plague about the fourth day of the seventh month, and inflicted it upon the fifth, and removed it the sixth. The author of the Life and Death of Moses fancies that God sent this plague to punish the Egyptians for the drudgery they imposed upon the Israelites, in making them till their fields for them.

*And the Lord sent thunder and hail,* &c.] It was no wonder there should be *thunder;* but the claps of this were far more terrible than any that had been heard before in that country. As the hail also was more ponderous, and came down with a greater force, and was mixed with fire. Which the author of the Book of Wisdom observes (chap. xvi.) as a thing unusual. And herein consisted the miraculousness of this plague; that whereas other storms of *hail* generally reach but a little way (sometimes not a mile), this spread itself over the whole country, (ver. 25.) And flashes of *lightning* were not only mingled with it, but *fire* ran upon the ground, and killed their cattle, (Psal. lxxviii. 48.) when, at the same time, all the land of Goshen, though a part of that country, felt nothing of this storm, (ver. 26.)

*And the Lord rained hail upon the land of Egypt.*] This is repeated, to shew that it fell as thick as rain, and was not a mere shower, but a continual hail: and that this was the principal part of this plague, being alone mentioned ver. 22. and 26. (whereas nothing is said of *thunder* or *fire*), and put, in the first place, by the Psalmist, both in lxxviii. 48. and cv. 32.

Ver. 25. *And the hail smote,* &c.] That is, killed every man and beast that was in the field, (ver. 19.)

*And smote every herb, and broke every tree of the field.*] Especially their vines and fig-trees, as the Psalmist tells us, lxxviii. 47. cv. 33. Very great hailstones have fallen in several countries; some of a prodigious bigness (as credible historians relate), whereby some living creatures have here and there been killed: but none ever made such a general destruction as this storm did. Yet we are not to understand it as if no green thing escaped, nor a bough of any tree was left: but the meaning is, that a great many of every kind were destroyed: though some, as appears by the following chapter, still remained.

Ver. 26. *Only in the land of Goshen,* &c.] So that the Egyptians that lived among them fared the better (it is thought) at this time for their sake.

Ver. 27. *And Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses and Aaron.*] This is no more than he had done several times before, (viii. 8. 25.) but it may seem strange he should do it now, after the Lord had hardened his heart. The clearest account of it is, that he acted now as a man distracted and frighted out of his wits; which made him rave and cry out for help, in very passionate words, without any serious meaning.

*I have sinned this time,* &c.] The meaning is not, that he had not sinned before; but, *I now acknowledge my offence, and the justice of God in punishing the wickedness of me and of my people.* Which confession doth not argue any tenderness of heart; but was extorted by the horrible fright he was in of being undone, if he did not make some submission.

Ver. 27. *Entreat the Lord (for it is enough).*] Or, beseech him that what I have already suffered may suffice.

*That there be no more mighty thunderings and hail.*] The words import frightful claps of thunder, which sounded as if God was angry with them; especially since the hail fell like thunderbolts upon their heads, and struck those down that walked abroad. This was the reason that he begged their prayers: for he and his servants could not always continue within doors; and while the hail lasted, there was no safety abroad.

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*And I will let you go.*] Not quite away, but three days' journey into the wilderness, as they desired.

*And ye shall stay no longer.*] He promises to dismiss them immediately.

Ver. 29. *And Moses said unto him, As soon as I am gone out of the city.*] By this he demonstrated the great power of God, who he knew would protect him, from receiving any harm by the thunder, lightning, and hail, which killed all others that went abroad into the fields.

*I will spread forth my hands unto the Lord.*] This was an ancient posture of supplication, in all nations (as many learned men have shewn), whereby men declared, that God is the giver of all good things; and that they hoped to receive help from him. For our hands are the instruments whereby we receive any gift that is bestowed upon us.

*That thou mayest know how that the earth is the Lord's.*] Have a demonstration (which was sufficient to make him know), that the Lord governs all things: as appeared by the ceasing of this dreadful storm, upon Moses's prayers to God, as well as by the pouring of it in such violence upon them.

Ver. 30. *But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will not yet fear the Lord God.*] The generality of the court he knew would continue as obstinate as their prince; though some of them had some sense of God, and of his judgments, as we read ver. 20.

Ver. 31. *And the flax and the barley were smitten,* &c.] From hence our learned N. Fuller gathers, that this fell out in the month of Abib, as Archbishop Usher observes in his Annals. For it appears, by Pliny and others, that *barley* began to ripen in those countries in March; but *wheat* not till April. Herm. Conringius differs from this account a little; for he thinks (in his treatise de initio anni Sabbatici) that this hail fell in the month of February; flax being sown here, and among the Romans, from the calends of October to the seventh of the Ides of December, as he observes out of Columella.

Ver. 32. *But the wheat and the rye were not smitten: for they were not grown up.*] In the Hebrew, *they were hidden;* i. e. *were as yet under ground,* as Kimchi, and from him Junius and Tremellius expound it. But that cannot be the meaning; for there was but a month's difference between the growth of wheat and of barley to maturity. And therefore Bochartus hath more truly expounded the meaning (Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 3.) that they were *not yet eared:* and so being tender and flexile, yielded to the stroke of the hail, and received less harm than the barley which was in *the ear,* and the flax which was *bolled.*

Ver. 33. *And Moses went out of the city,* &c.] As he had promised, (ver. 29.)

*And the rain was not poured out.*] It seems there was rain together with the hail and fire; which made this plague still the more wonderful. Or, by rain must be understood the shower of hail which the Lord "rained from heaven," (ver. 18.) which sense is confuted by the next verse.

Ver. 34. *And when Pharaoh saw that the rain, and the hail, and the thunder were ceased.*] As soon as the storm was over, and the heavens clear again.

*He sinned yet more, and hardened his heart,* &c.] That which should have made him acknowledge the power of God (which was as apparent in stopping the hail, as in pouring it on his country), made him the more contumacious. For seeing this danger over, he fancied there would be no more.

Ver. 35. *And the heart of Pharaoh was hardened,* &c.] Continued in hardness; for God would not soften it, having resolved still to harden him, as he had began to do, (ver. 12.) and did now, (x. 1.) For he neither moved his heart to remember his confession and his promise, (ver. 27, 28.) nor continued the means which extorted that seeming repentance from him. But by granting his desire, to have this stroke removed, suffered him to return to his wonted obstinacy.

## CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh.*] Perhaps Moses might think that after seven messages delivered to him, and as many plagues for his refusal, and God's declaration that he had hardened his heart, it was to no purpose to make any new address unto him. Which it is likely he would have foreborne, if he had not received this express command from God to go to him again.

*For I have hardened his heart,* &c.] This is rather a reason why he should not go; and therefore the particle *ki* is not to be translated *for,* but *although,* as it many times is used in these books, and then the sense is clear; *although I have hardened his heart,* yet let not that hinder thy going to him, but still importune him; because I intend to take occasion from his refusing to obey me, to work greater signs and wonders for your benefit (as it follows in the next verse), and for his ruin.

*That I might shew these my signs before him.*] The *signs,* he speaks of, were those already done since he hardened him, and those which were to follow. For he had threatened, when he said he would harden Pharaoh's heart, (vii. 3.) to *multiply his signs and wonders* in the land of Egypt.

Ver. 2. *And that thou mayest tell.*] The LXX. translate it, *that ye may tell:* for he speaks to Moses, as sustaining the person of the whole people of Israel.

*In the ears of thy son, and thy son's son.*] All future posterity.

*What things I have wrought in Egypt.*] This may refer to the ten plagues which he inflicted on the Egyptians.

*And my signs which I have done among them.*] The turning of his rod into a serpent, and two other miracles, mentioned at his first mission, are called *signs,* (iv. 8, 9. and see vii. 9, 10.)

*That ye may know how that I am the Lord.*] That there is no other God but me.

Ver. 3. *And Moses and Aaron came in unto Pharaoh.*] As God had commanded Moses, (ver. 1.)

*Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews.*] This is the style wherein they began to deliver their message to him, and which they continued all along, (v. 1. 3. vii. 16, &c.)

*How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me?*] We meet not with this chiding question in any of the former messages; which was most proper now that he had so often refused to yield; or instantly revolted from his seeming submissions.

Ver. 4. *Behold, to-morrow.*] This word *behold,* denotes the speedy execution of a remarkable judgment: (see

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ix. 3.) And, according to the computation beforementioned, it was threatened on the seventh day of the month Abib, to be executed the next day.

*I will bring the locusts into thy coasts.*] The Hebrew word *arbeh* comes from *rabah*, which signifies to be *multiplied*. For there is no living creature multiplies more than this. Whence they are said (in the next verse) to *cover the face of the earth:* and the Psalmist, speaking of them, saith they came *without number*, (Psal. cv. 34.)

Ver. 5. *And they shall cover the face of the earth*, &c.] So that nothing could be seen but locusts, (see ver. 15.)

*And they shall eat.*] How devouring they are, and destructive to the fruits of the earth, Vossius shews at large, (lib. iv. de Orig. et Pr. Idol. cap. 19. and Bochartus, par. i. lib. iv. Hieroz. cap. 3.) whole countries having been laid so bare by them, in a few hours, that it hath brought a famine upon the inhabitants. (See Pliny, lib. xi. Hist. Nat. cap. 29.)

*The residue of that which is escaped*, &c.] By this it appears that as the wheat and the rye escaped the stroke of the hail, (ix. 31.) so the trees were not broken, but some boughs remained.

*And shall eat every tree*, &c.] These creatures spare not the very bark of the trees; eating all things that come in their way, as Pliny testifies in the forecited place, "Omnia morsu erodentes, et fores quoque tectorum."

Ver. 6. *And they shall fill thy houses*, &c.] The author of the Book of Wisdom, (xvi. 9.) seems to think that they killed men and women. But that mistake, it is likely, arose from ver. 17. which may have another interpretation: see there. Though if the locusts died in their houses, the stench of their dead bodies was so offensive that it often bred the pestilence, as Bochartus observes, (par. i. Hieroz. lib. iv. cap. 3. 5.)

*Which neither thy fathers*, &c.] They exceeded all that had been seen (and they were a frequent plague in those countries), either in bigness or in number, or in both. That is, all that had been seen in Egypt: for in other countries, perhaps, there might have been as large; if Pliny may be believed, that in India there had been some seen three foot long. The Jews, in the book called the Life and Death of Moses, fancy these to have been of such a vast bulk, that "their jaw-teeth were like those of lions." But, it is likely, Moses speaks here only of their multitude. For the prophet Joel hath such an expression, when he speaks also of their being without number, (Joel i. 6.) "Whose teeth are the teeth of a lion," *i.e.* they devoured all things greedily and speedily.

*And he turned himself, and went out from Pharaoh.*] Either Moses did not stay for an answer, knowing he would give him none better than formerly; or Pharaoh answered so churlishly, that Moses hastily turned about (as the words seem to import), and went away in some indignation.

Ver. 7. *And Pharaoh's servants said.*] Some of his counsellors, or courtiers, who feared the word of the Lord, (ix. 20.) Or, perhaps the whole court began now to be sensible of their danger.

*How long shall this man.*] They seem to speak contemptibly of Moses, to please Pharaoh: who they were afraid would not like counsel, unless they flattered him.

*Be a snare to us?*] The LXX. and the Vulgar translate it, *be a stumbling-block: i. e.* lay before us the occasion of our falling into one calamity after another. Or, involve and entangle us in so many mischiefs.

*Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?*] Dost thou not consider that so many plagues have ruined our country?

Ver. 8. *And Moses and Aaron were brought again unto Pharaoh*, &c.] Upon this advice, he commanded them to be called back again: and consented to let them go, with some limitations; to which Moses could not agree.

*But who are they that shall go?*] In the Hebrew the words are, *but who and who?* that is, name the particulars. For his covetousness would not suffer the whole nation to go; but he would keep some fast in his hands, as a pledge for the return of the rest.

Ver. 9. *And Moses said, We will go with our young and our old*, &c. *with our flocks and with our herds*, &c.] The reason of this large demand is given in the end of this verse. They did not know what and how often they must sacrifice to the Lord: and therefore it was necessary their flocks and herds should go with them. And they being *to hold a feast unto the Lord*, none of them were to be absent from the solemnity.

*Hold a feast unto the Lord.*] It appears from v. 1. 3. that it was to be a *feast* upon a *sacrifice:* of which every one was to be a partaker.

Ver. 10. *And he said unto them, Let the Lord be so with you, as I will let you go*, &c.] Most take this for a form of imprecation; as if he had said, *I wish you may prosper no better than I will accord to your desire.* But some look upon it as an irrision or jeer; as if he had said, *you trust in the Lord, let him do all he can to deliver you, as I am resolved to keep you here.* This justifies the truth of their observation, who say that Pharaoh at the first behaved himself like a *proud fantastic humourist*, who slighted all that Moses said or did; but since the plague of murrain on the cattle, and blains upon the Egyptians, like a *fantastic distracted bedlam*, who raved, as if his brains had been blasted (to use Dr. Jackson's phrase), with the fumes of his seared conscience.

*Look you to it, for evil is before you.*] It is uncertain, whether he meant *evil* that they designed against him; or which he designed against them. The former best agrees with what follows; as if he had said, *you intend a rebellion;* therefore I will let none but the men go. Or, more plainly, *it is visible you design some evil: i. e.* you have conspired to be gone, and make a revolt. Or, it is plain and manifest, by your very countenances, that you intend some evil. If we take it the other way, for *evil* which he threatened to them, the meaning must be, *Mark what I say, I will take a course with you, unless you be content to go and sacrifice upon my terms; i. e.* the men only.

Ver. 11. *Not so.*] You shall not have your will.

*Go now ye that are men and serve the Lord, for that you did desire.*] So he interprets their demand, (v. 1.) pretending that women and children needed not to attend upon sacrifices.

*And they were driven out from Pharaoh's presence.*] It is likely he said, *I have no more to say to you;* or, *you know my mind, and therefore get you gone:* and then commanded his officers to thrust them out of doors; which they did with some violence. This shews he was in a fury; which made him neither regard God nor man: but reject the good counsel his own servants had given him, (ver. 7.) as

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well as the commands which Moses from God had delivered to him.

Ver. 12. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand,* &c.] Upon this, the Lord immediately ordered Moses to execute the judgment he had denounced. Which, as I said before, was threatened about the seventh day, and inflicted upon the next; and removed on the ninth day of Abib. Compare ver. 4. 13. 19.

Ver. 13. *And Moses stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt.*] See viii. 6.

*And the Lord brought an east wind,* &c.] Though the Hebrew word *kadim* doth properly signify *the east,* yet it is sometimes used for the *south,* as Bochart hath demonstrated, (par. ii. Hieroz. lib. i. cap. 15.) and so the LXX. here understood it. For though in Arabia, which lay east of Egypt, there were great store of locusts, yet not such numbers as were in Ethiopia, which lay south of it; and abounded with them more than any country in the world. Some people there lived upon nothing else but locusts; which were brought thither in the spring, about the vernal equinox, in vast quantities; partly by the western, and partly by the southern winds, as the same Bochart shews out of good authors, (lib. iv. cap. 3.) And now it was about that time of the year, when, by a wind blowing from those parts, they were brought into Egypt. (See Psal. lxxviii. 26.)

Ver. 14. *And the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt.*] Being lifted up by the wind (as Pliny speaks), they fly in the air in a great cloud; which now it seems spread itself over all the land of Egypt, "solicitè spectantibus populis," &c. (as the same author speaks), *people looking on them in great fear,* lest they fall down and cover their country; as the words following tell us they did here in Egypt.

*And rested in all the coasts of Egypt.*] After they had hovered awhile in the air over the whole country, they came down and settled upon the ground in every part of it.

*Very grievous were they.*] By their vast numbers. For so the word *caved,* I have often observed, signifies: and so the Vulgar Latin here translates, *innumerable.*

*Before them there were no such locusts,* &c.] See ver. 6.

*Neither after them shall be such.*] *i. e.* Not in the land of Egypt; though in other countries there might; particularly in Judea, when God brought this plague upon it, (Joel i. 2.)

Ver. 15. *For they covered the face of the whole earth,* &c.] The word in the Hebrew which we translate *face,* signifying properly *the eye,* it induced Onkelos to translate this passage, *they covered the sun;* which is the eye of the earth: that is, there was such a thick cloud of them before they fell, that they darkened the sun; as when they were fallen, *they darkened the land,* as it here follows. Or, the meaning is, there were such numbers, that they not only covered the earth, but the sun also. For many authors mention such prodigious clouds of them, as have so thickened the sky, that the day hath been turned into night. (See Bochart, par. ii. Hieroz. lib. iv. cap. 5.)

*And they did eat every herb of the land,* &c.] See ver. 5.

Ver. 16. *Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron in haste.*] This Dr. Jackson not improperly calls, *another raving fit,* or *phrenetical symptom;* into which this new calamity threw him.

*I have sinned against the Lord your God, and against you.*] Whom he had lately caused to be driven out of his presence, (ver. 11.) but now humbles himself before them, more than he had done at any time before. For this was such a plague as all men accounted a manifest token of the Divine displeasure. According to that of Pliny, (lib. xi. cap. 29.) "Deorum iræ pestis ea intelligitur." This is taken for *a plague of the anger of the gods:* or, as some copies have it, "Mira pestis," *a wonderful plague* sent from above.

Ver. 17. *Now therefore forgive, I pray you, my sin only this once,* &c.] Nothing could be spoken more humbly, and seemingly penitent, than this supplication; which includes in it also a promise never to offend again. But there was no sincerity in it, being the effect only of a great fright, which extorted this confession and submission from him, without any serious meaning to continue in this resolution. "Thus we all naturally think of repenting (as Pellicanus here piously reflects) when we are in great straits; nay, and promise it too, till we are out of danger: when we perform little of what we promised, as our whole life testifies."

*That he may take away from me this death only.*] We cannot gather from hence, that the locusts killed men and women as the hail did: for the fields, and the trees, &c. are said to die; as well as men, (Gen. xlvii. 19. Job xiv. 8, &c.) But the locusts, destroying the supports of life, (by eating up the corn, and the grass, &c.) might, by consequence, be said to kill the people. In both which regards, Pharaoh might call them *deadly* locusts.

Ver. 18. *And he went out from Pharaoh, and entreated the Lord.*] Both Moses and Aaron were called to Pharaoh; and therefore now went both out: but one only is mentioned, *viz.* Moses; because by his prayers this plague was removed.

Ver. 19. *And the Lord turned.*] This is supposed to be done the next day, as I observed ver. 12. according to what is said, viii. 29.

*A mighty strong west wind.*] Strong winds are the only remedy to free a country from this plague, as Pliny hath observed. For if they die in those fields on which they settle, the air is so corrupted by the stench, that it breeds pestilential diseases.

*Which took away the locusts, and cast them into the Red Sea.*] That which we call the *Red Sea,* the Hebrews call the *Sea of Suph,* i. e. of flags; as we translate the word *Suph,* in the second chapter of this book, ver. 3. because it was full of a certain weed (which the Latins call *alga,* and the Greeks φυκίον), which some travellers have affirmed to be of a red colour, and to make the water appear as if it were red also: from whence some fancy it was called the *Red Sea.* Certain it is, it had the Hebrew name of *Suph* from hence; there being such abundance of this weed in that sea, that the inhabitants of the coast plucking it up out of the water, and laying it in heaps to be dried by the sun, it becomes so compact that they build houses of it, as Bochartus hath observed in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 29. But it is most likely to have had the name of the *Red Sea* from this: that what the Hebrews call the *Sea of Suph,* the nearer neighbours call the *Sea of Edom,* from the country which it washed, *viz.* Idumæa, (1 Kings ix. 26. Numb. xxi. 4.) From whence the Greeks, who knew not

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the reason of the name, called it ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, the *Red Sea;* because *Edom,* in Hebrew, signifies red, as we find Gen. xxv. 29. Now this sea (which late writers call Sinus Arabicus) lies east of Egypt: and therefore a west wind was most proper to drive the locusts thither.

*There remained not one locust in all the land of Egypt.*] The power of God appeared no less in sweeping them all away, than in bringing them upon the country: for both were done at the instance of Moses.

Ver. 20. *But the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart,* &c.] See ix. 12. He left him to himself; and did not move him to persist in his late good resolution.

Ver. 21. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] He left off now to treat with Pharaoh; and only proceeds in the execution of the sentence of utter destruction, which he had decreed against him.

*Stretch out thine hand towards heaven.*] See ix. 22.

*That there may be darkness over the land of Egypt.*] So that they should not see any thing at noon-day.

*Even darkness that may be felt.*] In the next verse he calls it *thick darkness:* which was made, I suppose, by such clammy fogs, that they sensibly affected the Egyptians.

Ver. 22. *And there was thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days.*] Some think, that during this *three days'* darkness the Israelites were circumcised; when the Egyptians, by reason of the great horror they were in at that time, could take no advantage of them. And so Dr. Lightfoot expounds Psalm cv. 28. "They rebelled not against his word;" but submitted to be circumcised. For the words seem to signify some special piece of obedience, which they then performed. The author of the Life and Death of Moses will have it, that they punished and cut off several wicked people among the Israelites themselves; which they did at this time, that the Egyptians might not know it, and rejoice at it. But that which is more certain, is, that if the former plague ended on the *ninth* day, this judgment was ordered upon the *tenth* of the month Abib. On which day they began to prepare for the passover, by taking up the lamb which was to be then slain *four* days after. And God appointed this to be the *first* month of the year, which hitherto had been the *seventh,* (xii. 2, 3, 4.)

Ver. 23. *They saw not one another.*] We may well look upon this as an emblem of the blindness of their minds; which was so great, that they had not the least discerning of their approaching destruction. Some of the Romans mention such darkness for a short time, as was counted prodigious by Livy and Julius Obsequens. Particularly at the death of the Emperor Carus, there was such a mist, that *one man could not know another:* (see more examples in Huetius, lib. ii. Alnet. Quest. cap. 12. p. 203, &c.) But of such a darkness as this, which continued to obscure all things *three days* together, there is no record, but in this sacred story. Which no man hath the least reason to disbelieve; it being as easy for God to continue it for three days, as for one hour; there being also a very great reason for it, both to punish the Egyptians, and relieve the Israelites.

*Neither rose any from his place.*] None stirred out of their houses: for they could not see one another within doors: no, not by the help of a candle, or a fire, as the author of the Book of Wisdom understood it, (xvii. 5.) where he also supposes, that they were affrighted with apparitions; and their own evil consciences were also a great terror to them, while they remained prisoners so long in dismal darkness. And the Psalmist justifies him, in part, when, instead of mentioning this plague of darkness (as he doth the rest which were inflicted on the Egyptians), he saith, "God sent evil angels among them," (Psalm lxxviii. 49.)

*But all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings.*] Whereby they were enabled to go about their business, and get all things ready for their departure, without any notice of the Egyptians, much less any hinderance from them; who were in a mist, and could not see what they were doing.

Ver. 24. *And Pharaoh called unto Moses.*] He was so terrified by the horrible apparitions he had seen, that, at the end of the three days of darkness, he sent a messenger to call Moses: for before that time none could find their way to him. Or perhaps the meaning may be, that, in his ravening fit, he called for Moses as if he had been near him.

*And said.*] When Moses came, he made his former confession a little larger: but had not the heart to comply entirely.

*Go ye, serve the Lord; only let the flocks and the herds be stayed,* &c.] It was a perfect infatuation to higgle (as we speak) with Moses, and still drive his bargain as low as he could, when he was reduced to such distress, that he was upon the brink of destruction. But this was the effect of his covetousness, which was incurable; and would not suffer him to part with them, but still to keep a pawn for their return to his servitude.

*Let your little ones go with you.*] His blindness made him think this a great condescension, because he had denied it before, (ver. 10,)

Ver. 25. *And Moses said, Thou must give us also sacrifices and burnt-offerings, that we may sacrifice,* &c.] The difference between *sacrifices* and *burnt-offerings,* see xviii. 12. As they were to *sacrifice* unto the Lord their God, which was the service he required, so they were to hold a feast unto him; at which both *sacrifices* and *burnt-offerings* were necessary.

Ver. 26. *Our cattle also shall go with us.*] *i. e.* Therefore we cannot leave our cattle here, because we must use them in sacrifice, &c.

*There shall not a hoof be left behind.*] *i. e.* The smallest thing. For this was a proverbial speech in the eastern countries, as appears by the like saying among the Arabians; which was first used about horses, and afterwards translated to other things; *present money even to a hoof:* that is, they would not part with a horse (or any other commodity) till the buyer had laid down the price of it, to a farthing, as we now speak. Or, according to the present German language, the *hoof* may be put for the whole beast; and the meaning be, We will not leave so much as one behind us. So Conr. Pellicanus.

*For thereof must we take to serve the Lord our God.*] To offer sacrifice to him.

*And we know not with what we must serve the Lord,* &c.] Who was to appoint his own sacrifices: as he afterwards did, when they came into the wilderness.

Ver. 27. *But the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart,* &c.] He did not incline Pharaoh to comply with this motion; but



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suffered him to persist in his obstinate resolution, not quite to part with them: (see ver. 20.)

Ver. 28. *And Pharaoh said unto him, Get thee from me.*] This sounds, as if he intended again to have him driven from his presence, (as ver. 11.) so soon did he forget his own humble confessions and supplications to him, (ver. 16, 17.) and returned to his frantic rage and fury against him.

*Take heed to thyself, see my face no more: for in that day thou seest my face, thou shalt die.*] A speech more foolish than proud (as Dr. Jackson observes), to come from a man whom the Lord had so much impoverished, and so often humbled; and given sufficient proofs of his power, not only to bring greater plagues immediately upon him, but to cut him off.

Ver. 29. *And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more.*] That is, unless I be called for; as one would think he was: because Moses did deliver one message more to him, (xi. 4. 8.) Though we may suppose he delivered it now; or, that he did not deliver it himself, but by some other person. But that doth not agree with the last words of ver. 8. of the next chapter. And we read also, (xii. 31.) that "Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron by night:" who perhaps did not go, but only receive his message.

## CHAP. XI.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord said unto Moses.*] It is uncertain when the Lord spake this: I suppose it was as soon as he came out from Pharaoh, at the end of the three days' darkness; which continued the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth of the month Abib; and on the fourteenth, in the morning, Moses received this new revelation.

*Yet I will bring one plague more upon Pharaoh and upon Egypt.*] The killing of the first-born; which was the last plague inflicted on them in Egypt.

*Afterwards he will let you go hence,* &c.] Not only consent to dismiss you entirely, but be earnest with you, and urge you to depart. So we find it came to pass, (xii. 31. 33.)

*Thrust you out altogether.*] Perfectly and completely, with some kind of compulsion.

Ver. 2. *Speak now in the ears of the children of Israel.*] Give order therefore to the Israelites, as I formerly promised to direct, (iii. 21, 22.)

*And let every man borrow of his neighbour.*] See iii. 21, 22. Unto which this may be added, that some of the ancient fathers looked upon this as a piece of justice, that they should be paid their wages for the labour they had undergone, in the service of the Egyptians; which God orders in this manner. So Epiphanius, in his Ancoratus, Num. cxii. cxiii. 1. where he gives this account of the Israelites spoiling the Egyptians, That they had served them a long time for nothing (he makes account 215 years), and therefore οὐκ ἦν δίκαιον καὶ παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις, &c. *was it not just, both before God and man, that their wages should be paid them before they left the country?* See Petavius on that place. And Hæres. lxvi. lxxi. lxxxiii. and Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 49. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. ii. cap. 20. And so the author of the Book of Wisdom took it, (x. 17.) where he saith, the Lord gave the Israelites the goods of the Egyptians, μισθὸν κόπων αὐτῶν, *the reward of their labours.* (See more, xii. 35.)

Ver. 3. *And the Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians.*] According to his promise, (iii. 21.)

*Moreover, the man Moses was very great,* &c.] This seems to be given as a reason, both why the court durst not meddle with Moses, though he had brought so many plagues upon them; and why the people were forward to grant the Israelites what they desired, because they all highly esteemed him, and had him in great reverence, as a person that had extraordinary power with God: from whence some think it credible, that their posterity might give him Divine honours, as is reported by some ancient writers.

Ver. 4. *And Moses said, Thus saith the Lord.*] It is manifest (from ver. 8.) that these words were spoken from the Lord to Pharaoh; but it is a great question, when they were spoken. It is commonly thought that Moses said this, when he last parted with Pharaoh, and told him, he would *see his face no more,* (x. 29.) And then the first words of this chapter, must be translated in the time past, *the Lord had said unto Moses,* that he would bring one plague more upon the Egyptians: which he now denounced to Pharaoh, because he said he should not have the liberty of being admitted to him again. Or else Pharaoh, contrary to his peremptory resolution, sent one more to speak with Moses; as it is plain he did after the first-born were slain, (xii. 31.)

*About midnight.*] About the midst of the following night. For they having kept the Passover, in the evening of this fourteenth day of Abib, the first-born were slain in the middle of that night. Not precisely (the Hebrew indicates) but it might be a little before or after midnight. (See Theodoric Hackspan, of such kind of speeches. Disput. de Locut. Sacris, N. iv.)

*Will I go out.*] By an angel, who was sent from the Schechinah (which resided in some part of the land of Goshen), and ordered to go and do this execution.

*In the midst of Egypt.*] Perhaps he means the royal city; where he began this execution, and then smote the whole country round about.

Ver. 5. *And all the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die.*] This was the sorest plague that had been hitherto inflicted: nothing being so dear to parents as their children, especially their *first-born.*

*From the first-born of Pharaoh,* &c.] *i. e.* From the highest to the meanest person in the kingdom.

*That sitteth upon his throne.*] It is uncertain whether this relate to Pharaoh, or to his *first-born.* The LXX. seem to incline to the former; having left out the pronoun *his,* and simply translated it, *that sitteth upon the throne.* But the Chaldee determines it to the latter, by translating it, *who is to sit upon the throne of his kingdom; i. e.* to be Pharaoh's successor, the heir of the kingdom of Egypt.

*The maid-servant that is behind the mill.*] None were more miserable than those slaves, whose work it was to turn a mill with their hands, and grind corn perpetually; especially when they were condemned to this in a prison, nay, in a dungeon: that so we are to understand this, appears from xii. 29. The ancient comedians often mention this; and we find an instance of such drudgery in the story of Samson, (Judg. xvi. 21.)

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Ver. 6. *And there shall be a great cry throughout the land of Egypt,* &c.] The calamity being general in every house, it made a general and very loud lamentation: men, women, children, and servants, bewailing the loss of the prime person in the family.

Ver. 7. *But against any of the children of Israel, shall not a dog move his tongue,* &c.] A great wonder! that when so many thousand people were upon their march, with abundance of cattle, &c. not a dog should stir; who, though never so gentle, yet commonly bark when they hear the least noise, especially in the night. All travellers know this.

*That ye may know how that the Lord doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel.*] This was indeed a plain testimony of God's special care and providence over the Israelites; that when there was such a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, (ver. 6.) all was quiet, still, and silent among them.

Ver. 8. *And all these thy servants shall come down to me,* &c.] You that now forbid me to come to you (for Pharaoh himself is included, it appears from xii. 31, &c.) shall be forced to come to me; and submissively entreat, nay, press me to be gone, &c.

*Come down.*] It was a descent from that part of Egypt where the court was, unto Goshen: though it may simply signify, *come to me.*

*Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *that is at thy feet:* that is, *to the very last man.* For they that bring up the rear, as we speak, or march last after their commander, are said, in Scripture, to be *at their feet:* as Wagenseil hath observed in his confutation of R. Lipman's Carmen Memoriale. (See Gen. xlix. 10.)

*And after that I will go out.*] When you shall think I oblige you, to leave your country.

*And he went out from Pharaoh in a great anger.*] It moved the meekest man on earth to a just indignation (which, it is likely, he expressed in his countenance and behaviour) to see Pharaoh remain so stupidly insensible, as not to regard this threatening; which he might well think would be as certainly executed, as all the rest had been.

Ver. 9. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you.*] That is, I told thee at the first how it would be, and the reason of it, (iii. 19, 20.) Of which it was very proper to put Moses in mind at this time, when he was going to fulfil the last part of those words; "after that (after this last plague) he will let you go."

*That my wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt.*] That he might do one wonder after another until he had finished Pharaoh's destruction. (See vii. 3.)

Ver. 10. *And Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh.*] This seems to be a summary of what hath been said hitherto, concerning the wonderful plagues of Egypt: which as God designed to inflict upon that country, so he did, by Moses and Aaron as his instruments.

*And the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go,* &c.] The obstinacy of Pharaoh, under several severe judgments, is so notorious, that it need be no wonder that the Lord himself hardened his heart, so that he would not suffer the people to depart, until what is here threatened was executed upon him. There is nothing more agreeable to the rules of justice, than to inflict heavy judgments upon contumacious offenders; and no punishment heavier than to let them undo themselves by their own wickedness, and blindly run on, without any stop, in their evil courses unto utter ruin. This was the case of Pharaoh; of which the heathen had a broken notion, when they said, "Quos Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat:" *Those whom God intends to destroy, he first infatuates.*

## CHAP. XII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron,* &c.] We are not told here when the Lord spake this to them; but it is very likely it was on the tenth day of this month, before he brought the plague of darkness on the land; wherein he gave the Israelites opportunity to prepare for their departure: and then he changed this month from the seventh (as it was before), to the first, as it here follows.

Ver. 2. *This month.*] Which in process of time was called Abib, (xiii. 4. xxiii. 15.) because then the corn was eared, and grew towards ripeness (for *Abib* signifies an *ear of corn*), and was in after ages called Nisan, (Nehem. ii. 1. Esth. iii. 7.) which is a Chaldee word, denoting this to be the month wherein they went out to war; from *nissin,* which signifies ensigns or banners (as Bochart probably conjectures), which at that season were usually advanced; *viz.* in the spring time. So the Hebrews understand that place, (2 Sam. xi. 1.)

*Shall be unto you the beginning of months.*] *i. e.* The principal month of the year.

*It shall be the first month of the year to you.*] And therefore was hereafter to begin the year. Which is a plain intimation that the year had another beginning before this time, which was in the month they called Tisri, about autumn; but was now translated unto the spring. And so we find that all the ancient nations began their year, after their harvest and vintage, which were the conclusion of their year. But from henceforward the Jewish computation was from this month of Abib; at least, as to their feasts and things sacred; though their civil year still began where it did before. For after this, we find the old account continued, as appears from xxiii. 16. where the harvest is said to be in *the end of the year.* And yet the author of Meor E Najim (as Guliel. Vorstius shews in his observation upon R. D. Ganz) affirms, that the ancient Hebrews followed this new account from the time of their going out of Egypt, till the building of the temple (in all their contracts and affairs using this era of Exodus, in memory of that illustrious deliverance), as, after that time, till the captivity of Babylon, they dated all their writings from the building of the temple.

Ver. 3. *In the tenth day of this month.*] This is a law which hath respect to all future ages, as well as to this present time; that they should begin to prepare for the Passover, four days before: for which the Jews give such reasons as these: *viz.* it was necessary when they went out of Egypt to make this preparation, lest a multitude of business, when they were pressed to be gone in haste, should have made them neglect it. And it was necessary afterwards, that they might more narrowly observe if there were



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any blemish in the lamb; and that they might be put in mind to dispose themselves for so great a solemnity.

And it is observable, that our blessed Saviour (the true paschal Lamb) came to Jerusalem on this very day (*viz.* the tenth of Nisan), four days before he was offered, (John xii. 1. 12.) Yet there are those who think, that this precept was peculiar to this time of their departure out of Egypt. For they that came, in after ages, out of all parts of the country to worship God at this feast, could not so well observe it; unless we suppose them to have come some days before to Jerusalem, (as it is certain some did, John xi. 55.) or to have sent beforehand thither, to have a lamb prepared for them, which is not unlikely.

They also, who think the Egyptians now worshipped such kind of creatures, imagine withal, that this day was chosen in opposition to them: who, because the sun entered then into Aries, began on this day the solemn worship of this creature, and of that celestial sign. Thus the author of the Chronicon Orientale, in express words: "This was the day in which the sun entered the first sign of Aries, and was most solemn among the Egyptians." And therefore God commanded the Israelites to sacrifice that creature which they worshipped. But there is no certainty of this, nor of what the author of Tzeror Hamor observes, that the feast of the Egyptians being at its height on the *fourteenth* day, God ordered the killing of this lamb at that time: which was the greatest contempt of their Coniger Ammon (whom they worshipped then with the greatest honours), shewing he could be no god whom the Israelites ate.

*They shall take to them every man a lamb.*] The word *seh* signifies a *kid* as well as a *lamb*, (Numb. xv. 11. Deut. xiv. 4.) and it is evident from the fifth verse of this chapter, that they might take either of them for this sacrifice. But commonly they made choice of a lamb, as the fittest of the two; being of a more mild and innocent nature. They that are of opinion, the Egyptians now worshipped such creatures, imagine also this was ordained to preserve the Israelites from their idolatry, by commanding them to kill such beasts as they adored. So R. Levi ben Gersom, God intended by this, "to expel out of the minds of the Israelites the evil opinion of the Egyptians," &c.

*A lamb for a house.*] Some translate it *for a family*. But that is not true: for as tribes were divided into *families*, so were *families* into *houses*; and when many lambs were few enough for a whole family, some houses were so small that they could not eat one, and therefore were to call in the assistance of their neighbours, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 4. *And if the household be too little for the lamb, let him and his neighbour*, &c.] They were not to be fewer than *ten* persons, nor more than *twenty*, to the eating of one lamb. At which meal, men, women, and children, masters and servants (if circumcised) were entertained, and every one did eat a piece, at least as big as an olive, if we may believe the Hebrew doctors.

*Every man, according to his eating, shall make your count for the lamb.*] That is, every master of a house shall take such a number of persons to him, as will be sufficient for the eating of the lamb.

Ver. 5. *The lamb shall be without blemish.*] In the Hebrew *perfect*, or without defect. There are *ten* blemishes mentioned in Levit. xxii. 22—24. which made a sacrifice unfit for the altar. About which the heathen themselves were very curious, as I noted above out of Herodotus: who relates how exact and scrupulous the Egyptian priests were in the scrutiny, whether a beast were fit to be offered. (See viii. 26.)

*A male.*] Because the male was counted more excellent than the female, (Malachi i. 14.) and therefore all whole burnt-offerings (which were the most perfect sort of sacrifices) were to be *males* only, (Lev. i. 3. 6.) From hence this custom (as Bochart thinks) was derived to the Egyptians; who offered only *males*, as he proves out of Herodotus, (par. i. Hieroz. lib. iii. cap. 33. 50.) But whatsoever the Egyptians did, the Romans did otherwise: for Servius saith, (in Æneid. viii.) "In omnibus sacris fœminini generis plus valent victimæ;" *that sacrifices of the female kind were of greatest value in all their holy offices.* Such different fancies there were in the world in after ages; but what opinions they had in Moses's time, none can certainly resolve.

*Of the first year.*] It doth not signify that the lamb was to be a year old (for then it was incapable to be offered) but under a year old. It was fit for sacrifice at eight days old, though not before, xxii. 30. Lev. xxii. 27. (which laws, Maimonides saith, were observed in the paschal lamb, as they were in the daily sacrifice, Exod. xxix. 38. Numb. xxxviii. 3. and in others, Lev. xxiii. 18, 19.) and so it continued fit from that time till it was a year old; after which it was not accepted. For which Bochart gives a very likely reason in the forenamed book, (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50. p. 585.)

Ver. 6. *And ye shall keep it unto the fourteenth day of the same month.*] When it was to be offered to God by all the people, as our Saviour was upon the very same day. Which the Jews expected, as appears by a memorable passage which Andr. Masius (in Josh. v. 10.) quotes out of that tract in the Talmud, called Rosch Hashanash, where they say it was a "famous and old opinion among the ancient Jews, that the day of the new year, which was the beginning of the Israelites' deliverance out of Egypt, should in future time be the beginning of the redemption by the Messiah." Which was wonderfully fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour; who keeping the Passover the day before the rulers of the Jews observed it, it fell out that he, the true Lamb of God, was offered on that very day, which Moses here appointed for the offering this typical sacrifice.

*And the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it.*] God here grants a liberty to any man among the Israelites to kill the passover. Which act did not make him a priest (whose work it was to offer the blood), for in other sacrifices any man that brought them might do the same, (Lev. i. 3, 4, 5.) and this is given as a reason, why the people did not kill the passover in Hezekiah's time, because they were unclean; and therefore the Levites had the charge of it, (2 Chron. xxx. 17.)

But, besides this, Moses seems to mean that all the company who were to eat, were to be present at the sacrifice: by which means, *the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel* were engaged in this service. And this was exactly also fulfilled in our Blessed Saviour (whom the apostle calls our passover), against whom the priests, and scribes, and

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pharisees, and all the people, conspired to take away his life.

*In the evening.*] In the Hebrew the words are (as is noted in the margin of our Bibles), *between the two evenings.* The first of which began, when the sun began to decline from its noon-tide point, and lasted till sun-set. Then began the second evening, and lasted till night. Between these *two evenings,* about the middle of them, was the passover offered. For after the offering of incense, they began on this day to kill the daily evening sacrifice, between two and three in the afternoon (a little sooner than on other days), and having finished that, and trimmed the lamps (as Maimonides in his treatise on this subject, cap. i. sect. 4. describes the order of it), they went about the paschal sacrifice; which continued till sun-setting. That is, there were about two hours and a half for the dispatch of all the lambs. For the daily evening sacrifice, and all belonging to it, being over in an hour's time (by half an hour after three), all the rest of the day till sun-set (which was two hours and a half at the time of the year) remained for the killing of the paschal lambs. (See Bochart, Hieroz. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50. p. 558. and our learned Dr. Lightfoot, in his gleanings on Exodus.) Now our three o'clock in the afternoon being the same with the Jews' ninth hour, it is evident our Blessed Saviour offered up himself to God for our redemption about the same time that this lamb was slain, for their deliverance out of Egypt, (Mark xv. 34. 37.)

Ver. 7. *And they shall take of the blood.*] Which was the means that God now appointed for their preservation.

*And strike it.*] By dipping a bunch of hyssop into it, (ver. 22.)

*On the two side-posts.*] Upon which folding-doors moved. For from thence, Bochart thinks, they had their name in the Hebrew.

*And on the upper door-posts.*] The Hebrew word *maskuph* is no where to be found but in this chapter; and its carrying in it a signification of *looking through,* may induce us to think they had lattices at the top of their doors, through which they could peep, to see who knocked, before they opened them. Both these were sprinkled with the blood, but not the threshold, lest any body should tread upon it, which had been profane, this being a holy thing. This striking or sprinkling of the blood upon the posts, seems to have been peculiar to the first passover at their going out of Egypt; and not to have been used in aftertimes, when there was not the same occasion for it, *viz.* to distinguish their houses from the Egyptians, for their preservation from the destroying angel.

*In the houses wherein they shall eat it.*] In which the whole nation was gathered together; and so all delivered.

Ver. 8. *And they shall eat the flesh in that night.*] For it was not lawful to let any of it remain till the morning, (ver. 10.) And the Hebrews say, they were to eat it after they had supped, and were well filled with other meat.

*Roast with fire.*] Neither raw, nor sodden (as it follows in the next verse), for it might be sooner roasted than sodden: and they were in haste to be gone when it was offered.

*And unleavened bread.*] Partly to put them in mind of their hardships in Egypt (for unleavened bread is heavy and unsavoury) and partly to commemorate their deliverance from thence in such haste, that they had not time to leaven it, (ver. 39. Deut. xvi. 3.)

*And with bitter herbs.*] They were used for the same end, to put them in mind of their hard bondage in Egypt, which made their lives bitter to them, (i. 14.) Maimonides says, there were five of these herbs, whose names he mentions: but it is hard for us to tell what they were. That great man Bochartus hath given some guesses at them; and thinks the first of them was *wild lettice,* which is extremely bitter. (See Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50. p. 603, &c. and his Canaan, lib. ii. cap. 15. p. 857.)

Ver. 9. *Eat not of it raw.*] *i. e.* Half roasted; when some of the blood remains still in it. So Maimonides expounds it: and see Hottinger in his Smegma Orient. p. 169. For it doth not seem necessary to forbid them to eat it quite raw, mankind generally abhorring such food; unless we suppose there were such barbarous customs now, as there were in aftertimes; when, in some of the gentile feasts (particularly those of Bacchus) which had their original in Egypt, (as Herodotus tells us, lib. ii. cap. 49. and Plutarch also, lib. de Isid. et Osir.) they tore the members of living creatures in pieces, and did eat them, the blood running about their mouths, as Julius Firmicus observes. But the opinion of Theodoret seems to me probable (Serm. x. Περὶ χρησμῶν), that in old time, the wicked demons were in love with the sacrificing of men to them: but when they saw mankind began to abhor such sacrifices, and to abstain from them, as abominable cruelty, then they invented τὰς διαμαστιγώσεις καὶ ὠμοφαγίας, &c. *Scourgings and whippings, eating of raw flesh, and of other such-like rites,* (tom. iv. p. 625.)

*Nor sodden at all with water.*] It seems superfluous to say sodden, or boiled, *with water:* there being no other way of boiling things. But the Hebrew word *bashal* signifying to *roast,* as well as to *boil,* according as the matter is, Moses takes away that ambiguity, by adding *with water;* and also by expressly naming the opposite to it, *but roast with fire.* Which was ordained in opposition to some gentile customs in the eastern countries (if they were so ancient as the times of Moses), where they boiled the flesh of their sacrifices, when they prayed to their gods against drought, by the scorching heat of the sun. So Athenæus relates, out of Philocorus, that the Athenians did, in their sacrifices to the ὧραι, who came, in all likelihood, from the Egyptian Horus, which signifies *Apollo,* or the sun. The Zabii also were wont to boil kids in milk.

*Roast with fire.*] Contrary to the manner in all other peace-offerings, whose flesh, that was allowed to be eaten, either by priest or people, was to be sodden; even in the feast of the Passover: as we read expressly 2 Chron. xxxv. 13. where these things are accurately distinguished. And Maimonides gives this as the reason of it (why they are commanded to *eat it roasted),* because they went out in great haste, and had not time to boil it, (par. iii. More Nev. cap. 46.) Some of the gentiles in aftertimes *roasted* their meat in the sun, as Heliodorus tells us, lib. i. Ethiopic. And some Grecian women (as Plutarch tells us) did the same in their feast called Θεσμοφόρια.

*His head with his legs, and the purtenance thereof.*] They were to roast the lamb whole; to avoid perhaps the superstition of the gentiles, who were wont to rake into the bowels of their sacrifices, to make curious observations;

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and also (in the Ωμοφογία of Bacchus) thought themselves full of their deity, when they ate the entrails of their sacrifices, with the blood running about their mouths, as Arnobius tells us.

Ver. 10. *And ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning.*] This was a law about *eucharistical sacrifices,* (Lev. xxii. 30.) and before that, Lev. vii. 15. (only there is an exception in the two following verses, 16, 17. for sacrifices that were a *vow,* or a *voluntary offering,*) by which God provided that holy things should not be in danger to be corrupted, or put to profane uses; and that they might not lose their just estimation: as even common meat doth, which is not so much valued when it is kept till the next day; for men desire that which is fresh and newly dressed.

In this paschal sacrifice, also, it was the more necessary it should not remain, lest they should have been forced, either to carry it away with them, which might have been troublesome; or, if they left it behind them, it might have been profaned, and exposed to contempt by the Egyptians, or at least have been corrupted, which would not have beseemed so holy a meat. Besides, there might have been danger also of turning such relics to superstitious uses, as the brazen serpent was: God working as great a deliverance by the one, as by the other. And this we may the rather think, because it is certain the ancient idolaters were wont to save some part of their sacrifices for superstitious purposes, as appears from Baruch vi. 27. Herodotus testifies the same concerning the ancient Persians, (lib. i. cap. 132.) Which the Hebrews might have been easily inclined to do, if they had left any remains of this sacrifice, which had such wonderful effects for their preservation.

*And that which remaineth of it till the morning ye shall burn with fire.*] We read in Macrobius of such a custom among the ancient Romans, in a feast called Protervia: where the manner was (as Flavianus there saith), "ut si quid ex epulis superfuisset, igne consumeretur:" *that if any thing was left of the good cheer, it should be consumed with fire,* (lib. ii. Saturnal. cap. 2.)

Ver. 11. *And thus shall ye eat it.*] He here orders the habit and posture wherein they should partake of the Passover: which was like travellers, or like those who were going about some laborious work. So the three following particulars plainly import.

*With your loins girt.*] They wearing long and loose garments, in the eastern countries, it was necessary to tie them up, and gird them about their loins, whensoever they either went a journey, or undertook, as I said, any great labour; that so their garments might not be an impediment to them, as they would have been, if they had hung down about their heels. (See 2 Kings iv. 29.)

*Your shoes on your feet.*] Many fancy this refers to the ancient custom of putting off their shoes (which God now forbids) when they went to eat, lest they should make the beds dirty, on which they lay leaning. But Bochart hath demonstrated that this custom was not so ancient; but that in Moses's time, and after, they sat at their tables as we do now: of which there are many instances, in the book of Genesis, and elsewhere. And therefore it is more likely the Jews were wont to go without shoes when they were in Egypt; for anciently men did so; and that being a hot country, there was no need of them. And besides, they were so oppressed, that they may well be supposed to want many such conveniences of life. But now God commands them to put on shoes, being to travel a long journey. (See his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50. p. 508.)

*And your staff in your hand.*] Still the posture of travellers, who never went without a staff; both to support them in slippery places, and to defend them against assaults, (Gen. xxxii. 10.) They seem now to have eaten the lamb, leaning on their staves; and therefore stood all the time, as men ready to depart. But these were things peculiar only to that Passover which they kept in Egypt: afterwards they were not tied to them.

*Ye shall eat it in haste.*] As men expecting every moment to begin their journey. This was the foundation of many of the laws about the Passover, as Maimonides observes, (par. iii. More Nev. cap. 46.)

*It is the Lord's Passover.*] To be kept in memory of his wonderful mercy in sparing the Israelites, when he destroyed the Egyptians, and delivering them from their cruel bondage.

Ver. 12. *For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night.*] See xi. 4.

*And will smite all the first-born,* &c.] A most grievous judgment; all children being very dear to their parents, especially their first-born; and those more especially who are their only children, as it is likely they were too many in Egypt. It was the sorer plague also, because no man's children were spared, that he might comfort his neighbours; but they were all at the same time bewailing their loss. It is not certain by what sort of death they were smitten; but it was sudden, and extinguished them all in the same moment.

*And against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment.*] And so Moses tells us he did, Numb. xxxiii. 4. From whence it appears that the Egyptians were idolaters in Moses's days; and the Jewish doctors will have it, that all their idols were destroyed this night. So Jonathan in his Paraphrase: "Their molten images were dissolved and melted down; their images of stone were dashed in pieces; their images made of earth were crumbled into bits, and their wooden ones reduced to ashes." Of the truth of which we cannot be assured; though we meet with it not only in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 48. but in the author of Dibre hajamim, &c. or, the Life and Death of Moses: whose words are these: "All the first-born, both of man and beast, were smitten; the images also and pictures destroyed; whereupon the Jews borrowing gold, silver, and garments of the Egyptians, they went away laden with riches, according to what God said to Abraham, (Gen. xv. 14.) 'That nation whom they serve will I judge; and afterward shall they come out with great substance.'" This the heathen seem to have understood (for this story reached them) as if they had carried away the gold and silver and garments of the Egyptian idols: for so Trogus reports it (in Justin, lib. xxxvi. cap. 2.) that when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, "Sacra Ægyptiorum furto abstulit;" *he stole away the holy things of the Egyptians,* which he makes the reason why Pharaoh pursued them. Artapanus also in Eusebius saith, that most of their temples were overthrown by an earthquake, (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 27.)

There are those, who by Elohim understand nothing

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but their princes or judges, the great men of the kingdom, upon whom the judgment of God was now executed. But another place in this book, (xx. 23.) plainly determines it to signify images.

*I am the Lord.*] There is no other God but me: as he had said he would make both the Israelites and Pharaoh also to know, (x. 2. xi. 7.)

Ver. 13. *And the blood shall be to you for a token.*] Or a *sign*, by which the Israelites were assured of safety and deliverance from the destroying angel. Of which token, if we may believe Epiphanius, there was a memorial preserved even among the Egyptians themselves, though they were ignorant of the original of their own rites. For at the equinox (which was the time of the Passover) they marked their cattle and their trees, and one another, ἐκ μίλτου, with *red ochre*, or some such thing, which they fancied would be a preservative to them.

*And when I see the blood.*] Wheresoever my angel finds this blood upon the door-posts.

*I will pass over you*, &c.] Here is the reason of the name of *pesach*, as the Hebrews call it; or *pischa*, or *pascha*, as it is called by the Chaldees: because God ordered his angel to *pass over*, or *pass by*, the children of Israel, and not to smite any body in their families, when he smote every first-born of the Egyptians, (ver. 23.)

Ver. 14. *And this day shall be unto you for a memorial.*] To preserve in mind God's wonderful works, which "he made to be remembered," (Psal. cxi. 4.) that is, ordered and disposed things in such a manner, that they should not be forgotten: particularly by instituting a festival solemnity upon this day, as it here follows.

*And you shall keep it a feast to the Lord*, &c.] Called the feast of the Passover: the rites of which are all manifestly contrived to preserve a memory of the benefits they now received.

*An ordinance for ever.*] To the end of that economy. For it often signifies only a long duration, as Deut. xv. 17. And here imports no more, but that they should keep this ordinance, not only now, but when they came into the land of Canaan.

Ver. 15. *Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread.*] The seven days following the feast of the Passover, were observed as a distinct festival, and called "the feast of unleavened bread," (ver. 17.) because no bread that had any leaven in it, might be eaten all that time. Which the Jews expound thus: not that they were bound to eat unleavened bread all those seven days (which was necessary only on that night when the passover was killed) but only not to eat leavened bread. That was utterly unlawful; but they might eat rice, or parched corn, or any such thing. (See Patavius in Epiphan. Hæres. lxx. n. 11.)

At their march, indeed, out of Egypt, they were forced to eat unleavened bread (having none else to eat) not only for seven days, but for a whole month: that is, from the fifteenth of the first month, to the fifteenth and sixteenth of the next, when God gave them manna and quails, (xvi. 1. 12, 13.) But necessity, as I said, compelled them to this; they having nothing else to support them in the wilderness during that time; because, through haste, they were constrained to bring their dough out of Egypt unleavened, (ver. 39.)

*Even the first day ye shall put leaven out of your houses.*] Which they searched with great diligence the evening before; that the smallest crumb might not be left behind. So their doctors tell us, particularly Maimonides in his treatise on this subject. (See Buxtorf. Synagog. Judaic. cap. 17.)

*That soul shall be cut off from Israel.*] See concerning this *cereth* (or *cutting off*), which is often mentioned in these books, Gen. xvii. 14. Most think it a punishment by the hand of God, and not of man.

Ver. 16. *And in the first day there shall be a holy convocation, and in the seventh day*, &c.] The first and the last days of the *feast of unleavened bread* were kept holy (the other five were working days), because, as God delivered them from their cruel bondage in Egypt upon the first day, so he overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea upon the seventh.

*No manner of work shall be done in them.*] No manner of servile work. (See Lev. xxiii. 7, 8.)

*Save only that which every man must eat*, &c.] He that did any other work was to be beaten. For they equal these days with the sabbath in this regard; that whatsoever work was forbidden on the sabbath, might not be done on any such days as these, which they call *good days*. But they might provide good cheer on these days; though not more than could be eaten. See Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. cap. 19. where he shews at large what things might be done, and what not on these days, according to the opinion of their doctors.

Ver. 17. *And ye shall observe the feast of unleavened bread*, &c.] He repeats it again because it was a thing of great moment, to have these seven days observed entirely, and not only the Passover upon the fourteenth day in the evening: that they might every year think so long of God's great goodness, in delivering them from their miserable condition in Egypt, as not to let the sense of so singular a benefit slip at any time quite out of their minds.

*By an ordinance for ever.*] See ver. 14.

Ver. 18. *In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month at even*, &c.] The Passover was celebrated in the conclusion of the fourteenth day of this month; just before the beginning of the fifteenth day. For the next morning, when the Israelites, immediately after they had eaten the lamb, were hastened out of Egypt, was not part of the fourteenth day, but of the fifteenth: as we read Numb. xxxii. 3.

*Until the one-and-twentieth day of the month at even.*] That is, for seven days, (as was said before, ver. 15. and again is repeated ver. 19.) which began immediately after the eating the paschal lamb, in the end of the fourteenth day. For if they should be reckoned from the beginning of the fourteenth day, there would be not seven, but eight days of unleavened bread.

Ver. 19. *Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses.*] This still makes the precept stricter; that they were not only to abstain from any thing leavened, but not so much as to have it in their habitations. Accordingly the Jews tell us, of an exact search which every one was bound to make, with lighted wax candles, lest it should remain in any corner or crevice of the house. Their scrupulosity in this matter is exactly described by Buxtorf, in his Synag. Jud. cap. 17. p. 394. &c.

*Whether he be a stranger*, &c.] This is one of another na-

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tion: but had embraced the Jewish religion, by receiving circumcision. For none else were admitted to eat of the Passover, (ver. 48.) Such a person was called by the Greeks, a *proselyte*.

Ver. 20. *Ye shall eat nothing leavened.*] This, according to the Jews, explains what follows: *In all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread.* That is, if they eat any bread at all, it was to be without leaven: (see ver. 15.) Accordingly, on the day before the Passover, they were very busy in making cakes, which they call *mazzoth*, without any butter or oil, or so much as salt in them; of mere water and flour. Which being very insipid, some made bold (as their authors tell us) to add eggs and sugar; and sometimes the richer sort made them of mere almonds; both for the honour of the feast (as they pretended) and for the comfort of sick and infirm people, as well as to render them more pleasant. Yet on the first day of the feast they would eat none of these, but only the *bread of affliction* (as they called it), made merely of meal and water.

Ver. 21. *Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel.*] Immediately after he had received the command from God, he summoned them to deliver it to the people, that it might be put in execution. Concerning *elders*, see iii. 16.

*Draw out, and take you a lamb.*] It is thus expounded by Jonathan in his Paraphrase, *withdraw your hands from the idols of Egypt, and take a lamb to your families*, &c. By which it appears, he thought this was opposed to the rites of the Egyptians: but I know not on what ground; for the Israelites offered no sacrifices there.

*According to your families.*] See ver. 3.

*And kill the passover.*] It belonged to every man to do it, (as was said ver. 6.) and now there was no priest, as yet, ordained: but every father of a family exercised that office. I need not mention the manner after which the Jewish writers say it was to be slain.

*The Passover.*] The Hebrew word *pesach* signifies principally the angel's *passing by* the Israelites when he slew the Egyptian children. From whence it came to signify also the lamb that was offered in memory of this deliverance; and was a means of it at this time. So it signifies here, and in many other places. And likewise it signifies all the sacrifices which were wont to accompany this lamb, and were offered to God with it, at this festival, (Deut. xvi. 2.) And, lastly, the feast itself is called by this name, Luke xxii. 1.

And here it may be fit to note, that the lamb being first killed in Egypt, it was killed in every man's house, for they had no altar there, nor any other place where they had liberty to kill it. But after they came to the land of Canaan, it was not lawful to sacrifice it any where, but in the place which God appointed for his worship, (Deut. xvi. 2.) From whence Maimonides concludes, that whatsoever they did with other sacrifices, yet this could not be offered in the high places, but only at the Temple. And it is likely they did so in the Wilderness, the Tabernacle being newly erected at the keeping of the second Passover, (Numb. ix. 5.)

Ver. 22. *And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop.*] So the leper was to be cleansed, and the house infected with leprosy, (Lev. xiv. 6, 7. 49, 50, &c.) and so the prophet David prays to be purged from his sin, (Psal. li. 9.) Whence it is that Hesychius calls this herb βοτάνη σμήχουσα, *an abstersive and purging herb*, because it was appointed by the law of Moses for this purpose; otherwise, there is nothing abstersive in its nature.

*And dip it in the blood that is in the bason.*] The Hebrew word *saph*, which is here translated *bason*, is translated *cup* in Zach. xii. 2. but the LXX. and Vulgar take it to signify the *door* or *threshold* of the house, where some suppose the lamb was killed. Certain it is, that some of the vessels of the sanctuary are called in the plural number *sippim* and *sippoth*, (1 Kings vii. 50. Jer. lii. 19.) though the vessels which received the blood of the beast at the altar of burnt-offerings are called by another name: (see Exod. xxvii. 3.) There were no such now, and therefore they received the blood at present in a common *bason* or *cup*.

*And strike the lintel,* &c.] Or *sprinkle* it, as many understand it. For there being, as yet, no altar, the blood is ordered to be *sprinkled* in this manner; having in it something of the nature of a propitiation. Because by this *sprinkling* of the blood, God's displeasure was turned away from the Israelites, when it fell upon those houses where his blood was not seen.

*And the two side-posts.*] See ver. 7.

*And none of you shall go out of the door of his house.*] The destroying angel could have discerned an Israelite from an Egyptian though he had met him in the street: but this was required, to teach them that their safety consisted in being under the protection of the blood of this lamb, which was shed to save their blood from being spilt. Thus in the flood there was no safety but in the ark: nor could Rahab have been saved, when Jericho was destroyed, out of the house where the scarlet thread was tied.

*Until the morning.*] When they were importuned by the Egyptians very early (not long after midnight, ver. 31, &c.) to be gone with all they had, out of their country.

Ver. 23. *For the Lord will pass through to smite the Egyptians.*] As he had threatened, (ver. 12.) For he rehearses to the elders what God had told him.

*And when he seeth the blood,* &c. *the Lord shall pass over the door,* &c.] So he had promised before, (ver. 13.) Maimonides, being of the opinion that the Zabii and other idolaters abhorred the killing of such creatures, thinks that God ordained this killing of the lamb, &c. both to purge the minds of the Jews from such false opinions, and make profession of the contrary; and to persuade men that that action which they accounted deadly preserved from death; according to these words, *the Lord shall pass over the door*, &c. (Par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 46.)

Ver. 24. *And ye shall observe this thing,* &c.] Keep this feast, by sacrificing a lamb, and eating no leavened bread: though some of the ceremonies wherewith it was now observed, in aftertimes were not necessary.

Ver. 25. *When you be come to the land which the Lord shall give you,* &c.] This deliverance is not to be forgotten when God hath given you rest, in the land he hath promised you. But there you are most carefully to preserve the memory of it, by keeping this feast every year. And, indeed, most think they were not bound to keep it till they came thither: but what they did in the wilderness the next year was by a special direction, not by virtue of the command in this chapter, (Numb. ix. 1, 2, &c.)

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*Ye shall keep this service.*] In all things, except what was proper and peculiar to their coming out of Egypt.

Ver. 26. *When your children shall say unto you, What mean you by this service?*] When children were twelve years old, their parents were bound to bring them to the temple; where, seeing what was done at this festival, they would be apt to inquire into the meaning of it. At every feast also of the Passover, the eldest person at the table instructed all the younger sort, that were there present, in the reason of this institution, rehearsing these very words, as Conradus Pellicanus observes: "This is the sacrifice of the Passover, in remembrance that the Lord passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses."

Ver. 27. *It is the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover.*] Or, the sacrifice of the Passover *to the Lord: i. e.* in honour of the Lord, who passed over the Israelites, when he smote the Egyptians. It is frequently called by the name of a *sacrifice,* (xxiii. 18. xxxiv. 25. Deut. xvi. 4—6.) and it is called *corban;* which is a name given only to those things which were brought to be offered up to God.] See Numb. ix. 13. where, as it is called *corban,* so the same word is used for *bringing it,* which is commonly used about other sacrifices. And it further appears to have been properly a *sacrifice,* by the rites belonging to it: for the blood of it was sprinkled by the priests, (2 Chron. xxx. 16. xxxv. 11.) Which, though it could not be done here, because they had no altar in Egypt; yet the posts of their houses (as I observed before) were sprinkled with it; and it had an effect accordingly.

*And the people.*] To whom the elders (ver. 21.) reported these things from Moses.

*Bowed the head, and worshipped.*] Expressed their belief of what Moses had said; and humbly acknowledged God's goodness to them.

Ver. 28. *And the children of Israel went away.*] To their several habitations.

*And did as the Lord had commanded Moses and Aaron.*] (ver. 1.) They kept the Passover.

*So did they.*] According to all the forenamed rites belonging to it.

Ver. 29. *And it came to pass, that, at midnight, the Lord smote,* &c.] According to the foregoing threatening, (xi. 4, 5.) See there.

*The captive that was in the dungeon.*] The pit or hole under ground. For the Hebrew signifies the lowest part of the prison. (See xi. 5.)

Ver. 30. *And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants, and all the Egyptians.*] I suppose the angel made a great noise when he came to give the blow; which made the Egyptians start out of their sleep, and behold the calamity which was come upon them. Or perhaps the first-born gave such a lamentable shriek, when they were struck, that it awakened the whole family.

*And there was a great cry in Egypt.*] It is no improbable conjecture, which was made a great while ago by Fortunatus Scacchus, in his Mirothec. Ebræochrism, (lib. i. cap. 6.) that the solemn feast among the Egyptians, wherein they went about with candles in the night, seeking for Osiris, with tears and great lamentations, took its original from Pharaoh's rising up out of his bed at midnight, and all the Egyptians with him; who, lighting candles, and finding their children dead, bewailed them with loud cries. And it is not unreasonable to think, as he doth, that Pharaoh's eldest son, who was now slain, had the name of Osiris: whose sudden death, by this stroke, all posterity lamented in one night of the year. Which was when the moon was at full, as he observes out of Apuleius: which still confirms this conjecture; it being at a full moon when this slaughter was made, and the Israelites delivered out of Egypt.

*For there was not a house where there was not one dead.*] If there were any children in it.

Ver. 31. *And he called for Moses and Aaron.*] By some of his servants whom he sent to them; as ver. 33. seems to signify.

*By night.*] He durst not stay till the next morning, for fear he should have been cut off also before that time.

*And said, Rise up.*] One would think by this that they found them sleeping securely in their beds, when this deadly blow was given to the Egyptians.

*And get you forth from amongst my people, both you and the children of Israel,* &c.] For he was sorely afraid, if they stayed any longer, they would bring some greater mischief upon him.

*Go, serve the Lord, as ye have said.*] He had several times made this concession; but was never so much in earnest as now.

Ver. 32. *Also take your flocks and your herds,* &c.] Though his heart had been often hardened, yet this slaughter of all their first-born made such a deep impression upon him, that he comes fully up to their terms, yielding for the present to all they had desired; though he did not continue constant in this mind, but soon revolted.

*And bless me also.*] Pray for me, as the Chaldee translates it.

Ver. 33. *And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people.*] They that brought from Pharaoh a grant of all the Israelites desired (and others also who had lost their children), pressed very hard upon them to accept it, and that with all speed: not out of love to the Israelites, but for fear they should perish themselves, if they did not leave their country. Pharaoh, especially, seeing his first-born, the heir of his crown, struck suddenly dead, had reason to conclude the next blow would be at his own life.

*To send them out of the land of Egypt.*] This shews they were not merely dismissed, but entreated, nay importuned, to depart. Such a change had this slaughter, and the general outcry that followed upon it, made in their hearts.

*In haste.*] They that were unwilling before to hearken to the Israelites' petition, now make their petitions to them: and were so glad to be rid of them, that they would not suffer them to delay their departure: nay, made a *golden-bridge* (as we speak) for their speedy passage out of Egypt, (ver. 35, 36.)

*For they said, We be all dead men.*] They were desirous the Israelites should enjoy their liberty, rather than they lose their own lives.

Ver. 34. *And the people took their dough, before it was leavened.*] They seemed to have newly mixed their flour and water together, and kneaded it into paste or *dough,* as we translate it: but had not put any leaven into it, nor had time to make it into cakes, and bake them.



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*Their kneading-troughs.*] The Hebrew word comprehends both the *dough* and the thing wherein it was contained: which in viii. 3. we translate *ovens*, and here *kneading-troughs*, in which their dough was carried.

*Being bound up in their clothes.*] The Hebrew word for *clothes*, signifies any thing that covers another; or wherein it is wrapped: as the *dough* was in linen-clothes, it is most likely (for that is usual), to keep it from the cold air, which was sharp in the night, and would have hindered its rising.

*On their shoulders.*] For we do not read of any waggons or horses they had for the carriage of their goods out of Egypt.

Ver. 35. *And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses.*] Who had commanded them from God, to do as it here follows, (xi. 1, 2.) which was their warrant, and justified the fact.

*And they borrowed of the Egyptians,* &c.] So most understand it: though some think it was a free gift which the Egyptians bestowed upon them; when they were very desirous (as we read before) to have them gone out of their country; which made them not only entreat but hire them to depart. So Jacobus Capellus, ad A. M. 2503. They that had denied them leave to go away for a few days (saith he), now press them to depart with all speed; "quin et precibus Israelitas demulcent, ac donis onerant Ægyptii:" (see iii. 23.) But it is commonly thought, that the Egyptians imagined the Israelites only desired to appear as well adorned as they could before their God, at the great feast they were to hold in the wilderness, and so they readily lent them these jewels and fine clothes to deck themselves withal; which they hoped would be restored to them again as soon as the sacrifice was over.

Ver. 36. *And the Lord gave the people favour,* &c.] As he had promised, iii. 21. and see xi. 3.

*So that they lent them such things as they required.*] Though the men borrowed as well as the women, (xi. 3.) yet the women are only mentioned, (iii. 23.) because they borrowed most: and the women and maidens of Egypt might be the more willing to bestow their jewels and earrings upon them, that they might woo their husbands, children, and relations, to be gone with all speed.

*And they spoiled the Egyptians.*] God hath a supreme right to all things; and there was a just cause why he should transfer the right of the Egyptians unto the Israelites. (See xi. 2.) Unto which add this story, which is told in the Gemara of the Sanhedrin; that in the time of Alexander the Great, the Egyptians brought an action against the Israelites, desiring they might have the land of Canaan, in satisfaction for all that they borrowed of them when they went out of Egypt. To which Gibeah ben Kosam, who was advocate for the Jews, replied; that before they made this demand, they must prove what they alleged, that the Israelites borrowed any thing of their ancestors. Unto which the Egyptians thought it sufficient to say, that they found it recorded in their own books; mentioning this place. Well then, said the advocate, look into the same book, and you will find the children of Israel lived four hundred and thirty years in Egypt: pay us for all the labour and toil of so many thousand people as you employed all that time, and we will restore what we borrowed. To which they had not a word to answer. Tertullian mentions such a controversy, or plea between the two nations, (lib. ii. advers. Marcion.) where he relates this from an ancient tradition. (See Mr. Selden, lib. vii. de Jure Nat. et Gen. cap. 8.) Besides this, it is not impertinent to observe, that the Egyptians were declared enemies to the Jews: now it is not unlawful to spoil an enemy; nor ought this, upon that account, to be called a theft. This reason Clemens Alexandrinus joins to the former: (see lib. i. Stromat. p. 345. D.) But nobody, I think, hath expressed this in better words, and more full of sense, than our famous Dr. Jackson, book x. upon the Creed, chap. 40. where considering God, as become the *King* of this people, in a proper and peculiar manner; and considering, also, what unsufferable wrongs the king and people of Egypt had done unto this people of God, who were now become his peculiar subjects, or *proprietary lieges;* he concludes, that this fact, even by the course of human law, or law of nations, was more justifiable, than royal grants of letters of mart, or other like remedies are, against such other nations as have wronged their subjects, or suffered them to be wronged by any under their command, without restitution, when they solemnly, or by way of embassy demanded it. In short, whatsoever the Hebrew women took from the Egyptians, they took and possessed, *by the law of reprisal:* that is, by virtue of a special warrant, granted by the Lord himself, as he was now become, in special, not only the *God* of his people, but their *King.*

Ver. 36. *And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses.*] Whether this were a city or a country, the Israelites seem in this place to have made a general *rendezvous* (as we now speak), it being well known to them; for they were thereabout first planted, (Gen. xlvii. 11.)

*Unto Succoth.*] This being the fifteenth of Nisan, they began to keep the feast of unleavened bread at this place: called Succoth from the booths or tents which were here first erected (no houses being there), wherein they continued while they lived in the wilderness; and many preferred them before houses, when they came to Canaan. Whence we read so often, such expressions as these: *To thy tents,* O Israel; or, *They went every man to his tent.*

It is an idle fancy of R. Solomon upon this place, that they travelled this day one hundred and twenty miles, and that in an hour, because it is said (xix. 4.) that God *carried them on eagles' wings.* Some will have this place called Succoth, because the cloud of glory began here first to overspread them.

*About six hundred thousand on foot that were men.*] *i. e.* Were twenty years old, and upward; all fit for war.

*Besides children.*] If we reckon all under twenty years of age, with all the women and old men, there could not be less than *fifteen hundred thousand persons.* A vast increase in the space of a little more than two hundred years, from seventy persons that went down into Egypt.

Ver. 38. *And a mixed multitude went up also with them.*] Some think these were only a rabble that marched along with them; imagining they would return at three days' end. Which when they saw they did not they began to mutiny, and quarrelled with Moses, &c. as the author of Dibre Hajamim tells the story. Others think that many Israelites had made marriages with the Egyptians (as some it is plain did, Lev. xxiv. 10.) who now accompanied them at their departure, being loath to leave their relations. But it is most probable they were proselytes of the gate (as the Jews call them), who had renounced idolatry, but were not

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entered into the covenant, by being circumcised. (See Selden, lib. i. de Synedriis, cap. 3.) It is uncertain what number there was of these; but it appears they were a *multitude.*

*And flocks and herds, and very much cattle.*] Some of which perhaps belonged to the mixed multitude: for they among the Egyptians that feared the Lord's word, preserved their cattle from the stroke of the hail, which destroyed all that was in the field, (ix. 20.)

Ver. 39. *And they baked.*] When they came to Succoth.

*Unleavened cakes,* &c.] The Scripture often mentions such bread, (Gen. xviii. 6. Numb. xi. 8. 1 Kings xvii. 12.) *for it was not leavened.* They could not stay till it was leavened; being thrust out in haste as they were preparing it, (ver. 33.) which doth not signify that they put leaven to it, when they came to Succoth (as Grotius understands it), for that was inconsistent with the *feast of unleavened bread;* which they were commanded to keep, (ver. 15.) and which it is reasonable to suppose they now observed, as well as killed and eat the paschal lamb, (ver. 6. 28.)

*Neither had they prepared themselves any victuals.*] This justifies what I observed upon ver. 15. that they lived a whole month upon unleavened bread, till God sent them manna to eat.

Ver. 40. *Now the sojourning.*] So the Hebrew word *moshab* most certainly signifies; not merely dwelling (as the Vulgar Latin renders it) but dwelling like strangers, who are not in their own country. Thus Abraham is said to *sojourn,* (Gen. xx. 1.) and Isaac and Jacob, (xxviii. 4.) And therefore, whereas the Roman copy of the LXX. reads here κατοίκησις, the *habitation,* the Alexandrian copy hath παροίκησις, the *peregrination* or *sojourning,* as we well translate it.

*Of the children of Israel.*] These words comprehend their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; as is evident from hence: that otherwise Israel himself should not be included in this sojourning, who was the person that brought them into Egypt, and lived there with his family seventeen years. Nor is any thing more ordinary in Scripture, than under the name of the father to comprehend all his posterity; and likewise, when the posterity is only mentioned to intend also their fathers: there being such a near union between parents and children, that they are considered as one person, (Deut. xxvi. 5. 9. Judg. x. 11, 12. Hosea xii. 4. and many other places.) And therefore the Samaritan copy here rightly reads, *the habitation of the children of Israel and of their fathers,* &c. Which is not to be taken for a translation of these words, but an interpretation. And so some copies of the LXX. had it, as St. Austin observes, anciently; and Drusius lately mentions an edition, wherein it was thus paraphrased, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν, *they and their fathers.*

*Who dwelt in Egypt.*] Here also the Samaritan copy hath it (as an explication, no doubt, not a literal translation), *who dwelt in the land of Canaan and in Egypt.* And so the Vatican edition of the LXX. *The habitation of the children of Israel, which dwelt in the land of Egypt and in Canaan.* Which is no late addition, but was in ancient copies; for Aben Ezra testifies in his commentary on this place, that they thus explained it, *which dwelt in Egypt and in other countries*: as Drusius observes, in his Quæsita per Epistolam, 51.

*Was four hundred years.*] That is, from the time of Abraham's coming from Charran into the land of Canaan (when this *sojourning* began till their going out of Egypt, was just *four hundred and thirty years.* For from Abraham's coming to sojourn in Canaan, to the birth of Isaac, was *twenty-five* years; and Isaac was *sixty* years old when he begat Jacob; who was a *hundred and thirty* years old when he went down into Egypt: which numbers put together, make *two hundred and fifteen years.* And from his family's coming into Egypt, till their departure, was just as many more. Which agrees perfectly with what the apostle saith, that the promise made by God to Abraham and his seed could not be made void by the law, which was *four hundred and thirty* years after, (Galat. iii. 16, 17.) Now the first promise made to Abraham was, when God bade him go to Canaan, Gen. xii. 3. (See Gen. xv. 13.) There are some, indeed, that reckon their stay in Egypt to have been only *two hundred and ten* years; and then they took in the *five* years Abraham stayed at Charran, after he left Ur of the Chaldees, to make up these *four hundred and thirty* years: of which opinion is Drusius, in the place abovementioned. But Josephus saith expressly, that they departed out of Egypt, διακοσίοις πρὸς τοῖς δεκάπεντε ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον, *two hundred and fifty years after Jacob came into it,* (lib. ii. Antiq. cap. 5.)

All the difficulties that have been raised by commentators in the exposition of these words, are avoided by this interpretation; if we admit, that is, only these two synecdoches (the figure of part for the whole), first, that under the name of the children of Israel is comprehended Israel himself, with his father and grandfather: and secondly, that their sojourning comprehends the whole time that this nation dwelt in a land that was not theirs; half of which time, at least, was spent in Egypt. (See Guliel. Vorstius, in his notes upon Tzemach David, p. 200. 205. Ludov. Capellus Chron. Sacra, p. 135.) But especially our most learned primate Usher, Chron. Sacr. (cap. 8.) where he largely confutes the contrary opinion; which, if any one desire to see defended, I know none that hath done it better than Gerhardus I. Vossius, in his Isagoge Chronologica Dissert. vii. cap. 1, &c. where he fairly represents the arguments on both sides; but inclines himself to think the children of Israel dwelt four hundred and thirty years in Egypt; and endeavours to answer those who assert that interpretation which I have given, (cap. xii.) But acknowledges ingenuously (cap. 6.) that it is the sense, not only of the ancient Jews but of the ancient Christians (such as Eusebius, Epiphanius, and St. Chrysostom among the Greeks, and St. Jerome, St. Austin, &c. among the Latins), and of a vast number of later writers.

Ver. 41. *And it came to pass, at the end of the four hundred and thirty years.*] These years (says St. Jerome in Galat. iii.) are to be computed, "ab eo tempore, quo Deus ad Abrahamum locutus est," &c. *from the time when God said to Abraham,* "*In thy seed shall all nations be blessed;*" *i. e.* when he went first to Canaan.

*Even the self-same day it came to pass.*] They all went out on one day: or, they went out that very day four hundred and thirty years after Abraham came to Canaan. So faithful was God in his promise to his faithful servant.

*That all the hosts of the Lord,* &c.] So they are called, for the Lord was become their king (as I observed, iii. 10.)

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and now led them forth as their captain general. And this word *hosts* imports that they went out not confusedly, but in good order; (see xiii. 18.) which is the more wonderful, there being such a vast number of them, (ver. 37, 38.) that one would think they could not so soon get together, especially in any order. But Josephus hath well resolved this: That Moses, having notice of God's intentions some days before, (see ver. 1.) had disposed them for their departure, καὶ διατάξας εἰς φρατρίας, *and distributing them into several companies*, had appointed them the place of general rendezvous, as we now speak: or at least directed who should march first, and what order they should observe, that they might not hinder one another in their march.

Ver. 42. *It is a night to be much observed.*] In the Hebrew (as the margin notes) *a night of observations.* That is, *a very remarkable night;* or a night in which there were many precepts to be observed, as some will have it. Or, as Conradus Pellicanus, a night in which the Lord, after a special manner, watched over the children of Israel. For which reason the Jews expect their Messiah to come in this night; foolishly imagining he will then find them all most ready to follow him to Jerusalem. For they are now corrupted in ancient tradition, which (I observed before, ver. 6.) was remarkably fulfilled in our Saviour's suffering that very evening, when the paschal lamb was killed, and the children of Israel redeemed from the Egyptian bondage.

*Unto the Lord.*] In honour of him, who had graciously begun to fulfil his promise made to their forefathers, (vi. 2—4.)

*This is that night of the Lord,* &c.] Which God hath commanded to be observed; because they came out at that season, (Deut. xvi. 6.) under his conduct from the Egyptian bondage. Or, it may be called *that night of the Lord,* because his power, and mercy, and faithfulness to his promises, so signally appeared that night.

Ver. 43. *And the Lord said unto Moses and Aaron.*] At the same time, I suppose, that he instituted the Passover, (ver. 1.) he added this caution about it.

*This is the ordinance of the Passover.*] A further rule to be observed at this feast.

*There shall no stranger eat thereof.*] Several of the Jewish doctors, by *the son of a stranger,* understand an apostate from the religion of Israel to strange worship, *i. e.* idolatry; as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 12. p. 479.) But it is not to be so restrained, as appears from the next verse: which is a further explication of this. Wherein he ordains, that no man who did not embrace their faith and religion should eat of the Passover, though he was a proselyte so far as to be permitted to live among them. For this being a commemoration of the great deliverance bestowed upon the Israelites, none but they were to partake of it; unless they would be circumcised, and thereby come into the covenant made with Abraham. Which gave them a title to all the privileges of his children; and obliged them, as well as the natural Israelites, to give public thanks for this work of their redemption from Egyptian bondage; to worship and serve their God according as he directed.

Ver. 44. *And every man-servant that is bought for money.*] As many were in those times and countries; who became their master's proper goods, as much as their cattle.

*When thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof.*] He was not to be circumcised against his will: but if he refused, after a year's trial (as Maimonides expounds it), to receive circumcision, his master was to sell him again. For it is very unreasonable to think, that he was to be compelled to be circumcised, as those Hebrew doctors seem to understand it, who say, "That both master and servant were forbid to eat of it, till the servant was circumcised." (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 1.) Where he shews at large, that, according to the Hebrew doctors, no man was to be admitted a proselyte, to partake of the paschal lamb, unless his whole family was circumcised with him, both children and servants.

Ver. 45. *A foreigner.*] The Hebrew word *toschab,* literally signifies a *dweller* or *inhabitant:* by which name those pious gentiles were called who renounced idolatry, though they did not embrace the Jewish religion; because they were permitted to settle among them, and dwell in their country, which was not allowed to other foreigners who continued idolaters. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 3. et cap. 5.) Where, he observes, Maimonides makes this exception, that no such persons might dwell in Jerusalem, because of the singular holiness of that city; but any where else they might, without the profession of Judaism.

*And no hired servant.*] Some of them were servants to the Jews, and so dwelt in the same house with them: and were called *hirelings,* when they bound themselves to serve their masters for three years: as the Jews gather from Isa. xvi. 14.

Ver. 46. *In one house shall it be eaten,* &c.] In the first night wherein this sacrifice was slain, they were enjoined not to stir out of doors, (ver. 22.) and therefore not to *carry forth ought of the flesh abroad* in another house. Besides, they were in such haste, that they had no time to send messengers from one house to another; which Maimonides makes the ground of this precept, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46.) In aftertimes also, that law being in force, (ver. 4.) that lesser households, who had not company enough to eat the lamb up, should join with some other; it is here explained, that, for maintenance of friendly society, they should not divide the lamb, and carry half of it to another house, but all meet together in one, and feast upon it. Which the ancient fathers looked upon as a figure of the unity of the church of Christ.

This seems to be the most natural interpretation, that it should be eaten under one roof. But R. Simeon saith, "That God only bound them to eat in one company or society, not in two; but it was lawful for that family or society to eat it in two places, if they pleased." (Halicoth Olam, par. iv. sect. 3.)

*Neither shall ye break a bone thereof.*] The Jews fancy this law doth not speak of the lesser bones; but only of those in which there was some marrow. So Maimonides in his treatise on this subject, (chap. 10. sect. 1.) And indeed, being eaten in haste, they could not have time to break the bones, and suck out the marrow: which in the place beforenamed (in his More Nevochim), he makes the foundation of this precept: which was exactly fulfilled in the true Paschal Lamb; of which this was a figure, when he was offered for us, as St. John observes, (xix. 33. 36.)

Ver. 47. *All the congregation of Israel shall keep it.*] Women and children, as well as men. In aftertimes, indeed, only men were bound to come up at the three feasts, (xxiii. 17. xxxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16.) But devout people

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were wont to carry up their wives and children with them, as appears by Elkanah, (1 Sam. i. 3, 4.) and by Joseph, who went up with the blessed Virgin, (Luke ii. 41.) And that place in Samuel informs us, that their sons and daughters did eat of the sacrifice.

Ver. 48. *When a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the Passover,* &c.] See ver. 43, 44.

*No uncircumcised person shall eat thereof.*] Which is the reason, some have thought, why they observed no Passover, as far as we can find, after that in the very next year that followed their coming out of Egypt; because they were generally uncircumcised. But this seems to relate to men of another nation: who, though they were not admitted to eat of the lamb, unless they received circumcision; yet having renounced idolatry, the Jews say they might eat of the unleavened bread, and of the bitter herbs.

Ver. 49. *One law shall be to him that is home-born,* &c.] Nothing could be more equal than this, that no man should enjoy this privilege who was not of their religion; but whosoever embraced it should partake of the same benefits.

Ver. 50. *Thus did all the children of Israel.*] They kept this passover; and afterwards another, by a special direction, (Numb. ix.) but afterward, during their stay in the wilderness, they seem to have omitted it; because they omitted circumcision, without which (ver. 48.) they were not capable to partake of it.

*As the Lord commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.*] Observed it according to all the rites here enjoined: though in future ages several of them were omitted, as peculiar to this time.

Ver. 51. *And it came to pass, the self-same day,* &c.] On the day after they celebrated the Passover, they began their march out of Egypt. Which was a thing so notorious, that the memory of it was preserved in nations far distant from them: though the story was much corrupted, for want of the knowledge of these sacred records. For Strabo mentions it (to name no more), but saith the report was, that the Jews were descended from the Egyptians (which might be believed by strangers, because they dwelt so long in that country), and that Moses was an Egyptian priest, who had a certain part of that country; but being dissatisfied with the present state of things forsook it, and many worshippers of God (πολλοὶ τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον) followed him. For he affirmed and taught that the Egyptians had not right conceptions, who likened God to wild beasts and cattle: nor did the Africans or Greeks conceive of him better, who represented him like to men: εἷς γὰρ ἓν τοῦτο μόνον θεὸς, τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον: *For there is but this one only God, that which comprehends us all, and the earth and the sea, which we call heaven, and the world,* &c. In which words, he makes Moses not so foolish as the Egyptians and other nations, but attributes a senseless opinion to him (that the world, which we see, is God), if this be the right reading of his words. But I rather think the place is corrupted, and it should be, εἷς οὗτος μόνος θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν τὸ περιέχον, &c. For this is Moses's true opinion, with which he begins his books, that "he only is God who made the heaven and the earth." And this perfectly agrees with what follows in Strabo, That no image can be made of this God, and therefore a temple without any image must be erected to him, &c. Which is not true, if we take the visible world to be God; for the image of the heaven and the earth may be made, as well as of a man or a beast. However, it is true which he adds, That Moses persuaded many good men, and brought them into that country, where Jerusalem is the chief city; where they lived a long time happily, δικαιοπραγοῦντες καὶ θεοσεβεῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντες, *doing justly, and being sincerely religious.* Which is a notable testimony from a pagan, to be noted "aureis literis," *with letters of gold,* as Casaubon speaks in his Annotations on this place, (lib. xvi. p. 760, 761.)

## CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] After they came to Succoth; where I suppose the Schechinah appeared to him, as it had done in Midian and in Egypt; to direct him in his conduct.

Ver. 2. *Sanctify unto me the first-born.*] Separate, or set apart, from common uses, for I appropriate them to myself, as it follows in the end of the verse. This word *(sanctify)* as our Mr. Mede observes, signifies differently in several conjugations. Sometimes it signifies to devote, and consecrate to the service of God; and sometimes to use a thing as holy, being already devoted to him. And thus he reconciles this place, where he bids him sanctify all the first-born (*i. e.* look upon them as things separated to his own use, and therefore not to be used by them), with another place, (Lev. xxvii. 26.) where he saith concerning the first-born, "No man shall sanctify it, it is the Lord's;" *i. e.* the Lord hath already set it apart to himself, and therefore no man is to consecrate that again, which God hath already consecrated, that is, taken for his own. (See lib. ii. de Sanctuario Dei, p. 552.)

*First-born.*] There were two sorts of *first-born.* Some who were the first-born of the father, called "the beginning of his strength," (Deut. xxi. 17.) The other, the first-born of the mother, which are called here, "whatsoever openeth the womb." The Hebrews make a great difference between these two; and say, that to the former sort belong the prerogatives, both of having the inheritance of his father, and also the priesthood: but to the latter only belongs one of these prerogatives, *viz.* the priesthood. And they gather it from this very place, "whatsoever openeth the womb" (which is the first-born of the mother) is mine; *i. e.* shall be employed in my service. But instead of these, God took the Levites to attend upon him, (Numb. iii. 12.) After which, the first-born were to be redeemed at a certain rate, which was part of the priests' maintenance, (Numb. xviii. 15, 16.) See Selden de Successionibus, ad Leg. Hebr. cap. 7.

*Among the children of Israel.*] Whom this precept concerned peculiarly, but no other people. Therefore the Jews say, that if one of them and a gentile had any beast in common between them, the first-born was free (as their phrase is), because it is here said, *among the children of Israel,* not the gentiles. (See Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. cap. 38.)

*Both of man and beast.*] And is further directed and explained, (ver. 12, 13.)

*It is mine.*] And therefore was to be offered to God, if it were a male of any beast; only an ass was to be redeemed, (xxxiv. 19, 20.) God intended by this law to teach them

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(saith R. Levi Barzelonita) that the whole world was his; and that men had nothing in it, but by his gracious grant: who challenged the first-born of every thing to himself, because all was his. For the first-born male was dearer to a man, saith he, than the apple of his eye (as no doubt he was), yet he was bound to consecrate him to God. But the plainest reason of this law was, to put them in mind of God's miraculous providence, in sparing their first-born, when those of the Egyptians were all killed. To which the Jewish doctors add a more ancient right God had to them: being the persons who sacrificed to God, before priests were ordained by the law of Moses. So Onkelos takes the "young men," (xxiv. 5.) to have been the first-born, and the priests mentioned xix. 22. (Aben Ezra also upon Numb. xvi. 1. saith the same), the truth of which I shall examine there.

Ver. 3. *And Moses said unto the people.*] God seems to have commanded Moses, at the same time he gave this precept, to repeat here at Succoth what he had said to them in Egypt, concerning the observation of the Passover, and of the feast of unleavened bread. It being of great moment to have the benefits hereby commemorated in perpetual remembrance.

*Remember this day,* &c.] Which was the first day of unleavened bread; commanded to be kept holy, (xii. 16.)

*For by strength of hand the Lord brought you out.*] That is, by a miraculous power; which constrained Pharaoh to let you go, much against his will. So God promised at his first appearance to Moses, (iii. 19.)

*There shall no leavened bread be eaten.*] Unleavened bread was to be eaten on the Passover night, and afterwards no leavened bread. See xii. 15, &c. where this is represented as the sense of the Jews: but the sixth and seventh verses following seem to say otherwise.

Ver. 4. *This day came ye out.*] In the morning of this day they began their march.

*In the month of Abib.*] This word *Abib* signifies an *ear of corn:* for then barley began to ear. The Syriac word *hababa* hath something of its sound, which signifies a *flower:* and so they here translate it, *the month of flowers.* Whence Macarius saith, God brought Israel out of Egypt, ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν, *in the month of flowers;* when the pleasant spring first appeared. (See xxiii. 15.)

Ver. 5. *And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the land,* &c.] From hence they conclude, this precept did not oblige them in the wilderness: but it was by a special direction and command that they observed it the year after this, (Numb. ix. 1, 2, &c.) See xii. 25. 50. In confirmation of which, (Deut. xii. 1.) is alleged, where he begins to recapitulate all the laws they were to observe in Canaan; among which this is one, (xii. 5, 6.) yet this alone would not have been sufficient to prove this (for he might be thought now only to reinforce his laws, at their entrance into Canaan), if he had not added, (ver. 1.) "Ye shall not do after all the things you do here this day," &c. Which supposes, that in the unsettled condition wherein they were in the wilderness, they had not kept themselves to all those rules which follow, and had been formerly delivered.

*Which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee,* &c.] Gen. xv. 18, 19, &c.

*Ye shall keep this service in this month.*] Both the Passover, and feast of unleavened bread, (xii. 25.)

Ver. 6. *Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread.*] This seems to confute what the Jews say, that they were not bound to eat unleavened bread, but only when they ate the Passover. (See xii. 15.)

*And in the seventh day shall be a feast unto the Lord.*] As the first day was holy (ver. 3.) so was the last, (xii. 16.) that they might not fail in their gratitude for so great a benefit as they now commemorated.

Ver. 7. *Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days.*] This seems still to make the injunction plainer, that for seven days together they should eat *unleavened bread.* Which is so often repeated, because this made them sensible, more than any thing else, of the wonderful hand of God in bringing them out of Egypt; which was so sudden and hasty, that they had not time to bake the dough they had prepared, nor so much as put leaven to it, (xii. 39.)

*There shall no leavened bread be seen with thee.*] From whence the Jews conclude, that not only all such bread is to be carefully sought for and thrown out of their houses, but all their vessels that have been used the year before thoroughly scoured, lest any thing should remain in them, that might give a tincture of acidity to the bread that might be made in them. In which work they spend some days before the Passover, as Buxtorf observes in his Synag. Jud. cap. 17.

*Neither shall there be leaven seen with thee,* &c.] For which cause, as he there observes, they abstain, all the time of this feast, from all such things as may possibly have some leaven in them. As from honey and sugar, which are often adulterated with flower, &c.

Ver. 8. *And thou shalt shew thy son in that day,* &c.] That is, on the first day of unleavened bread, it was to be a part of their religion, to instruct their children in the meaning of their killing the lamb, and their abstinence from leaven. This the Jewish doctors make one of the DCXIII. precepts, that parents should tell the whole story of their going out of Egypt on the fifteenth day of Nisan: when every one, according to his ability, was bound in his own language, to bless and praise the name of God, for all his miracles, which he wrought for them. They are the words of R. Levi of Barcelona.

Ver. 9. *And it shall be for a sign unto thee.*] These seem to be still the words that the parents were to say to their children upon the festivals; whereby they taught them to look upon this observation as a token or memorial of what God had done for their forefathers, when he brought them out of Egypt.

*Upon thy hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes.*] To make thee as sensible of God's goodness, as of that which thou hast in thy hand; or of a thing that is continually before thine eyes. The Jewish superstition about their phylacteries took its rise from hence, but without any good ground: it being evident he speaks not of tying parchments, or any thing else, about their wrists, &c. but of teaching their children the meaning of their holy rites. And so some of themselves have expounded it; particularly the forementioned R. Levi of Barcelona, who gives this reason why such abundant care was taken to have these things remembered; "Because (saith he) this is the foundation of our law and of our religion: for which cause, in all our blessings and prayers, we commemorate our coming out of Egypt; because it is a sign to us, and a perfect demonstra-

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tion of the creation of the world, and that our Lord God is the author of all creatures, and doth what he pleases, &c. For who but he could change the course of nature, and work such great and unheard of signs as he did? This is sufficient to confute those that deny the creation of the world; and to establish us in the belief of God most blessed: and to persuade both that there is a providence, and that his power extends to all things, both in general and particular." So he. (See ver. 16.)

*That the Lord's law may be in thy mouth.*] That their children might be able to declare to their posterity the law of the Lord about these matters.

*For with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt.*] By slaying all their first-born in one night. (See iii. 19.)

Ver. 10. *Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance.*] Of the Passover; and of the feast of unleavened bread.

*In this season from year to year.*] On the fourteenth, and the seven following days of the first month.

Ver. 11. *And it shall be, when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites,* &c.] Under the name of Canaanites he comprehends all the rest of the seven nations. And these words seem to import, that the law of the first-born was not to take place till they came into the promised land. Yet we find (Numb. iii. 12, 13.) that God demanded all the first-born of them, though he took the Levites in their stead: and both being numbered, and there being two hundred seventy-three first-born males more than there were Levites, (ver. 41—43.) he required them to be redeemed at five shekels a-piece, and the money to be given to the priests, (ver. 46—48.) But, perhaps, after this the law was not observed till they came to Canaan.

*Which he sware unto thy fathers,* &c.] See ver. 5.

Ver. 12. *That thou shalt set apart unto the Lord all that openeth the matrix.*] Here he shews what he means by that sanctification of the first-born, which was mentioned, ver. 2. and for what end and reason this was ordained. For that which is called sanctifying there, is here called *setting apart,* or separating it from the rest of that kind of creatures, for another use, *viz.* to be sacrificed to the Lord. For the word *heevarta,* which we translate *set apart,* is, in the Hebrew, *made to pass over.* Which is explained, xxii. 30. *Thou shalt give it unto me; viz.* to be offered at the altar.

*The males.*] The *first-born* are only mentioned, (ver. 2.) but here it is explained to signify only the males. If a female came first, and afterward a male; that male was not devoted unto God, because it did not open the womb, a female coming before it.

*Shall be the Lord's.*] And therefore *set apart* from common uses, to be employed in his service. That is, every firstling male of a cow, sheep, or goat, was to be offered in sacrifice: and the blood being sprinkled on the altar, the flesh of them was given to the priests. (See Numb. xviii. 17, 18.) where what is here briefly delivered, is there more largely explained.

Ver. 13. *And every firstling of an ass.*] There was the same reason for horses and camels: but an *ass* is only mentioned, because abundance of asses were bred in Judea; where there were few horses or camels. And therefore Numb. xviii. 15. it is said in general, "the firstlings of unclean beasts thou shalt redeem."

*Thou shalt redeem with a lamb.*] Which was to be sacrificed to God. If a man had not a lamb, he was to give the price of one. And because all lambs were not of an equal price (some being worth more than others), the rabbins say that a *good eye, i. e.* a liberal man, gave a shekel; an *evil eye* half as much; and a *middle sort* of men gave three quarters. It was to be redeemed also within thirty days.

*If thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break* (or cut off) *its neck.*] It was to die, one way or other, and not to be employed in common use: but thus to be disposed of, if they would not give a lamb, or its value, in exchange for it. Which men might sometimes be unwilling to do, because asses being so plentiful in that country, they might not be worth so much as a lamb. It is no improbable conjecture of Mr. Selden, that from this law of redeeming asses, the gentiles took up a fancy, which was common among them, that the Jews worshipped an ass's head. (See lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1.) Which was one of their calumnies also of Christians (whom they took to be the same with the Jews), as we read in Minutius Felix, Tertullian, and others.

*All the first-born of man among thy children shalt thou redeem.*] See ver. 11. Human sacrifices were not acceptable to God. For though he once commanded Abraham to offer his son, yet it was not actually done; and here he declares he did not approve of such sacrifices, by commanding them not to offer their first-born to him, as they did the firstling of clean beasts; but to redeem them. For the way of the gentile world, even in those days, was to offer their children to Moloch, as appears from (Lev. xx. 2.) where he orders him to be put to death, who "gives any of his seed to Moloch." The very same phrase which is used (as I observed, ver. 12.) concerning sacrificing the firstlings of their oxen, &c. And in Lev. xviii. 21. he uses both phrases, saying, "Thou shalt not give any of thy seed to pass through to Moloch, or to pass over to Moloch." The very same word, which we here translate (ver. 13.) *set apart.* And it was but necessary to give such precepts; for, notwithstanding these prohibitions, the Israelites fell into this barbarous way of worship, as we read Psal. cvi. 37, 38.

Now this redemption of their first-born, was not long after ordered by God himself; who took the Levites instead of them, (as we read, Numb. iii.) where a certain sum of money was paid for all the rest of the first-born, that were above the number of the Levites. Which sum, they who were born after that time paid to the priest.

Nor was this a thing unknown to the gentiles. For Paulus Venetus saith, (lib. i. cap. 45.) that the inhabitants of that region in India, called Tanguth, redeemed their sons with a ram, which they offered after the manner of the Hebrews: which makes it probable that this law of Moses had reached them; there being several remainders of the Hebrew language upon those coasts; as Huetius observes in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 6.

Ver. 14. *When thy son asketh thee, in time to come, What is this?*] Desires to know the meaning of this; or, whence this custom of offering or redeeming the first-born males is derived.

*That thou shalt say unto him.*] Great care was taken for the instruction of children in the rites of their religion;

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it appears by this, and by ver. 8. where they are commanded to teach them the reason of eating unleavened bread, as here of their consecrating the first-born.

*That by strength of hand,* &c.] See iii. 19.

Ver. 15. *And it came to pass when Pharaoh would hardly let us go.*] Obstinately persisted in his resolutions to keep us in slavery, or *hardened his heart* (as it may be translated by adding the word *libbo*), against all the monitions which had been given him, and the plagues inflicted on him.

*That the Lord slew all the first-born in the land of Egypt,* &c.] Which struck such a terror into him, that immediately he dismissed us, (xii. 30, 31, &c.)

*Therefore I sacrifice unto the Lord all that openeth the womb,* &c.] Because when he slew all their first-born, he spared ours, (xii. 13. 23. 27.)

Ver. 16. *And it shall be for a token upon thine hand.*] By this means there was a perpetual remembrance preserved, of God's gracious deliverance of them, when the first-born of Egypt were slain. For nothing else can be meant by these words, but that they should endeavour, by consecrating their first-born, to keep that Divine benefit in mind as carefully as if they had put a sign upon their hand, or bound it upon their forehead before their eyes, to help their memory. For it is a plain allusion to those, who, having frail memories, are wont to tie a thread, or some such thing upon their finger, that they may not forget what they desire to remember: that which is upon their hand being continually in view, and so not easily forgotten.

*And for frontlets between thine eyes.*] Whatsoever be the original of the Hebrew word *totaphot*, which we translate *frontlets*, it is certain it signifies no more than *zicaron* in the ninth verse: a *memorial*, or *monument*, as the Vulgar translates it. And so Aben Ezra expounds it, *ke nu Zicaron*, as it were a memorial; and that *immoveable*, as the LXX. take it. Yet from hence the Talmudists have extracted their phylacteries (or pieces of parchment, wherein this and other texts were written), which they fancied were a kind of amulets to defend them from dangers. For so they are said to be in the Gemara Schabath; and therefore used in their prayers, to drive away evil spirits, as J. Braunius, and many others have observed. I shall only note further, that this word is found but three times in the law, and yet the Vulgar translates it three several ways; which shews how little the original is understood, though the sense of it is plain and certain. (See Petitus, his Var. Lectiones, cap. 20.)

*For by strength of hand the Lord brought us out of Egypt.*] This hath been often mentioned in this very chapter, (ver. 3. 9. 14.) and now here repeated again, to make them very sensible, both that they owed their deliverance entirely to God, and that nothing was too hard for him to accomplish.

Ver. 17. *God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines,* &c.] That was the nearest way from Egypt to Canaan, by the Mediterranean, to the river of Egypt (as the Scripture calls it), and so to Azotus and Gaza: which was a journey of not above three days, as Philo says; others say of ten. But certainly it was no great way, for the sons of Jacob went it often to and fro, (Gen. xlii. xliii. &c.)

*Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war,* &c.] The Philistines being a very warlike people, would, in all likelihood, have opposed their passage: and God knew the temper of the Israelites to be so timorous, that they would run away, and rather return to Egypt, than fight their way through Canaan. For all people grow cowardly by being kept long in slavery; which breaks their spirits, and sinks them as low as their condition. They fought indeed about forty days after this with Amalek; but it was only one battle; and then they were provided with arms (which they had not now) from the Egyptians, whom they found dead on the sea-shore. But their base temper appeared too plainly the next year, when they heard the report of the spies concerning the inhabitants of Canaan: which put the whole congregation into a fit of despair, and made them think of returning to Egypt, (Numb. xiv. 1, 2, &c.)

Ver. 18. *But God led the people about.*] The pillar of cloud mentioned ver. 21. in which the Lord was, conducted them in a way further about.

*Through the way of the wilderness.*] He led them to the right hand towards the Red Sea, and the desert of Arabia.

*Of the Red Sea.*] See x. 19.

*And the children of Israel went up harnessed.*] Or, in military order: for though it is not likely the Egyptians suffered them to have any arms, yet they did not go away tumultuously, like fugitives; but marched like soldiers in good order; and, as in our margin it is translated, *five in a rank*. Which is the interpretation of Theodotion anciently, and of Montanus, and others, lately. But Hottinger translates it, *in the form of an army*. For the Arabic word *chamis* (from whence, it is likely, comes the word *chamuschim* here used), signifies *exercitus πενταμερὴς, an army consisting of five parts;* which are the front, the main battle, the right wing and the left, and the rear; Smegma Orient, p. 71. And so David Chytræus long before him, "quinque agminibus," *in five bodies*, as we now speak. But the interpretation of Aben Ezra seems to be the most proper of all others, who simply expounds it, *girt about their loins*, i. e. *expedite or ready*, as Onkelos expresses it. For the Hebrew word *chomasch*, signifying those parts that are under the five small ribs, about which men were wont to be girt, when they went to fight or to travel; this word may well be rendered ἐῦζωνοι, *well girt*, as the LXX. translate it, (Josh. i. 14. iv. 13.) Here indeed they translate it, πέμπτῃ δὲ γενεᾷ ἀνέβησαν, *they went up in the fifth generation* (which St. Austin follows), taking Jacob for the first; Levi the second; Coath the third; Amram the fourth; and Moses the fifth. But as this exposition doth not agree with the Hebrew word, which doth not signify the fifth, but *in fives;* so it cannot be said of the children of Israel in general; for all the tribes were not yet come to the fifth generation. Our Nic. Fuller hath a learned discourse upon this word, in his Miscellan. lib. v. cap. 2.

Ver. 19. *And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him.*] And of the rest of the patriarchs, it is very probable: (see Gen. l. 25.) To which add, that the Jews say, every tribe took care of the body of the founder of their family. Which is far more likely than the story which the author of the Life and Death of Moses tells, that he carried Joseph's coffin out of Egypt upon his own shoulders: it being more probable that some of that tribe undertook the care of it. That it was buried in the bottom of Nile, is not affirmed only by him, but by Jonathan: though others say in the banks of Nile. And they seem all to have it out of the

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Talmud; where in the Gemara of the title Sota, cap. i. sect. 47. they say the Egyptians themselves buried their relations in the Nile, to make the waters prosperous. And tell a vain story, how a woman called Serach told Moses where the body was, when he was at a loss where to find it, after he had searched for it three days (as the forenamed author tells the tale, while the Jews were borrowing jewels of gold and silver of the Egyptians), and that he called it up from thence, throwing (as he adds) the ineffable name into the river; which brought it up presently, though in a leaden, or, as others say, a marble coffin.

*For he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying,* &c.] See Gen. l. 25. From whence Gaulmyn (lib. ii. cap. 2. Annot. in Vit. Mos.) not improbably conjectures, that the custom was derived of carrying the ashes of their ancestors into their own country; first by Hercules among the Greeks, and long before by the Egyptians and Chaldeans: whom the Arabians, as he shews, imitated in following ages.

Ver. 20. *And they took their journey from Succoth.*] They stayed but one day at *Succoth* (as Jac. Capellus supposes), where Moses gave the foregoing directions to them: and upon the sixteenth of Nisan they marched to *Etham.*

*And encamped in Etham.*] So called, he thinks, because the way here was very rugged and craggy.

*In the edge of the wilderness.*] Next to the Red Sea, called the wilderness of *Shur,* (xv. 22.)

Ver. 21. *And the Lord went before them.*] By *the Lord* we are here to understand the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, which appeared to Moses in the bush, (iii. 2.) when he gave him commission to bring his people out of Egypt; and directed him all along in his embassy to Pharaoh, and his treaty with him, (vi. 1, &c.) and now appeared in a glorious cloud to conduct them, and to assure them that he would take care of them. For this cloud was a symbol of his gracious presence with them, and special providence over them: it being an emanation from him (saith R. Levi ben Gersom), which was a sign (as others of the Jews speak) that God was night and day with them, to keep them from all evil. To which the prophets allude, (Isa. lii. 12. Micah ii. 13.) And though his going before them be not mentioned before this time, yet it is most likely he appeared in this cloud, as their conductor, from their first coming out of Egypt, and led them to Succoth, and then to Etham; as he did afterward to their stations, (Numb. x. 11, 12, &c.) Which doth not signify that God himself moved from place to place (for he is always every where), but this cloud was moved by him from whom it came, as a token that he was present, by his special favour, care, and providence, wheresoever it went.

*By day in a pillar of a cloud.*] It appeared from heaven, I suppose, in the form of a great long pillar; which below spread itself abroad, and covered the whole host of Israel. For it is certain, it was not only their guide to lead them the way (as it here follows), but also was a covering to them, whereby they were assured of the Divine protection. For so we are informed, Numb. x. 34. xiv. 14. Psalm cv. 39. 1 Corinth. x. 1. And I can see no reason to think these were different clouds, since one and the same would serve both purposes.

*And by night in a pillar of fire.*] The same pillar appeared in the night like fire, which in the day was like a cloud. The reason of which follows:

*To give them a light.*] That they might be able (as the next words tell us) to travel by night as well as by day. Which made the Psalmist say, he went before them *all the night, with the light of fire,* (lxxviii. 14.) This flaming light I take to have been a glorious appearance of angels from the Schechinah; for they always attend upon the Divine Majesty, "who maketh his angels spirits, his ministers a flaming fire," (Psalm civ. 4.) Some fancy there were two distinct pillars, as these words and the next verse seem to import: but it is plain, by other places, it was but one and the same pillar, which had these different appearances. (See the next chapter, xiv. 19. 24. Deut. i. 33.) Therefore Salvian rightly describes it, (lib. i. de Gubern. Dei,) where he calls it, "Mobilem columnam, nubilam die, igneam nocte, congruas colorum diversitates pro temporum diversitate sumentem; sc. ut et diei lucem lutea obscuritate distingueret, et caliginem noctis flammeo splendore claritatis radiaret." And see Greg. Nyssen. de Vita Mosis, p. 175.

Now that the Schechinah, or *the glory of God,* was in this cloud, appears from hence; that it was the same cloud which afterwards rested upon the Tabernacle, as soon as it was set up, and is called *the cloud of the Lord,* (Exod. xl. 38. Numb. x. 34.) For *the glory of the Lord* was within the Tabernacle, as the cloud was without it, (Exod. xl. 34, 35, &c.) And it is there also described just as it is here, that it appeared as a cloud upon the Tabernacle by day, and as a fire by night, (xl. *ult.*) And so it is also Numb. ix. 15, 16. "At even there was upon the Tabernacle as it were the appearance of fire, till the morning. So it was alway, the cloud covered it by day, and the appearance of fire by night." And then it conducted them in their journeys, as it did now, (Exod. xl. 36. Numb. ix. 17, 18, &c.) Which shews that this cloud, which now conducted them out of Egypt, was the very same with that which afterwards settled upon the Tabernacle: and the *glory of the Lord* being in that, I make no doubt it was so in this. Which is the reason that the Lord is said to *go before them,* and to *lead* them by this cloud. For though the Lord of all doth not *go* from place to place, yet this visible *glory,* which represented him as in a special manner present with them (and therefore called *the glory of the Lord),* did go along with them in the cloud, to their several stations, whither they removed.

It is no improbable conjecture of Taubman, in his notes upon Virgil, that from hence it was, that the poets never made a deity to appear but in a cloud with a brightness in it. "Ad hoc exemplum credo poetas sancivisse nullum numen mortalibus apparere sine nimbo. Est autem nimbus, nubes divina, seu fluidum lumen, quod Deorum capita tingit."

Ver. 22. *He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, from before the people.*] That is, it continued with them as long as Moses lived, till they came to pass over Jordan into Canaan; when not this cloud, but the ark was their guide. And it need not seem incredible, saith Clemens Alexandrinus, (lib. i. Stromat. p. 348.) that they were thus led by a pillar of fire, when the Greeks consider that Thrasybulus, they believe, was thus directed, Πῦρ ἑωρᾶτο προηγούμενον, &c. *by a fire which went before him,* and conducted him in a dark winter night through unknown ways, when he brought back the Athenian



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exiles to their country. The wonder was, that this fire continued to lead the Israelites forty years in the wilderness; whereas that of Thrasybulus (if it be true) was but a short appearance. As that light also was, which they say shone from heaven to bring Timoleon unto his port when he sailed to Italy.

This pillar, also, the same Clemens thinks (in the place now named) signified τὸ ἀνεικόνιστον τοῦ Θεοῦ, *that no image could be made of God.* From whence he thinks likewise it was, that the ancient heathen, before they learnt to make images, set up pillars and worshipped them, ὡς ἀφιδρύματα Θεοῦ, *as representatives of God.* Which Huetius hath lately made out in many examples, (in his Quæstiones Alnetanæ, p. 205, 206.) and thinks that from this pillar, which had two appearances, the two pillars were erected to Hercules in his temple at Tyre; and two likewise set up in the Temple of the Sun in Egypt.

## CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses.*] Out of the cloud (where the Schechinah was) from whence he afterwards gave all his laws.

Ver. 2. *Speak to the children of Israel, that they turn.*] They were going directly towards Horeb: unto which they asked leave to go, three days' journey. And might have reached it this night, if they had proceeded forward on the left hand into the wilderness. But by this order they turned to the right hand, into a road that led them towards the Red Sea; which made Pharaoh think they had lost their way.

*And encamp before Pihahiroth.*] Before the straits of two great mountains; full of dangerous *holes:* as many think the word *Hiroth* imports. And *pi*, in Hebrew, signifying a *mouth*, this word *Pihahiroth* may properly be translated in our language, *the chaps of Hiroth.* The former day they had marched about eight miles; but now they doubled their pace, and marched sixteen miles from Etham hither.

*Between Migdol and the sea.*] Some take *Migdol* to have been a *tower* or *fortress* (for the word carries that signification in it), upon the top of one of the mountains beforementioned. But there was a tower called Μάγδωλος, by Herodotus, and Hecatæus, and others; which Bochart probably conjectures was this place. Certain it is, there was a city in Egypt called Migdol, (Jerem. xliv. 1.) And Stephanus de Urb. expressly saith, that Μάγδωλος was πόλις Αἰγύπτου; but whether the same with this place, I cannot determine.

*Over against Baal-zephon.*] This, I doubt not, was the name of a town also, or city; as Ezekiel the tragedian expressly calls it. For *Baal* was the name of a city, (1 Chron. iv. 33.) and it is likely there being more of the same name, this was called *Zephon*, to distinguish it from some other *Baal* in those parts. Either because it lay north, or had an eminent watch-tower in it. There are those indeed, who, following the Jewish doctors, (see Selden de Diis Syr. Syntagm. i. cap. 3.) imagine there was an image of *Baal* set up by the magicians of Egypt, by Pharaoh's order, near this Arabian gulf, to hinder the Israelites in their passage. And Varenius doth not quite disallow this: for he takes *Baal-zephon* to have been a great plain, into which they were to enter, by the chaps of Pihahiroth: in which an idol was worshipped, which, looking from the Red Sea towards the north, was called *the lord of the north;* as *Baal-zephon* imports. And Kircher seriously maintains it had a power of fascination, to stop the Israelites in their journey; which there is no ground to believe. For such images, made under a certain constellation, to avert evil things, &c. were not now in use: being no older, there are good reasons to think, than the time of Apollonius Tyanæus, who was the first inventor of them.

Ver. 3. *For Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel.*] Here he gives the reason for this order; that Pharaoh might be enticed to pursue them, imagining they were in such difficulties that they could not avoid falling into his hands.

*They are entangled in the land.*] Perplexed, or dubious; not knowing which way to go.

*The wilderness hath shut them in.*] They were cooped up, he thought, by the sea, and by craggy mountains, which it was impossible for them to pass; especially being encumbered with a multitude of women, children, and cattle.

Ver. 4. *And I will harden Pharaoh's heart.*] He had hardened it before, (ix. 12. x. 1.) but now ordered things so, that he was more senseless than ever he had been. For having lately felt such a heavy stroke upon all the first-born, as mollified his heart for the present, and moved him to let Israel go; it was the highest degree of infatuation not to fear, (as formerly they had done, xii. 33.) that the next blow (if he pursued them) would be at himself and his followers.

*And I will be honoured upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host.*] Shew my power and justice in their destruction. Which would not have been so visible, had they died of the pestilence, when the cattle died of the murrain, and Pharaoh's heart was first hardened, as it was by hardening him so far as to follow the Israelites into the Red Sea, where he and his whole host were overthrown: which made the terror of the Lord's wrath manifest to all the world.

*That the Egyptians may know that I am the Lord.*] Have the greatest demonstration of my irresistible power, (vii. 5.) For the more strange the infatuation was, which led Pharaoh and his host to such an ignominious death, the more apt the hearts of the people that remained would be to acknowledge the hand of God therein.

*And they did so.*] They marched to this place on the seventeenth day of Nisan; which was their third day's journey. Jacobus Capellus thinks they rested this day, being the sabbath, and came not hither till the eighteenth.

Ver. 5. *And it was told the king of Egypt that the people fled.*] Some of the mixed multitude that went along with them, (xii. 38.) seeing this strange turn, it is likely, forsook the Israelites, and returned to Pharaoh, to inform him that they had lost their way; and were shifting for themselves by flight into dangerous places. Or, as it is commonly interpreted, some spies, which Pharaoh had upon them, seeing them leave the way to Horeb, whither they desired to go three days' journey to offer sacrifice; concluded they never intended to return to Egypt, but would run quite away from them. This news, we may suppose, was brought to Pharaoh on the eighteenth day.

*And the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the people.*] They had quite forgot their late fears, (xii. 33.) which made such a change in them, they would not suffer the Israelites to stay any longer in their

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country: but those fears being vanished, their minds altered again, and they repented they had dismissed them.

*And said, What have we done that we have let Israel go from serving us?*] What a gross error have we committed, in losing the labour of so many slaves? Covetousness, as I have observed, often had a principal hand in hardening Pharaoh's heart.

Ver. 6. *And he made ready his chariot.*] Caused it immediately to be made ready: which we may suppose was done on the nineteenth day, when he began to pursue them.

*And took his people with him.*] All that were wont to attend him on such occasions.

Ver. 7. *And he took six hundred chosen chariots.*] The best chariots in Egypt, which were always ready prepared for such expeditions.

*And all the chariots of Egypt.*] That could be got ready on a sudden: for he had not time to muster all his force; but made all the haste possible, lest the Israelites should get out of the straits wherein they were, and go so far away that he could not overtake them. For which reason he pursued them with chariots and horsemen, who could make larger marches than the Israelites on foot. The strength also of this kingdom consisted in chariots, which carried men in them, who fought out of them. And every one knows that Egypt abounded with horses, as well as chariots; and that they were accounted very strong in these; (Isa. xxxi. 1.) yet Bochartus thinks all besides the six hundred chariots royal were only carriages for their baggage. (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 9.)

*And captains over every one of them.*] This shews there were men in them, and that to every chariot there belonged a troop of horsemen (we know not of what number) who were commanded by a captain. The Hebrews say there were fifty thousand horsemen: the Arabians make them as many more.

Ver. 8. *And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt.*] As he said he would, (ver. 4.)

*And he pursued after the children of Israel.*] Of all the infatuated resolutions (to use the words of a famous divine of our own, Dr. Jackson, book x. chap. 11.) that either king or people adventured on, the pursuing of the Israelites with such a mighty army, after they had most earnestly entreated and urged them to leave their country, may well seem to every indifferent reader the most stupid. And so the author of the Book of Wisdom justly censures it: (xix. 3.) "For whilst they were yet mourning and making lamentations at the graves of the dead, they added another foolish device, and pursued them as fugitives whom they had entreated to be gone." Yet Josephus gives good hints, that even this effect of Divine infatuation, was but such as hath seized upon worldly-wise princes and statesmen in former ages, and may hereafter be inflicted upon more.

*And the children of Israel went out with a high hand.*] Boldly and with assured confidence; not sneakingly, like slaves or fugitives. So Onkelos understood it, when he translated it *bareheaded, i. e.* confidently, fearing nothing; having been delivered and conducted by the powerful hand of God; as it is often repeated, (xiii. 9. 14. 16.) unto which some refer this phrase, and not to the Israelites. (See Drusius, lib. xvi. Observat. cap. 2.)

Ver. 9. *But the Egyptians pursued after them.*] This did not discourage Pharaoh and his servants: who, perhaps, were of the same mind with the Syrians: who fancied the God of Israel might not be alike powerful in all places; but though he was stronger than their gods in the hills, yet they might be too hard for him in the plain, (1 Kings xx. 23.) So the Egyptians, who had seen how much superior Moses was to their magicians, might possibly thus reason with themselves (as the same learned doctor expresses it), "Who knows whether all this power was given unto Moses to be exercised only within the meridian or climes of Egypt; or whether his commission extend over Palestine and Midian?" They presumed, at least, that the Lord God of the Hebrews had not granted Moses such a command over the armies or host of men (though he had done wonders among reasonless creatures), as the king of Egypt had: because the Israelites, they knew, had no skill in feats of arms, no captains of infantry, and no cavalry at all, no weapons or engines of war; of all which the Egyptians had great abundance. Upon these, or some such-like presumptions, and vain collections, they became fool-hardy, and desperately resolute to be revenged upon the children of Israel, for all the losses they had sustained by their leaders, Moses and Aaron.

*All the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army.*] By this it appears that there were both horse and foot, who pursued them; though it is likely the foot were mounted, to make the greater speed.

*And overtook them encamping by the sea,* &c.] On the twentieth day of Nisan, towards evening, they had got within sight of the Israelites, who were just settling their camp where God directed them, (ver. 2.) having had no time to rest themselves after so long a march.

Ver. 10. *And when Pharaoh drew nigh,* &c.] So that the Israelites could discern with how great a force the Egyptians were about to attack them.

*They were sore afraid.*] They who had marched hither with *a high hand,* (ver. 8.) full of alacrity and courage, now on a sudden were so dismayed, that their spirits sunk within them. For they had not a settled confidence and resolution wrought in them, by all the wonders God had done for them: but, though whilst they thought Pharaoh disheartened to meddle any more with them, they went on boldly; now their hearts began to fail them, when they saw him at their backs. For they were unfit for war, weary also, and in a very bad place.

*And the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord.*] This had been the proper remedy against their fears, if, in a thankful remembrance of what God had often done for them, they had humbly beseeched him to deliver them in this great strait: which was as easy for him to do, as to work all the miracles they had seen in Egypt. But these cries seem, by what follows, to have been rather the effect of despair, than of hope in God: such shrieks as naturally proceed from men when they are ready to perish. Pellicanus, indeed, thinks, that by *the children of Israel* is meant such as were good among them, who fell to their prayers, when the rest fell to railing, as it follows in the next verse. But such words comprehend the generality of the people, and not only the better sort.

Ver. 11. *Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?*] This is very sarcastical and reproachful language; arguing the height of discontent, or rather of rage against their Deliverer. From



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whence we may learn the wicked temper of those who are ungrateful and unmindful of benefits.

*Wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to carry us out of Egypt?*] They seem to have been of the very same temper with the Egyptians, who had no remembrance what they had lately felt, nor made any reflections on what God had done in a wonderful manner among them. This neglect of God bred such a hardness of heart in them and their posterity, as was in Pharaoh and his people; which provoked God to harden them, in the same manner, to their utter destruction. For, as the apostle observes, "God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth," (Rom. ix. 18.) His mercy, that is, was not so tied to them, because they were Abraham's seed, but he could and would harden them, as he had done Pharaoh, if they proved as obstinate as he was.

Ver. 12. *Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone,* &c.] Do not increase our miseries, by attempting in vain to deliver us. This they seem to have said, after the first message Moses and Aaron delivered to Pharaoh: which only moved him to lay greater burdens on them, (v. 21. vi. 9.)

*For it had been better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness.*] This is the language of base and servile spirits; who chose rather to live miserably than die gloriously in pursuit of their liberty.

Ver. 13. *And Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not.*] These words argue a most admirable spirit that was in Moses: who was neither angry with them, nor dismayed at the approach of Pharaoh: but meekly and sedately exhorts them to be of good courage, and to trust in God; who, he assured them, would perfect what he had begun for them.

*Stand still,* &c.] I do not desire you should do any thing else, but only hope in God; and wait to see what he will do for you before this day be done.

*For the Egyptians whom you have seen to day, ye shall see them again no more for ever.*] Never see them more, as they saw them now, alive; though they saw them lie dead (ver. 30.) after their overthrow in the sea. For the power of Egypt was so shattered by that loss, and they were so confounded by it, that we never read of the least inclination in them to attempt any thing upon the Israelites, though they wandered forty years in the wilderness.

Ver. 14. *The Lord shall fight for you.*] He would not have them discouraged for want of arms, because they should have no need of them: God himself undertaking to defend them, and to discomfit their enemies.

*And ye shall hold your peace.*] Be still, and do nothing: not so much as strike one stroke. Or, as some understand it, do you forbear your cries. Or, he will silence all your murmurings.

Ver. 15. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] See ver. 1.

*Wherefore criest thou unto me?*] He doth not blame him for crying unto him for help; but bids him continue his prayer no longer, for he would do as he desired. Greg. Nyssen calls this ἀλάλητος κραυγὴ, *a cry without a voice;* a silent cry without speaking a word, (de Vita Mosis, p. 175.)

*Speak to the children of Israel, that they go forward.*] Towards the sea, before which they lay encamped, (ver. 2. 9.)

Ver. 16. *But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea.*] By that rod wherewith he had done such wonders in Egypt, he bids him believe he would work a passage for them, even through the sea.

*And divide it..*] Command that it be divided, and I will effect it. For so it is explained, ver. 21. nor could it be done by any power but God's.

*And the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea.*] See ver. 21, 22.

Ver. 17. *And I, behold I, will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall follow them.*] The Lord would have this noted, as a special judgment of his upon them. For of all the hardenings or infatuations which had possessed the hearts of the Egyptians, this was the greatest and strongest, that they should adventure to follow the Israelites, when they saw, or might have perceived, the Red Sea to open her bosom, to give the children of Israel a passage.

*And I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host,* &c.] By giving them such an overthrow, as shall magnify both my power and my justice in their destruction. All the former judgments upon their cattle, or corn, and the annoyances on their bodies by frogs, and lice, and blains, were the just awards (as the forenamed Dr. Jackson speaks) of God's punitive justice upon Pharaoh and his servants, for the wrongs that he had done to his people, by bringing them into undeserved bondage. But he had not yet called them to an exact account, for making away so many infant males of the Hebrews as they drowned in the river. For that innocent blood he reckons with them now, and made them the executioners of his vengeance on themselves, by giving them over to their own proud presumptions of good success, in pursuing those whom they had lately beseeched to depart out of their land.

Ver. 18. *And the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord.*] See ver. 4.

*When I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots,* &c.] By overthrowing them in the Red Sea; that the blood of the Hebrew infants might be required of them, according to the law of retaliation, or most exquisite rule (as the abovementioned author speaks) of punitive justice.

Ver. 19. *And the angel of the Lord which went before the camp, removed and went behind them.*] The Lord himself is said to go before them, xiii. 21. (See there.) But we must understand, that, where the Lord is, he is attended by his angels. Some of which were sent from the Schechinah, which was in the cloud, to conduct the Israelites, and take care of them. The Jews take this angel to have been Michael, as we read in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 42. "He sent Michael the great prince," &c. for so he is called, Dan. xii. 1. Others say it was Gabriel. But which soever of them it was, he was only the commander of that host, which by the Lord's commandment went before the Israelites to fight for them. The Jews call him by the proper name of Metraton; because he marked out their camp for them where they were to stay; and described their way in their journey to their several stations; especially here in the Red Sea. (Vid. Buxtorf. Histor. Arcæ, cap. 14. p. 131, &c.)

*And the pillar of the cloud went from before their face,* &c.] This, it is evident, was done in the day-time, before

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the night came: for the cloud appeared only in the day; in the night there was the appearance of fire.

*And stood behind them.*] To protect them from the Egyptians, who were at their backs, (ver. 9, 10.) but, by the intervention of this cloud, quite lost the sight of them; as it follows, ver. 20.

It may be noted here therefore once for all, that there were several uses of this cloud. First, to guide them in their journey. Secondly, to protect them from the heat of the sun in the wilderness; where there were few trees, and no houses to shelter them. Thirdly, to defend them from their enemies, that they might not assault them. And lastly, God from hence, when there was occasion, spake with Moses. For, it is plain, he appeared in this cloud, (Deut. xxxi. 15.) And from thence talked with Moses, (Exod. xxxiii. 9, 10.) And out of it called for Aaron and Miriam to come before him, (Numb. xii. 5.)

Ver. 20. *And it came to pass between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel.*] This was done, as I said, in the day-time: and in the next words Moses informs us how it appeared in the night.

*And it was a cloud and darkness to them.*] *i. e.* To the Egyptians.

*But it gave light by night to these.*] To the Israelites.

It was at the same time both a cloud and a fire: being dark on the one side, next to the Egyptians; but bright and shining on the other side, next the Israelites. So that they might see their way, and the Egyptians not see them, nor come near them (as it here follows) all the night.

Ver. 21. *And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea.*] Having his rod in his hand, (ver. 16.) This was done in the beginning of the night.

*And the Lord caused the sea to go back.*] By this it is evident that the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, was present, and employed his angel (ver. 19.) in this work. As it is well explained by Pirke Eliezer, cap. 42 "The holy blessed God appeared in his glory upon the sea, and it fled back," &c. So the Psalmist understood it, (lxxvii. 16.) "The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee: they were afraid," &c. And, (ver. 19.) "Thy way is in the sea, and thy paths in the great waters," &c.

*By a strong east wind.*] Or rather a *south wind*, as the LXX. translate the Hebrew word *kadim*. Which, though it properly signify the *east*, yet in many places it is used, as Bochart hath demonstrated, for the *south*, (par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. i. cap. 15.)

*All that night.*] All the forepart of the night.

*And made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided.*] Or rather, *after the waters were divided*, as Bochart shews it should be translated. Thus Isa. lxiv. 5. "Thou art wroth, and we have sinned;" the meaning is, "for we have sinned," as Kimchi, and we ourselves also there translate it. (Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iii. cap. 2. p. 409.)

*Dry land.*] The memory of this was preserved by the heathen, as we find in Diodorus Siculus, (lib. iii.) Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πλησίον κατοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοφάγοις παραδέδοται λόγος, &c. "There is a tradition among the Icthyophagi, who border upon the Red Sea, which they had received ἐκ προγόνων, *from their progenitors*, and was preserved unto that time; how that, upon a great recess of the sea, every place of that gulf (κόλπου) was quite dry; and the sea falling to the opposite part, the bottom of it appeared green (from the weeds, I suppose, that were in it), but returning back with a mighty force, possessed again its former place." No man is so blind as not to see, that this is a description of the miraculous work of God for the Israelites: the memory of which those barbarous people did not suffer to perish, but propagated it to their posterity; as Bochart well observes in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 29. The Egyptians indeed, we may well think, endeavoured to blot out the memory of this shameful overthrow, and kept no record of it; for Diodorus, it seems, could learn nothing of it among them (though he lived a considerable time there), but received this intelligence from the poor Icthyophagi, among whom this tradition was carefully preserved.

*The waters were divided.*] Into twelve parts (εἰς δώδεκα ὁδούς), according to the number of their tribes, as the tradition is in Epiphanius Hæres. lxiv. n. 6. 9. which he had from the Hebrews, who affirm the same in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 42. And Kimchi mentions it upon Psalm cxxxvi. 13. where, because God is said to have *divided the Red Sea into parts*, they fancy there were twelve divisions; every one defended with a wall of water. But there is no foundation for this in these words, nor in Psalm lxxvii. 19. where *paths* being in the plural number, they thence also deduce the same conceit, of a several path to every tribe. See Simeon de Muis on that place.

Ver. 22. *And the Israelites went into the midst of the sea.*] About the second watch of the night (which was at midnight), and about break of day they were got quite through.

*Upon the dry ground.*] This was not looked upon by the ancient heathen as incredible: for Homer makes Neptune driving his chariot upon the waves; and the sea with drawing its waters. And the waters of Scamander being swelled to destroy Achilles, he makes to be dried up by Vulcan. As Nonnus also makes Bacchus drying up Hydaspes; and smiting Orontes with his Thyrsus to have gone over it. (See the learned Huetius in his Quæstiones Alnetanæ, p. 206, &c.)

*And the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left.*] The strong east wind contributed, no doubt, to the cutting of the waters in two; though not without the help of angelical powers. But I do not see, how it could do any thing to the compacting of the waters to such a degree, that they were no longer fluid, but firm as a wall or bank on each side of them, (see xv. 8.) which was effected wholly by the angelical ministry; who upheld the waters in that solid posture, till the Israelites were got quite out of the sea.

It hath been an old question, whether they went quite cross the Red Sea, or only fetched a compass, and came out upon the same shore from which they went in. The Hebrew doctors are of opinion, that they did not go over to the opposite shore: but making a kind of semicircle, found themselves, when they came out, in the same country where they were before: their reasons are, because they could not in so small a time have marched so far; for in the narrowest place, that gulf is twelve or fifteen German miles over; so that they could not all have passed through in less than three or four days, as David Chytræus makes the computation. But especially, because Moses expressly makes their next station to be in the wilderness of Etham, (Numb. xxxiii. 8.) in which place they were the

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day before they came to the sea, (Exod. xiii. 20.) Therefore they were still in the same wilderness.

Ver. 23. *And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them into the midst of the sea,* &c.] Imagining, perhaps, they were still upon the land, or on the shore where the sea was retired; the darkness of the night not suffering them to see the mountains of water on each side: or rather their minds being so intent to overtake the Israelites, that they regarded nothing else: for when men are engaged in a fierce chase of any thing, with eager desires and confident hopes of it, it takes up all their thoughts, and makes them overlook what lies before their eyes. Thus by their own violent passions and proud imaginations, God blinded their minds, and hardened their hearts, (as he said he would, ver. 17.) to rush into their own destruction.

Ver. 24. *And it came to pass that in the morning watch.*] The Romans, and the Hebrews also, divided the night into four parts, containing three hours a-piece. At the beginning of which the guard of soldiers, who kept watch by night, was changed; and thence they were called *watches.* Two of them we find mentioned by St. Luke, xii. 38. and St. Mark mentions them all, (xiii. 35.) and particularly the fourth watch, (Mark vi. 48.) called here *the morning watch;* which was the last of them; between day-break and the morning.

*The Lord looked unto the host of the Egyptians.*] He frowned upon them; as we speak now in our language. For in Scripture, God is said sometimes *to look upon* those whom he is about to punish, (Psalm civ. 32. Amos ix. 4. Habakkuk iii. 6.)

*Through the pillar of fire and the cloud.*] By this it is manifest there was but one pillar, which had different appearances: and that the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, was in it. It seems to me also very probable, that whereas the cloudy part of the pillar had been towards the Egyptians hitherto, now it turned the other side towards them: and the fiery part appearing, let them see the danger wherein they were; and by its amazing brightness perfectly confounded them. So Philo seems to have understood it, when he saith (lib. iii. de Vita Mosis) that "from the cloud that was in the rear of the Israelites, there shone a fiery appearance of the Deity." Which may well be the meaning of the Lord's *looking through the pillar of fire.*

*And troubled the hosts of the Egyptians.*] This glorious light, I suppose, flashing in their faces, put them into a consternation. But Josephus adds, in the conclusion of his second book of Antiquities, that there was a dreadful storm or tempest, with thunder, lightning, and hailstones from the cloud, which put them into the greatest disorder; as it follows in the next verse. Hither Dr. Hammond refers those words of the Psalmist, (lxxvii. 17, 18.) "The clouds poured out water; the skies sent out a sound: thine arrows also went abroad. The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven: the lightnings lightened the world, the earth trembled and shook," &c.

Ver. 25. *And took off their chariot wheels.*] Some of their wheels were broken by the hailstones, or burnt with lightning: with which, it is likely, their horses were so affrighted, that they fell into disorder; and one chariot running against another, some of their wheels were taken off.

*That they drave heavily.*] They could scarce move, or but very slowly, when their wheels were broken, or taken off: and those wheels that remained sunk deep into the sand, when the waters returned upon it.

*So that the Egyptians said,* &c.] They cried one to another, Let us give over the pursuit.

*For the Lord fighteth for them,* &c.] Now Moses's words were made good, (ver. 14.) and the Egyptians themselves acknowledged it, (ver. 18.)

Ver. 26. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] He spake to him out of the cloud, where the Schechinah was; as I have often said.

*Stretch out thy hand over the sea, that the waters may return again upon the Egyptians,* &c.] God was pleased to use the ministry of Moses in the drowning of the Egyptians, as he had done in the preservation of the Israelites in the sea, (ver. 16. 21.) that all the people might honour and reverence him, and be obedient to his direction.

Ver. 27. *And the sea returned to its strength.*] The sense is truly expressed by the Vulgar, *the sea returned to its former place.* The great walls, or heaps of water, which were on each side of them, falling down, and rushing upon them with a mighty force, overwhelmed them, and filled the whole channel as before.

*When the morning appeared.*] When it was light.

*And the Egyptians fled against it.*] They were so frighted by the light which shone in their faces, and by the thunder and hail, &c. that they turned back; and, like men distracted, run and met the waters, which came tumbling down upon them.

*And the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.*] The Hebrew word imports throwing down with violence and precipitation: and may be translated, *threw them headlong.* Artapanus in Eusebius (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 27.) tells this story from the Heliopolitans, after the same manner that Moses doth: only he makes some of them to have been killed with lightning, and the rest drowned.

Ver. 28. *And the waters returned, and covered the chariots,* &c.] The sea returned to its former depth; so that they were swallowed up.

*And all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them.*] Some have fancied that all the host of Pharaoh did not perish; but only so many of them as pursued the Israelites into the sea; which they fancy this place intimates some did not. But the plain meaning is, that they all *came into the sea* after the Israelites, and were all drowned in it. It is a wilder fancy, that Pharaoh alone was saved by the angels Michael and Gabriel; because he cried out, as he had done heretofore, (ix. 27.) "The Lord is righteous, and I and my people are wicked." Thus the author of Dibre Hajamim (or, the Life and Death of Moses), who says they transported him to Nineveh, where he reigned as long as the Israelites wandered in the wilderness. The same is related by other such fabulous writers, who are soberly confuted by Aben Ezra from the following words, "There remained not so much as one of them:" and from xv. 4. 19. where Moses in his song plainly makes Pharaoh to have perished among the rest. And with them an old Midrash saith, that Jannes and Jambres were drowned, who had been the great instruments of hardening Pharaoh's heart. (See our learned J. Gregory's Observ. chap. 15.)

Ver. 29. *But the children of Israel walked on dry land,*

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&c.] Or, *had walked:* for it seems to be a mere fancy, that they were still in the sea, and had not passed quite through it, when Pharaoh and his host were drowned. For which there is no ground but this word *walked;* which may as well be translated in the time perfectly past, as in the present. And so, I doubt not, Moses meant, that the Israelites were safe on shore, when the sea returned upon the Egyptians.

*And the waters were a wall unto them,* &c.] See ver. 22.

Ver. 30. *Thus the Lord saved Israel.*] As he had promised, (ver. 13.)

*That day.*] Which was the twenty-first of Nisan; and the last day of the feast of unleavened bread; which, by God's command, was to be kept holy, (xii. 16.) And now there was a very great reason for it: and for that triumphant hymn which they sung upon this solemnity, (chap. xv.) Mr. Mede will have this day to have been that which they afterward kept for their sabbath, in memory of their redemption out of the land of Egypt and the house of bondage. This he gathers from the repetition of the Decalogue in the fifth of Deuteronomy; where, leaving out the reason for this commandment, from the creation of the world, Moses inserts this other of their redemption out of Egypt, as the ground of observing that seventh day rather than any other, (ver. 15.) "Therefore the Lord commanded thee to keep the sabbath;" namely, not for the *quotum* of one day in seven (of that there was another reason, from the example of God in the creation), but for the *designation* of that day, after the preceding six days, rather than any other, (Discourse xv. p. 74.)

*And Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore.*] It may be interpreted, that, as they stood upon the sea-shore, they saw their dead bodies floating upon the waters. But it is likely, also, that by the working of the sea, and by the Divine Providence, many of their bodies were cast on shore, that the Israelites might have the benefit of the spoil, and especially of their arms, which they wanted, and were now by this overthrow furnished withal.

This shore was inhabited by the Icthyophagi, among whom the memory of this recess and return of the sea was preserved, (as I observed upon ver. 21.) and unto whom the dead bodies were given for food, as the Psalmist saith; (lxxiv. 14.) that is, to the beasts and birds of prey which peopled the neighbouring wilderness. This was done by the righteous judgment of the Lord God of the Hebrews: who made this proud prince, his statesmen, and army, a prey, not only to the fishes and sea-monsters, but a *visible booty* (as Dr. Jackson speaks) to the promiscuous sorts of ravenous creatures which inhabit the deserts.

Ver. 31. *And Israel saw that great work,* &c.] Of making a path for them to walk on dry ground in the middle of the sea, and then drowning the Egyptians when they followed them in the same path.

*And the people feared the Lord.*] They beholding and considering the powerful hand of God, which appeared in this great work; it begat in them, for the present, high and awful thoughts of him, and devout affections to him. For *the fear of the Lord* includes all religion. Or, if we take the word *fear* in a restrained sense, for a dread of the Divine Majesty; the meaning is, they were sensible how dangerous as well as vain it is to oppose his authority, to set themselves against his will, or slight his warnings, as Pharaoh and the Egyptians did.

*And believed the Lord, and his servant Moses.*] Believed the promises which God had made them by Moses, of bringing them into the land of Canaan, (iii. 17.) looking upon Moses as a servant of his, who faithfully declared the mind and will of God unto them.

## CHAP. XV.

Ver. 1. *THEN sang Moses and the children of Israel,* &c.] Upon the twenty-first of Nisan, as I said before, which was the last day of unleavened bread, when they came safe through the sea, and saw the Egyptians drowned, they sang this song of praise to God, for their wonderful deliverance. So the constant tradition of the Hebrews is, and there is great ground for it.

*This song.*] Called *the song of Moses the servant of the Lord,* (Rev. xv. 3.) because he composed it by a Divine inspiration, to be sung by all the people. And it is the most ancient song of which there is any memory.

*Unto the Lord.*] In praise of the Divine power and goodness; which remarkably appeared in this deliverance.

Josephus (lib. ii. cap. ult. of his Antiquities) saith, this song is composed ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ, *of hexameter verse:* which Eusebius represents as the opinion of many others, (lib. xi. de Præpar. Evang. cap. 3.) But I do not see how this can be made out: nor what St. Jerome saith concerning such songs; in many places. And after all the pains that Franc. Gomarus hath taken in his Lyra Davidis, to find of what sort of numbers this and other songs in Scripture consist, he hath not given any satisfaction to learned men: who think (as Ludov. Capellus doth in his Animadversions on that book) that all the Bible may be made verse, according to his method: nay, by his way of resolving sentences, all the orations of Tully and Demosthenes may be turned into verse, of some sort or other. The author of Sepher Cosri seems to me to deal ingenuously, who, when the king of Cosar objects to them, that the songs in the Bible are not artificially composed, according to numbers and quantities of feet and syllables, makes the Jew answer, That the Scripture poetry was of a nobler sort, not formed to tickle the ear, but affect the heart, by great height and elevation of the sense, together with lofty expressions, whereby men were moved to attend to it, and to keep it in mind; (par. ii. sect. 69, &c.) And so much Abarbinel acknowledges upon this place, "that no such verses, consisting in the number and quantity of syllables, are to be found either in the Bible or in the Talmud (either in the Mischna or the Gemara), but are of later invention among the Jews, in imitation of the Arabians and other nations among whom they dwelt in this long captivity. Yet in the Scripture poetry, there is a certain disposition of words, which makes them melodious, and fit to be sung to musical instruments; and so sententious, that they might be more easily remembered than simple narrations: though now, after so many ages, they cannot reduce this poetry to rules." He tries indeed to bring this song under certain regulations; fancying that it consists of eight orders or ranks (as he calls them), two of which are very short, and

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two very long; and four of a middle size: which he prosecutes with much subtlety, but with little satisfaction.

*And spake, saying, I will sing unto the Lord,* &c.] Every one joined in this song of praise; which may be thus paraphrased:—

Ver. 1. "We will joyfully praise the Lord; for he hath in a most illustrious and magnificent manner shewn his power; by throwing horse and men, when they little thought of it, into the sea.

Ver. 2. "It is he who hath given us this victory, and therefore he is to be praised and acknowledged as our deliverer. He is our most gracious and mighty God; for whom we will prepare a tabernacle wherein to worship him. Our fathers had great experience of his goodness, and therefore we are the more bound to make him our most thankful acknowledgments, and give him the highest praises.

Ver. 3. "There is none can stand before the Lord, who hath perfectly subdued our enemies; and faithfully fulfilled his promises to his servants.

Ver. 4. "For he hath cast Pharaoh, and all his chariots, and great commanders, into the sea, as easily as one sends an arrow out of a bow.

Ver. 5. "They are buried, and shall rise up no more.

Ver. 6. "Thou hast manifested thy omnipotence, O Lord, most magnificently: it was thy irresistible power, O Lord, which dashed in pieces such mighty enemies.

Ver. 7. "It was a work of thy most excellent power; which will be ever magnified in the overthrow of such adversaries, with whom thou no sooner shewedst thyself displeased, but they vanished as stubble doth before the flame.

Ver. 8. "Thou didst but give the command, and by a vehement wind the waters of the sea were divided and heaped up, so that they swelled into little mountains; and were compact like a wall which was upheld from falling down, till the people passed through the midst of the sea.

Ver. 9. "Our enemies pursued us with a full confidence, that they should overtake and make a prey of us; and after they had satisfied their revenge upon us, as certainly reduce us under their yoke, as they drew their swords against us.

Ver. 10. "But with a turn of the wind all their vain hopes sunk on a sudden, together with themselves, to the bottom of the sea.

Ver. 11. "There are none among all that are called gods, in heaven or in earth, that are comparable to thee, O Lord, whose perfections infinitely transcend all other, and therefore art to be praised with the greatest fear and reverence; for thy very works are wonderful, and to be had in admiration.

Ver. 12. "By thy mighty power they were buried in the bottom of the sea, into which they sank.

Ver. 13. "And in great mercy thou hast preserved thy people, whom thou hast brought out of Egypt, and rescued from cruel servitude, and conducted, by a mighty providence, towards the holy land, which thou hast promised to them, there to dwell among them.

Ver. 14. "And why should we doubt of our coming thither? The fame of this wonder shall go before us, and strike a terror into the most valiant inhabitants of that country.

Ver. 15. "Nay, all their neighbours, as well as they, shall find their hearts fail them, and become as weak as water.

Ver. 16. "Such a terror shall fall upon them, that they shall be no more able to stir than a stone, when they hear of this dreadful execution: but suffer thy people, O Lord, to pass to their inheritance, which thou hast prepared for them.

Ver. 17. "Thither shalt thou bring them, and there make them to take root in the highest mountains of that country, where thou hast designed a place for thine own dwelling, of which thy power also will lay the foundation.

Ver. 18. "And thou shalt do more wonders; since thy dominion and power endures to all ages.

Ver. 19. "For who can dethrone thee? Who in the same sea hast made a grave to bury the Egyptians, and a path for thy people Israel to walk in, as if they had been on dry ground."

And now having given the sense of the song in this paraphrase, it may be proper to confirm it, by the explication of some phrases in it.

Ver. 1. *Hath he thrown into the sea.*] The Hebrew word *ramah* signifies a sudden precipitation; when they were in the height of their hopes to overtake and subdue the Israelites.

Ver. 2. *He is my God.*] Though some think the word *El* to be a contraction of Elohim, yet it seems to be derived from *ajal,* and is generally thought to import *might* and strength. But I have taken in the other notion of *goodness* also. (See ver. 11.)

*Prepare him a habitation.*] As if they thought a cloud too mean a habitation for the Divine Glory, they resolve to build him a tabernacle: just as David, ashamed he should dwell in a tabernacle, designed to build him a temple.

*My father's God.*] *i. e.* Jacob's; of whom God took a singular care, both before and after he came into Egypt.

Ver. 3. *The Lord is a man of war.*] *i. e.* Gets great victories, as the Targum expresses it. For when the Hebrews would express any eminent quality, they put the word *isch* before it. As in 1 Sam. xvii. 33. we meet with this very expression concerning Goliath, "a man of war from his youth;" *i. e.* a great warrior. And in the foregoing chapter, David is called both *isch milchamah,* a man of war, and *isch toar,* a man of form or beauty; *i. e.* a beautiful or *comely person,* as we translate it, 1 Sam. xvi. 18. And in this very book, *isch de varim,* a *man of words,* is an eloquent man.

*The Lord is his name.*] He seems to allude unto that which God said to Moses, when he first appeared to him, (iii. 14—16. vi. 3, 4. 6.)

Ver. 4. *Pharaoh's chariots.*] The Hebrew word *mercavah,* comprehends the horses by which they were drawn; which were commonly four to each chariot, as Maimonides probably gathers from 1 Kings x. 29. Where a horse is said to come out of Egypt at a hundred and fifty shekels, and a chariot at six hundred; because it comprehended four horses. (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 70.)

*Chosen captains.*] The Hebrew word *schalish* imports something extraordinary; either in their stature, or in their command; which they had, perhaps, over three squadrons, as we now speak. But Hen. Valesius, a very learned

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man, thinks the LXX. rightly translated the word by τριστάτας; which he translates *three fighting out of a chariot.* For πρωτοστάτης and παραστάτης, are both words belonging to military discipline (which they call tactics), and τριστάτης he takes to be of the same kind, and rightly rendered by Rufinus, *ternos statores,* in Euseb. Histor. Eccles. lib. ix. c. 9. p. 358.

Ver. 5. *Sank to the bottom as a stone.*] The waters which stood up like a wall, falling down with great violence upon them, they sank under their weight to the bottom of the sea; from whence, after some time, they rose up again, and were thrown upon the shore, (xiv. 30.) though not all of them; but some seem to have been buried in the bottom of the sea. (See ver. 12.)

Ver. 6. *Right hand*] Is frequently used for the height of power exerted in the preservation of good men, or the destruction of the bad, (Psalm xx. 6. xxi. 8.)

Ver. 7. *In the greatness of thy excellency,* &c.] All words being too low to declare the greatness of God's power, which appeared in the overthrow of the Egyptians; he endeavours to rise higher and higher in his expressions, to shew how much he admired it.

*Thou sentest forth thy wrath.*] He seems to allude unto God's looking upon them through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, (xiv. 24.) and to the thunder and lightning, which are supposed to have come from thence.

Ver. 8. *And with the blast of thy nostrils.*] This may relate to the strong wind which drove the sea back, (xiv. 21.)

*The waters were gathered together.*] This word *Aram,* or *Haram,* signifies *to heap up together:* from whence the Arabians call those great banks, which are raised to keep in waters from overflowing a country, by the name of *Arem,* or *Harem,* as Bochartus hath observed in his Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 26. And so the word may be here translated, *the waters were heaped up as banks,* on each side of the Israelites.

Ver. 9. *I will divide the spoil.*] It belonged to kings, and chief commanders, to divide the spoil; as Moses, David, and Joshua did among the soldiers.

*My hand shall destroy them.*] Or, *repossess them* (as it is in the margin), bring them back to their slavery in Egypt.

Ver. 10. *They sank like lead.*] It signifies the suddenness of their destruction: for a talent of lead sinks in a moment.

Ver. 11. *Who is like unto thee among the gods?*] Or, *the mighty ones,* as it is in the margin. For *Elim* is the plural of *El,* which comes from *Ejalah* (saith the author of Sepher Cosri), which denotes *fortitude* or *strength.* For from him proceeds all power and might: but is himself more sublime and eminent, than to be likened to any other power, according to these words, which he quotes for the proof of it, (par. iv. sect. 3.)

*Fearful in praises.*] I see no solidity in the gloss of R. Eliezer, that Moses speaks in the plural number, because the angels praised God above when the Israelites praised him below, (Pirke Eliez. cap. 42.) The plain meaning is, that he ought to be praised with the greatest reverence; for to him alone (as Conradus Pellicanus glosses) belongs all honour and glory, who can never enough be praised.

Ver. 12. *The earth swallowed them.*] They who were drowned in the sea are here said to be swallowed up in the earth; just as Jonah saith, when he was in the sea, that "he went down to the bottom of the mountains; and the earth with her bars was about him for ever," (ii. 6.) because the sea, which swallowed both him and the Egyptians, is in the depths of the earth. R. Eliezer thinks that they being thrown upon the sea-shore, (xiv. 30.) the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up. Which is possible; but there is no necessity of so understanding it. Rather after the Israelites had spoiled them, the sea which had cast them on shore, afterwards, as is usual, carried them off again, and buried them in the sand or mud.

Ver. 13. *Thy holy habitation.*] The country where God himself intended to have a dwelling-place, (ver. 17.)

Ver. 14. *The inhabitants of Palestina.*] The Philistines seem to have been the most valiant people in that country to which the Israelites were to go, and therefore here mentioned.

Ver. 15. *The dukes of Edom.*] Concerning the word *alluphe,* see Gen. xxxvi. 18. By this it appears, that Idumæa was at this time under the government of dukes; though before Moses's death they had kings, (Numb. xx. 14.) For they often changed their government, as I observed upon Gen. xxxvi. where Moses gives an account both of their *dukes* and of their *kings.*

Ver. 16. *Shall be as still as a stone.*] The LXX. translate it ἀπολιθωθήτωσαν, *turned into stones; i. e.* so struck with the terror of the Lord, that they remained unmoveable as stones; having no heart to oppose the passage of the Israelites into Canaan.

Ver. 17. *The mountain of thine inheritance.*] Moses seems to have foreseen, by the spirit of prophecy, that God would place his habitation upon Mount Sion. Which he understood, perhaps, from the sacrifice of Isaac upon Mount Moriah, (Gen. xxii.)

Ver. 18. *The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.*] It may signify, that when they came thither, they would always acknowledge him for their Sovereign, who had done such mighty things for them.

Ver. 19. *The horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots,* &c.] In this, which the Greeks call the *epiphonema* of the song, Moses briefly comprehends the whole matter of it, and makes it end as it began.

Ver. 20. *And Miriam.*] Or, as the LXX., the Syriac, and others read it, *Mariam;* which some think comes from *marah,* which signifies *bitterness* (as the Arabic word *marara* doth), and that their cruel usage by Pharaoh, especially his decree that all the male children should be slain, was the occasion of this name; for it *made their life bitter* to them, as the text saith, (i. 14.) Thus the author of Dibre Hajamim (or, of the Life of Moses) and our Dr. Lightfoot, and others. But Le Moine guesses, not unhappily, that it signifies as much as *marjam,* which is, in English, *a drop of the sea;* from which the story of Venus was framed, among the Greeks, who feigned her to have been born of the *froth of the sea,* which gave her the name of Aphrodite. The fable of Diana also, as well as Venus, had no other original, but from that which is here said of Miriam; as Huetius hath probably conjectured, in his Demonstratio Evang. propos. iv. cap. 12. sect. 4.

*The prophetess.*] She was called by this name, I suppose, because she had a gift of composing hymns in praise



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of the Divine Majesty, which, it is certain, is meant sometimes by *prophesying* in Scripture. (See 1 Sam. x. 5, 6.) And thus among the Greeks, a *prophet* and a *poet* were the same thing; and the Latin word *vates* signifies both. For, as Quinctilian saith, (lib. i. cap. 10.) music was had in such veneration in ancient times, that "iidem musici, et vates et sapientes judicarentur." But there are other places of Holy Scripture, which would incline one to think that she also received revelations from God, for the direction of the people. Particularly Mich. vi. 4. where she is mentioned as one that conducted Israel out of Egypt; and her own words, with Aaron's, (Numb. xii. 2.) "hath not the Lord spoken by us also?" Which the Lord *heard*, and doth not contradict, but rather allow to be true; though they had not such near communication with him as Moses had, (ver. 6.) Perhaps she instructed the women, as Moses and Aaron did the men.

*The sister of Aaron.*] And why not of Moses? The common answer is, that Aaron and she lived longest together; Moses having been absent from them forty years. Or, perhaps, Moses was not by the same mother which Aaron and Miriam had. She was married to Hur, if we may believe Josephus.

*Took a timbrel in her hand.*] So the manner was in aftertimes when they prophesied, (1 Sam. x. 5, 6. 2. Kings iii. 15.) and when they sang hymns, (Psalm xxxiii. 2. lvii. 7, 8.) and upon any occasion of great rejoicing, (Judg. xi. 34. 1 Sam. xviii. 6.) From which we may learn, how ancient music was in the service of God: there being nothing in which it can be better employed than in his praises. Therefore it was no part of the gentile idolatry, that they used such instruments as these in their Divine worship; but they honoured false gods in that manner, that Moses and the Israelites had done the true. And it ought to have a remark set upon it, that this way of praising God was no part of the Mosaical institution; but derived from more ancient times before the law was given.

*And all the women went out after her.*] To join with her in the praises of God, as the men did with Moses and Aaron, *with timbrels and dances.* As they played with these instruments in their hands, so their whole bodies made a decent motion with their feet. Which afterwards tended to lasciviousness, but anciently was very grave, and so becoming, that such dances were as devout expressions of joy, as their solemn music. This appears by the example of David, dancing before the ark, when it was brought up from the house of Obed-Edom, in a joyful procession both of men and women, with vocal and instrumental music, (1. Chron. xv. 27—29. Psalm lxviii. 26.) From which patterns all nations, from the most ancient times, made dancing a part of the worship of their gods; as Huetius observes, in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 6. n. 2. who ingeniously conjectures, in another place of that work, (cap. 12. n. 4.) that from this dancing of Miriam, and her companions, on the sea-shore, Callimachus, in his Hymn to Diana, ascribes to her ἑξήκοντα χορήτιδας ὠκεανίνας, *threescore dancers, the daughters of the ocean.*

Ver. 21. *And Miriam answered them,* &c.] *i. e.* She and the women answered Moses and the people, verse by verse: or after every verse sung by Moses and the men, Miriam and the women interposed and repeated this verse (which is the first of the song), saying, "Sing to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously," &c. And this was a way of singing in aftertimes, as appears from Psalm cxxxv. and Ezra iii. 11. of which I have given some account in my preface to the Paraphrase of the Book of Psalms. Which justifies, or rather commends, our way of reading or chanting the Psalms interchangeably by responses, as we call them, or answering one to another: which certainly, it appears by this place, is the most ancient way of all other. And is represented in Isa. vi. 3. as practised by the angels themselves, in their worship of the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 22. *So Moses brought Israel from the Red Sea.*] Not without some importunity; they being eagerly bent upon gathering the spoil of the Egyptians. Some such thing the Hebrew word seems to import, which is *jassa, he made them to go up.* Which signifies some unwillingness, or backwardness; arising either from that cause, or from a desire to return to Egypt (as some fancy), which now perhaps they thought to be so empty, that they might get it for themselves.

*And they went out.*] From the station where they were at the Red Sea.

*Into the wilderness of Shur.*] Mentioned Gen. xvi. 7. and was a part of the wilderness of Etham; which was the general name for this desert, (Numb. xxxiii. 8.)

*And they went three days in the wilderness.*] *viz.* The twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth of Nisan.

*And found no water.*] Which was a very great trial of them. For their cattle, as well as they, suffered much by it; and could not afford them milk sufficient to quench their thirst.

Ver. 23. *And when they came to Marah.*] This was the fourth station of the Israelites after they came out of Egypt; and in the same wilderness; which had this name given it after they came there, from the bitterness or brackishness of the water.

*They could not drink of the water,* &c.] This was the more grievous, because they had wanted this refreshment three days.

Ver. 24. *And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink?*] It is the conceit of Abarbinel, that Moses brought them from the Red Sea without the direction of the cloud which conducted them thither: but then left them to his guidance. Which made the people think it was Moses's fault that they were in distress; who did not know how to lead them to the most commodious and likely places for the finding good water. And therefore from Marah they stirred not, till the cloud again led them; because it is said (xvii. 1.) they journeyed from Sin, *by the commandment of the Lord.* But all this is a mere fancy, to excuse his forefathers; who should rather have prayed to God than murmured against Moses. For we read expressly, God "did not take away the pillar of the cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, from before the people," (xiii. 22.) that is, it constantly guided them in the way wherein they should go, whether they travelled by day or by night. And in that very place, which he builds his opinion upon, where it is said, they "journeyed according to the commandment of the Lord;" it is also expressly recorded, that "there was no water for the people to drink," (xvii. 1.)

Ver. 25. *And he cried unto the Lord.*] He did what they should have done; made his earnest prayer to God to re-

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lieve them in this distress; which he instantly vouchsafed to do.

*And the Lord shewed him a tree.*] We are not told what tree this was; whose wood being thrown into the waters took off their bitterness; but, to increase the miracle, the Jews will have this to have been a tree of bitter taste (which Jonathan calls Ardophne), which naturally would have made the waters bitter, if they had been sweet. Demetrius mentions this wonderful cure of the waters, in Eusebius's Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 29.

*Which when he had cast into the water.*] By the order of the Lord, who shewed him the tree. For the wonder did not consist (as Huetius thinks, in his Quæstiones Alnetanæ) in curing the water by throwing the wood into it (for that may be done naturally, as Pliny shews), but that he found this wood in the wilderness, by the direction of God: as Elisha found, by the same Divine direction, that the throwing in of meal would make water sweet; which the same Pliny saith is a natural remedy.

*There he made for them.*] Propounded to them, or appointed them.

*A statute and an ordinance.*] This seems to signify, that for their better government, God now gave them a few rules to be observed for the present, till he should more fully declare his will to them from Mount Sinai. And it is a most ancient constant tradition of the Jews, that now he commanded them to observe the *sabbath* (which they understand by *statute)* and to do justice; particularly *honour their parents;* which they understand by *ordinance* or *judgment*, as the Hebrew word imports. And they instance especially in keeping the sabbath, and honouring of parents; because those two commandments are pressed upon them in Deuteronomy, with this particular enforcement, "As the Lord commanded thee," (Deut. v. 12. 16.) which they will have to relate unto this command at Marah. (See Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 9. p. 314. 333. &c.) And perhaps these two might be in the number; but it is probable there were more commands besides these, which were now given them; as the following verse seems to intimate.

*And there he proved them.*] He began there to make a trial of their obedience, whether they would observe these laws or no.

Ver. 26. *And said, If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God,* &c.] This was the main thing he required of them, as Jeremiah observes, vii. 22, 23. Where, he saith, God spake nothing to them, "in the day when he brought them out of Egypt *(i. e.* at this time), concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices," but only commanded them, saying, "Obey my voice." And this Maimonides confesses in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 32. "It appears from the Scripture, and the Cabala also, that the first precept which God gave us after we came out of Egypt, was not concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices; but it was that given us at Marah. 'If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God:' where he gave us a statute and a judgment. And it is a certain tradition, that the statute was the sabbath; and the judgment was the taking away all iniquity;" *i. e.* doing justly.

*I will put none of those diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians.*] He encourages their obedience by a gracious promise, to preserve them from those terrible plagues which he inflicted upon the Egyptians for their disobedience. Which is an indication withal, that if the Israelites proved like them, they should be punished in the same manner, as he threatens afterwards, (Deut. xxviii. 59, &c.)

*I am the Lord that healeth thee.*] There are two parts of a physician's office; to cure men when they are sick; and to preserve them in health when they are well. The latter is here chiefly intended: which the Psalmist takes notice of, when he saith, (cv. 37.) "There was not one feeble person among their tribes."

Ver. 27. *And they came to Elim.*] They seem to have stayed but a day at Marah, and on the twenty-fifth of Nisan to have come to this place called *Elim* (which signifies *rams*), from the good pasture which was here for the feeding sheep; as Jacobus Capellus will have it. But Bochartus thinks that *El* signifies in general a field; as *El-paran,* (Gen. xiv. 6.) he interprets the *field* or *plain* of *Paran:* and consequently *Elim* signifies a part of the wilderness, where there were large and spacious plains. Thus I find Ezekiel the tragedian (mentioned by Eusebius) understood it, in his Exagoge: where he brings in one talking with Moses, and pointing him to this place: where a great light shone, on a sudden, as a pillar of fire, to shew it to them. Which he calls λειμῶνα κατάσκιον, *a shady meadow,* and saith it was δαψιλὴς χῶρος βαθὺς, *an exceeding fertile ground,* (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 29.)

*Where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees.*] Twelve wells of water, according to the number of the twelve tribes; and seventy palm-trees, according to the number of the elders of Israel, says the Jerusalem Targum and Jonathan's Paraphrase. Which Nachmanides so much believed, that he saith each tribe pitched their tents about one of these fountains: and the seventy elders sat down under the shadow of the palm-trees; giving thanks to God for the benefits they now received upon dry land, as lately they had done in the sea. But there is no reason to think that the high court, consisting of so many elders, was now constituted; as I have observed before: of which see Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 15. p. 626, &c. There is nothing in the story neither to warrant what Ezekiel says in the place beforenamed, that these twelve springs all gushed ἐκ μιᾶς πέτρας, *out of one rock,* which was in this beautiful plain. No more than there is for what follows in him, concerning a marvellous strange bird, such as no man ever saw before, as big again as an eagle, of various colours and a most sweet voice, which appeared to them upon this occasion. Which he seems to have had out of some Talmudical fable.

*Palm-trees.*] This tree delights in watery places; and therefore no wonder so many were planted here by these fountains. For it is noted by Pliny, that "gaudet irriguis, et toto anno bibere amat," *the palm-tree delights in places well-watered, and loves to drink all the year.* There were two sorts of these trees: the common, and that which was called καρυωτὸν, because it bare dates; as Salmasius hath observed in his Plinianæ Exercit. p. 472. 1326. If these were of the latter sort, they gave them the better entertainment.

*And they encamped there by the water.*] To refresh themselves and their flocks in this delightful place.



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## CHAP. XVI.

Ver. 1. *AND they took their journey from Elim.*] After they had rested a good while there; as appears by the end of the verse.

*And all the congregation came unto the wilderness of Sin.*] Not directly; but first they went back towards the Red Sea; which was their next station after they left Elim: as Moses tells us, Numb. xxxiii. 10. where he gives an exact account of all their stations; one of which is here omitted, because nothing remarkable, I suppose, fell out there: and they did not stay long in it. This *Sin* is different from that where Miriam died, (Numb. xx. 1.) and written with different letters.

*Which is between Elim and Sinai.*] So the direct way to *Sinai* had been into this wilderness of *Sin*: but, for some reason which we know not, they first returned to some part of that sea where they had been before.

*On the fifteenth day of the second month,* &c.] Just a month after they came out of Egypt. And therefore, it seems, they stayed a good while at Elim, where there was plenty of water and some shade; which was now very comfortable: this second month (which they called Ijar) answering to part of our April and May. Or otherwise, we must suppose they spent some time at the Red Sea: whither God conducted them, perhaps, to put them in mind of his late great mercy to them there; which might incline them to be more obedient to his commands, mentioned xv. 25, 26.

Ver. 2. *And the whole congregation of the children of Israel.*] Their elders and all are included in these words, they being the same with those ver. 1. which certainly comprehend all that came out of Egypt. Though, it is likely, there were some more pious among them, who were not guilty of what follows; when the generality were so mutinous, that they who were better disposed could scarcely be discerned.

*Murmured against Moses and Aaron.*] This seems to be a higher discontent than the former, (xv. 24.) because *the whole congregation* were engaged in it: whereas there it is only said, *the people* were concerned in it. And there they quarrelled only with Moses: but here with both their leaders. And as that was for want of water, so this for want of bread: all their dough, which they brought out of Egypt, being now spent. So Josephus and R. Bechai, which latter saith, the dough they brought out of Egypt sufficed for a whole month, from the fifteenth of Nisan to the fifteenth of Ijar, and the night of the sixteenth they still ate of it. And then on the sixteenth, he thinks, the manna descended: which fell on the first day of the week, as he argues from those words, ver. 5. when on the sixth day they are commanded to gather twice as much as on other days. Which was (says he) both the sixth day of the week and of the descent of the manna.

Ver. 3. *Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord,* &c.] As some of the Egyptians did. A strange wish! proceeding from great ingratitude to God, and forgetfulness of his benefits.

*When we sat.*] That was the ancient posture of eating before this time, (xxxvii. 25. xliii. 33.) and afterward, (Exod. xxxii. 6. Judg. xix. 6.)

*By the flesh-pots, and did eat bread to the full.*] This is not likely; when they were not only mere slaves, but under cruel hardships. But they untruly magnify their former condition, that they may represent their present to be more miserable than really it was.

*For ye have brought us forth into this wilderness.*] They were glad to be brought out of Egypt; but their discontent arose from their being brought into a wilderness; where they wanted all provisions, but what they brought along with them.

*To kill this whole congregation with hunger.*] There was no danger of their perishing presently; they having so many flocks to feed them. But without bread this would not satisfy them; and they were loath, it is likely, to lose any of their stock, which they hoped rather to increase than to diminish. Or else they longed for dainties, as they did afterwards: which moved God to send them great store of fowl; as we understand ver. 12.

Ver. 4. *Then said the Lord unto Moses.*] He spake to him out of the cloud of glory, where the Schechinah was; as I observed above.

*I will rain bread.*] Send you down that which shall supply the place of bread, in a very plentiful manner; like drops of rain *from heaven* from above out of the clouds. Which was, as Greg. Nyssen speaks, τὸ πάντων ἀπιστότατον θαῦμα, οὐκ ἐκ γῆς κατὰ τὸ νενομισμένον, *the most incredible of all wonders,* that bread should be given them, not as usually out of the earth, but out of the air, where no seed is ever sown, (L. de Vita Mosis, p. 177.)

*Every day.*] It came down in daily showers; as much only as would suffice for one day; that they might be kept in a perpetual thankful dependance upon God's providence; and that this might more evidently appear to be a miraculous work of his, who made it fall at all times of the year alike. The heathen themselves preserved some memory of this, in that fable of Pan (whom Huetius shews to be Moses) finding out Ceres, when she had been long wanting, to give men bread when they were ready to starve with hunger.

*That I may prove them.*] Some think this relates to what goes before, concerning his sending them bread every day: which was so ordered, that he might prove whether they would murmur, because they had not enough at once for a whole year; or humbly hope in his mercy for a constant supply. But the following words (*whether they will walk in my law or no*) direct us to a larger sense; which is, that he tried whether they would be obedient to all his commands, when he let them want nothing to support and encourage them in his service.

*Prove them.*] Not as if he was ignorant; but that it might plainly appear to others, and to themselves, what they were. Or, as Maimonides interprets it, that it might openly appear to the world that God sustains him, who follows his worship and service, by means that he did not think of. So he expounds this very place, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 24.) "That every one may see and know, whether it be beneficial to give one's self to the service of God or not."

Ver. 5. *On the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in.*] When they had gathered it, and brought it into their tents, they were to grind and bake it, &c. (ver. 23.) and make ready all things that were necessary against the next day; which was to be a festival (*viz.* the sabbath),

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on which they were to do nothing. For the sabbath was not to be disturbed with such kind of work: but though on other festivals they might prepare their meat and only abstain from labour, yet on this they might not so much as dress their meat; but it was to be done the evening before: on which they were to prepare every thing for the next day. From which preparation this day was called the *parascue*, (Luke xxiii. 54.) *the preparation for the sabbath.*

*And it shall be twice as much as they gather daily.*] Enough, that is, for two days, *viz.* that *sixth* day, and the next, which was to be the sabbath, ver. 23. where what is here briefly said in general, is more particularly and largely explained.

The Talmudists are generally of an opinion, that the fifteenth day of the second month, when they came hither, (ver. 1.) was the seventh day of the week: (see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 11.) Which, if it be true, they knew nothing of the rest of the sabbath; for they travelled upon this day. But Mr. Mede hath observed, that it is altogether uncertain, whether or no it was the seventh day from the creation. It might possibly fall out so, by the providence of God, that the seventh day, designed by him for their sabbath, might be both the seventh in order from the creation, and also from the day of their deliverance out of Egypt. But that which now determined this seventh day, after six days' labour, to be their rest, was their redemption out of Egypt; and the overwhelming of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea: which was upon this very day. The example of the creation was a reason for sanctifying one day in seven: but the designation of this seventh day, was, as I said, from their wonderful deliverance. (See Discourse xv. book 1.)

Ver. 6. *And Moses and Aaron said unto all the children of Israel.*] What God spake to Moses alone, (ver. 4.) is delivered to the people by Aaron also, who was assistant to his brother in the government of them.

*At even.*] On the evening of this fifteenth day God sent them *quails*, as we translate ver. 13.

*Then ye shall know that the Lord hath brought you out from the land of Egypt.*] Be convinced, that it was by the Lord's direction and command that you were brought out of Egypt into this place. And therefore you have no reason to quarrel with us, who did nothing of ourselves without his order: but rather to trust in him; who can make as good provision for you here in the wilderness, as ever you saw in Egypt.

Ver. 7. *And in the morning.*] When the manna fell down, (ver. 13.)

*Then ye shall see the glory of the Lord.*] His great power (some interpret it) in sending them bread from heaven, and flesh also with it. But I take it rather to refer unto the visible appearance of the Divine Majesty, which they saw presently after this, (ver. 10.) and were convinced of his real presence in that cloud, by the descent of the manna from thence next morning; which no power but the Divine could produce. And so I find Abarbinel himself interprets it; "Their seeing the glory of the Lord, is not to be understood of the bread or the flesh he sent them, but of the fire which appeared to all the people, to reprove them for their murmurings."

*For that he heareth your murmurings against the Lord.*] He is present among you; and takes notice of your ungrateful behaviour towards him.

*For what are we, that ye murmur against us?*] Alas! we are but poor instruments of his; who hath done all the wonders you have seen, and by that means brought you hither: and therefore why do you complain of us, as if we acted any thing by our own authority?

Ver. 8. *And Moses said, This shall be, when the Lord shall give you,* &c.] I say again (therefore mark it), *when the Lord shall give you flesh to eat in the evening, and in the morning bread to the full;* then you shall be convinced that he hath taken notice of your murmurings: which are really against him, who employs us only as his ministers; and will be so gracious as not to punish your discontents, but provide for your necessities.

Ver. 9. *And Moses spake unto Aaron.*] Who was his minister, as Moses was more immediately God's.

*Speak unto the whole congregation of the children of Israel.*] Who were all engaged in this undutiful murmuring, (ver. 2.)

*Come near before the Lord.*] Before the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, which was in the cloud, (as I observed, xiii. 21.) and now was about to break forth upon them in a glorious manner. But, because of their murmurings, the cloud was removed, it is probable, to a greater distance from them than it used to be. Bonfrerius will have it, that they were to come near to the tabernacle of Moses, where the glory of the Lord appeared, (xxxiii. 7. 9.) But there is no proof that it was wont to be there till that occasion. See upon that place.

*For he hath heard your murmurings.*] He will shew that he is among you, and observes how ungratefully you requite him. It is not unlikely that Moses bade Aaron go and speak to the people, because he himself retired to speak to God. That is, to pray for them, and to acknowledge his great goodness in passing by their murmurings.

Ver. 10. *And it came to pass, as Aaron spake unto the whole congregation of the children of Israel.*] According to the command of Moses, (ver. 9.)

*That they looked.*] They were suddenly surprised, I conceive, with an unwonted brightness; which made them look about to see whence it came. Or Aaron, perhaps, bade them look that way.

*Towards the wilderness.*] Whither the cloud had conducted them; and stood at some distance from them.

*And behold, the glory of the Lord appeared in the cloud.*] The Divine Majesty appeared in flaming light; such as they had never seen before, (see xiii. 21.) Thus N. Lyra truly expounds, "Fulgor quidam insolitus," &c. an unusual splendour, representing the Divine power, to reprove the murmurings of the people.

Ver. 11. *And the Lord spake unto Moses.*] Who was gone, as I said, to pray unto God; whilst Aaron was speaking unto the people.

Ver. 12. *I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel,* &c.] He repeats to Moses what he had bidden him tell them, (ver. 4—6.) and perhaps spake it from the cloud of glory, in the audience of all the people.

*In the evening ye shall eat flesh.*] Ver. 8.

*And in the morning ye shall be filled with bread.*] Ver. 4.

*And ye shall know that I am the Lord your God.*] Who

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brought you out of Egypt; and will provide for you here in the wilderness.

Ver. 13. *And it came to pass that at even.*] According to God's promise, ver. 6. 8.

*The quails came up.*] The only person among the Jews, that adventures thus to translate the Hebrew word *selau* (which is used here, and Numb. xi. 31. and Psalm cv. 40.) is Josephus. All others either keep the Hebrew name, or make it another thing than *quails*. For Jonathan translates it *pheasants;* and Abarbinel makes them a kind of *sea-fowl:* and the Talmudists comprehend four sorts of birds under this name; *viz.* that which feeds upon figs (which the Greeks call συκαλὶς), and *thrushes*, and *pheasants*, and *quails*. (See Bochartus, par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. i. cap. 14.) But all this is without good ground; for the account which Moses gives of *selau* in the book of Numbers agrees to none of these, nor any thing we have knowledge of, but a kind of *locusts:* which Job Ludolphus therefore pitches upon, and gives very solid reasons for it; as I shall shew when I come to that place, Numb. xi. 31.

*Came up.*] From the country over against the desert: from the sea, saith Aben Ezra; and Josephus, from the Arabian Gulf. Not that they were a sea-fowl; but were in great quantity upon that coast.

*And covered the camp.*] It seems they fell in the very streets, as we speak: so that they needed not do more than step out of doors, and take up as many as they pleased. This lasted no longer than that evening: for the manna which fell next morning was to be their constant food.

*And in the morning the dew.*] Besides the *morning* dew, there was an *evening*, (Hos. vi. 4. Cant. v. 2.) and Moses in Numb. xi. 9. mentions the dew that fell in the night. From whence, I suppose, came the opinion among some of the Jews, that there was a double dew in which the manna was enclosed: a dew below it, which fell in the night; and a dew above it, which after the manna was fallen came upon it, and covered it in the morning: by which means, being thus enclosed, it was kept very clean.

*Lay round about the host.*] Not in the camp; but round about it on the *face of the wilderness*, (ver. 14.) For the camp was not so clean a place, nor so apt to congeal the manna, that fell with the dew.

Ver. 14. *And when the dew that lay was gone up.*] This shews the dew fell first, and then the manna fell upon it, (as we read expressly, Numb. xi. 9.) whereby it was kept pure, and free from the dust that was upon the ground.

*Behold, upon the face of the wilderness.*] When the dew was exhaled by the sun, the manna appeared; which covered the wilderness round about them.

*There lay a small round thing.*] This word is no where else to be found in the Holy Scripture; which hath made it differently rendered. But our translation is authorized by what is said, ver. 31. that it was like *coriander seed:* which hath respect not to its colour or taste, but to its form and figure. And so the LXX. here understood it, when they translated it ὡσεὶ κόριον λευκόν.

*As small as the hoar-frost on the ground.*] This seems to relate to the colour, which was white: but expresses also that it was very small, like a drop of dew frozen to the ground.

Ver. 15. *And when the children of Israel saw it.*] Which was as soon as they rose in the morning, and went out of the doors of their tents.

*They said one to another, It is manna.*] The Hebrew words *man hu*, are thought by some to signify as much as *mah-hu*, i. e. *What is it?* So Philo, Josephus, and a great number of the ancient and modern expositors, who take *man* to be an Egyptian word, signifying as much as the Hebrew word *mah*. But it doth not seem likely, that they joined an Egyptian word to a Hebrew; as *hu* is acknowledged to be. Therefore it may be better expounded, *it is a gift*, or *a portion*. For *manah* signifies to appoint or order one's diet, (Dan. i. 10.) and as *kav* comes from *kavah*, by casting away the last letter; so may *man*, in like manner, from *manah*. And the meaning is, *This is the gift of God;* or, *This is it which God hath appointed us:* not knowing (as it here follows) determinately what to call it. Suidas seems to have thought of this, when he defines it to be ἡ ἄνωθεν χορηγουμένη τροφὴ, &c. (See Drusius, in his Quæst. Hebraicæ, lib. i. cap. 62.)

*For they wist not what it was.*] Had not a distinct conception what kind of food it was, not having yet tasted it; nor knowing certainly (as Abarbinel fancies) whether this was the bread that Moses bade them expect: who therefore tells them, in the next words, that it was that bread.

*This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat.*] You rightly called it, *a Divine gift* (as Abarbinel goes on), for this indeed is the bread which the Lord bestows upon you for your sustenance, according to his promise which he made you by me, (ver. 4.)

Ver. 16. *This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded.*] Here now Moses shews how the use of this food was to be regulated.

*Gather of it every man according to his eating.*] As much as will suffice for his and his family's sustenance for one day.

*An omer for every man.*] That they might be sure to have enough, he allows every person among them to have an *omer:* which was something less than half a peck of our measure. Here Abarbinel hath a pertinent observation; that is, being a Divine food, was not to be used as common things are, which men gather into heaps, lay up in barns, traffic withal, or lay up for their children: but it was to be spent as a gift of God both to poor and rich. Some can get more of worldly goods, and some less; by which means some give, and others receive: but here all received from the bounty of heaven; and God ordered it so, that they who were poor should not want, and they who were rich should have nothing beyond their wants, to lay up, or to sell, as they did other things. For every one was to have only as much as he could eat: and no man could eat above an *omer*. Which doth not signify that they gathered it by measure; but as much as they thought would amount to that quantity: with an intention, that if they had more than they needed others should have it, who had gathered less than they needed.

*Take ye every man for them which are in his tents.*] For the old and the young, who could not go out to gather for themselves.

Ver. 17. *And the children of Israel did so*, &c.] Gathered what they thought would be sufficient for themselves and their families: according as they were larger, or less in

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number. And when they came home, they dealt to every one the proportion which God ordered.

*And gathered some more, some less.*] They were not all alike able (it is like) to gather, nor alike diligent; and so did not gather an equal quantity. But the true reason I have given already, *viz.* that some families did not require so much as others.

Ver. 18. *And when they did mete it with an omer.*] When it was brought unto their tents, (ver. 16.) then the father of the family, or some of the rulers of the congregation, (ver. 22.) measured what they had gathered with an *omer;* and gave to every one according as God directed.

*He that gathered much had nothing over.*] Had no more than his omer.

*And he that gathered little had no lack.*] He that had not gathered enough to make an omer for every man, had it made up to him out of other men's gatherings, who had more than enough. Abarbinel will have it, that they were so directed by a miraculous providence, as to gather just so much for their several families, that every person's share would come to an omer, and neither more nor less. And so Greg. Nyssen calls this the second miracle which was in the manna, having observed one before, ver. 14. But others think, that if any part of it remained after every one in the family had an omer, it was food for their cattle; which in the wilderness wanted grass sufficient for them. And this seems the more probable, because otherwise we must make a new miracle, that every man, woman, and child, should be able to eat an omer: which all grant was sufficient for the sustenance of any man whatsoever; but was too much sure for a child.

*They gathered every man according to his eating.*] As they were directed, ver. 16.

Ver. 19. *And Moses said, Let no man leave of it till the morning.*] It was therefore to be all spent, one way or other, the same day it fell. Which was the law of all the holy feasts, particularly of the Passover, (xii. 10.) and of the sacrifices of peace-offerings, (Lev. xxi. 30.) Besides, God would have them depend upon his providence, and trust him for fresh supplies every day; as Aben Ezra well notes. And R. Levi ben Gersom; "He that kept it till the morning betrayed his want of faith, and feared God would send no more:" for if he believed, to what purpose should he be at the pains to keep it?

Here was a new wonder, that, as it fell every day for forty years together, both in winter and in summer; and likewise fell in such quantity, that every one had an omer, and none wanted this measure; so it would not keep till the next morning; which it might have done in its own nature, and did once in a week; and in the ark was preserved to many generations.

Ver. 20. *Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto Moses, but some of them left of it till the morning.*] Either through unbelief, or mere negligence, or a wanton inclination to make an experiment, some among them disobeyed his command.

*And it bred worms and stank.*] This was a wonder also, that such a heavenly food, so pure and simple, should not only breed worms, but also stink. Which was a punishment for their disobedience, though a merciful one, in that God did not inflict it upon themselves, but upon their food.

The Jews commonly take these words to be transposed; things being wont first to putrefy, and then to breed worms; and in that order Moses relates this matter, when it was laid up for the sabbath, (ver. 22.) "That it neither stank, neither was any worm therein." But Abarbinel thinks that Moses here speaks of it according to the order wherein they found it: which was, that first worms appeared in it to their eyes, and then they smelt the stink. But in speaking of what fell out on the seventh day, he follows the natural order, and saith it did not stink, neither was any worm in it.

*And Moses was wroth with them.*] Chid them severely for their disobedience to him, who had bestowed such a singular benefit upon them.

Ver. 21. *And they gathered it every morning, every man according to his eating.*] This is not needlessly repeated; but a further explication of their care and diligence, to furnish themselves early in the morning with as much as was necessary, before the sun grew hot and melted it; or (as some of the Jews add) raised the wind, which blew dust upon it.

*When the sun waxed hot, it melted.*] That it might not be trod upon, nor putrefied. Which seems to be spoken of that which remained in the open field ungathered: though Abarbinel will have it, that what they had brought into their tents melted also when the sun grew hot; which obliged them not only to gather it early, but to bake and prepare it presently, while it was yet hard, and not dissolved. But I see no ground for this; nor is it likely that they were constrained to prepare it all together; but might any time that day, at supper as well as dinner, order it according to their liking. Others of the Jews fancy, that, being melted, it made little brooks and rivulets in the fields, &c.; but the plain sense is, that the sun which melted it, exhaled it also into the air, from whence it came, and returned again the next morning.

Ver. 22. *On the sixth day they gathered twice as much bread,* &c.] According to the command of God, ver. 5. It appears by this place, where it is called *bread,* (as it is ver. 4. 12.) that it was of a hard substance when it fell, though it dissolved by the heat of the sun; being like the corn of which bread is made.

*And the rulers of the congregation came and told Moses.*] He had bidden them gather a double quantity on the sixth day; but had not told them the reason of it, (ver. 5.) and therefore they come to inquire what they should do with it. By this one would think they were the rulers, who saw a distribution made to every one, in a just proportion: or, that they appointed overseers to take care of it.

Ver. 23. *And he said unto them, This is that which the Lord hath said.*] This is the commandment which I have received from God about this matter.

*To-morrow is the rest.*] Or shall be the rest.

*Of the holy sabbath unto the Lord.*] To be kept holy, so as to do no work therein. And therefore you must not so much as go into the field to gather your food; which is the reason why you are ordered to make two days' provision in one. The words in the Hebrew (which we translate *the rest of the holy sabbath unto the Lord)* may be rendered, as they lie in order, *the sabbath, the holy sabbath unto the Lord.* Which Abarbinel explains, as if the word *sabbath,* being repeated, signified, that it was to be a ces-

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sation from all manner of work, because it was the *sabbath* of the Lord himself, wherein he ceased from his works.

At this time, and not before, the rest of the seventh day seems to have been appointed. They performed religious offices upon one day in seven; but did not cease from all labour until now. These very words seem to shew, there had been some observation of a sabbath heretofore, and was not wholly a new thing: for if it had, they could not have understood Moses, nor known what he meant. See what I have noted upon the second of Genesis: where I thought it reasonable to assert, that God intended to preserve a memory of the creation in six days, by appointing the seventh day to be kept holy. And therefore the more pious any people were, the greater respect they had to this day. But when the world grew very wicked before the flood, as they little thought of God, so it is likely they neglected all distinction between this day and others. And the dispersion of people after the flood very much blotted it out of their minds, as it did many other good things. But in the family of Abraham we may well suppose it was continued; though not with such strict abstinence from all labour, as, for special reasons, was afterward enjoined. Which is the cause why we read nothing of their resting in their travels upon that day, before their coming out of Egypt: where they were under such cruel servitude, that all observation of the seventh day, it is likely, was laid aside: they being pressed, day and night, by their taskmasters, to hard labour without intermission. And therefore, when God brought them out of that slavery, he renewed his command for the observation of the sabbath, with this addition (in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage), that they should rest from all manner of labour upon that day. Both these reasons are given by Moses, why God commanded it to be observed, in memory of the creation in six days, (Exod. xx. 11.) and in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, (Deut. v. 15.)

*Bake that which you will bake to-day*, &c.] The words *to-day* are not in the Hebrew; but are necessary to make the sense plain, because they were enjoined on this day to prepare or make ready all things against the next, (ver. 5.)

*And that which remaineth over, lay up for you, to be kept till the morning.*] From which words some have inferred, that there was no prohibition of baking and seething on the sabbath, but the contrary rather is here supposed; (see Dr. Heylin in his History of the Sabbath, par. i. p. 100.) But I do not see how this consists with the further explication of this matter in Exod. xxxv. 3. where they are forbidden to kindle a fire upon this day. Unless any one will say, that for the present they might do it, but shortly after were prohibited: which is not at all likely. For the plain meaning is, that if they would make any baked meats, or boiled with the manna, they must do it upon the sixth day: though what they did not then bake, nor boil, they might safely keep till the next day, and it should not breed worms nor stink. But what they so kept, was to be eaten without baking or boiling, as it well might; being a food prepared in heaven for their eating; without any need of further art. And therefore called *bread*, even when they gathered it, (ver. 22.)

Ver. 24. *And they laid it up until the morning*, &c.] Without any preparation of it by baking or boiling; and it kept the whole seventh day without any putrefaction.

Ver. 25. *And Moses said, Eat that to-day.*] Simple as it is, without baking or boiling.

*For to-day is a sabbath unto the Lord.*] The frequent repetition of this in this chapter, (ver. 23. and again, ver. 29, 30.) hath led the Jews into this mistake, that the sabbath was not ordained by God till they came out of Egypt: directly contrary to what we read in the second of Genesis, that it was instituted from the beginning. And therefore Moses here only gives an account why this precept was renewed at their coming out of Egypt: when there was a new religious observation added to it, which was not necessary before, *viz.* resting wholly from all manner of work. There is an excellent discourse on this subject in a late learned author, J. Wagensiel, (in his Confutation of R. Lipman's Carmen Memoriale, p. 559, &c.) who well observes, that this precept having a peculiar respect to the Jews, we are not bound to observe the rest of the sabbath with such strictness as they did; but only as the patriarchs did before the giving of the law, (p. 564.) As for the translation of the day from the seventh to the first day of the week, it is impossible for the Jews to prove, that the day they observe is the seventh from the creation. And besides that, the whole world cannot be tied to the circumstance of time precisely: for in some parts of it, the sabbath will fall eighteen hours later than in Palestine; as he evidently shews, p. 572, &c.

*To-day you shall not find it in the field.*] This Moses said to them, as Abarbinel thinks, in the evening of the sabbath; which was, in effect, a prohibition to them, not to go out to gather it on that day.

Ver. 26. *Six days shall ye gather it*, &c.] The same author thinks this is repeated to signify, that as long as they continued in the wilderness, they should gather it six days in a week, as they did now: but never find any on the seventh.

*There shall be none.*] As you rest, saith he, from doing any thing about the manna, so God will cease from sending it unto you. Upon which he makes this pious reflection: That in this world we must work for our souls, if we would be happy in the next world, which is an entire sabbath, or rest. "For he that labours in the evening of the sabbath, shall eat on the sabbath." To the same purpose Origen, long before him, (Hom. vii. in Exod.)

Ver. 27. *There went out some of the people on the seventh day to gather*, &c.] The same wicked disposition remained in them, which made them on other days keep it till next morning, (ver. 19, 20.)

Ver. 28. *And the Lord said unto Moses, How long refuse ye to keep my commandments*, &c.] These chiding words are full of indignation: and yet signify the long-suffering patience of God, with an untoward generation. Abarbinel expounds this passage, as if, upon this occasion, he upbraided them with all their other transgressions; saying, "You kicked against me at the Red Sea, and believed not my words: at Marah also you murmured; and uttered very discontented words at Elim. Nay, after I had given you manna, you violated my precept, in reserving it till the next morning. And now you break my sabbath; what hope is there that you will observe any of my laws?"

*Refuse to keep my commandments and my laws.*] He

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speaks thus, say some of the Jews, because that in which they now offended is a thing upon which the whole law, all his commandments depend. So the same Abarbinel. Because the sabbath instructed them in the creation of the world, upon which all the law depends, therefore he saith, *My commandments and my laws.*

Ver. 29. *See.*] Consider.

*For that the Lord hath given you the sabbath, therefore he giveth you, on the sixth day, the bread of two days.*] You have no reason to seek it on the *sabbath,* being provided beforehand with as much as is sufficient for that day.

*Let no man go out of his place.*] The Jews say that a man went *out of his place,* if he went above two thousand paces from his dwelling. That is, if he went beyond the suburbs of his city, (Numb. xxxv. 5.)

Ver. 30. *So the people rested on the seventh day.*] The reprehension which God gave them by Moses, (ver. 28.) and the solemn renewal of the precept, (ver. 29.) wrought so much upon them, that for the present they rested upon this day. And they not having been used to this rest, God did not immediately punish their disobedience in going abroad to gather manna: though afterward he ordered a man to be stoned for gathering sticks on this day; for he had often repeated this law to them before that time.

Ver. 31. *And the house of Israel called the name thereof Manna.*] This is repeated again, to shew that the name which they gave it at first, (ver. 15.) continued to it afterward: being so apt and proper to signify God's providence over them, that they could find no better.

*And it was like coriander-seed.*] Of a round figure, like that seed, (ver. 14.)

*White.*] Being like *bedolach,* as Moses saith, Numb. xi. 7. which signifies *pearl,* as Bochartus shews in his Hierozoic. (par. ii. p. 678.) where he observes the Talmudic doctors (in the title Joma) expressly say it was like *margalith,* (or *margarith*), i. e. *pearl.*

*The taste of it was like wafers made with honey.*] All things of a pleasant relish are compared in Scripture to honey. Whence those words of David, Psalm xix. 11. cxix. 130. Onkelos saith, manna tasted like escaritæ: which was a delicious food at Rhodes (as Bochart observes out of Julius Pollux), between bread and cake (like our biscuit, I suppose), which was so grateful, that they who did eat it were never satiated, but still desired more.

In Numb. xi. 7, 8. manna is said to taste like *fresh oil.* Which doth not contradict this: for, as Abarbinel and others observe, the meaning is, that when it first fell, before it was prepared, it tasted like *honey-wafers;* but when it was baked, then it tasted like *fresh oil.* And so the words, Numb. xi. 8. plainly import; "They took it, and beat it in a mortar, and baked it, &c. and the taste of it (*i. e.* thus prepared) was like the taste of fresh oil." Nay, the Jewish doctors commonly say it had all manner of pleasant savours, according to men's different palates; and thence they fancy it is called, (ver. 29.) the bread *mischne* (which we translate of *two days*), because it was changed according to the diversity of those that did eat it; children, young men, and old. Which conceit the author of the Book of Wisdom follows, (xvi. 20, 21.)

Ver. 32. *And Moses said, This is the thing which the Lord commandeth.*] I have this further command to deliver from God concerning the manna.

*Take an omer of it.*] Just so much as was assigned to every one for his daily bread, (ver. 16.)

*To be kept for your generations.*] For your posterity in future ages.

*That they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you,* &c.] For seeing with one's eyes (saith Isaac Aramah) mightly confirms a thing, and leaves one in no doubt of it. And he took care they should *see* both the manna itself, and the *measure* which he bountifully allowed to every one of them.

Ver. 33. *And Moses said unto Aaron.*] What God commanded Moses, he now commands Aaron to do.

*Take a pot.*] He saith nothing of the matter of this pot, or urn; which some say was an earthen pot, others say of lead, brass, or iron: and Abarbinel thinks it was of glass, that one might see what was within. But the apostle hath settled this controversy, by calling it a *golden pot,* (Heb. ix. 4.) and so do the LXX. in this place. And indeed all the vessels of the sanctuary being of gold, it was but reason that this, which contained such a precious monument of God's mercy, should be of the same metal.

*Lay it up before the Lord.*] *i. e.* Before the ark of the testimony, as it is explained in the next verse: which shews that this command was given after the building of the tabernacle; and is here mentioned, because it belongs to the same matter which Moses relates in this chapter. Others suppose it was spoken by way of prolepsis; which seems not to me so probable.

Ver. 34. *So Aaron laid it up.*] When the tabernacle was built.

*Before the testimony.*] This is the same with *before the Lord,* in the foregoing verse. For the Divine glory dwelt between the cherubims, which were over the ark; which is commonly called *the ark of the testimony,* (xxx. 6. xl. 3. 5.) But here, and xxv. 36, is simply called *the testimony:* by an ellipsis, or leaving out the first word, which is very usual in other instances: for thus it is called the *ark of God's strength,* (2 Chron. vi. 41.) but elsewhere the first word being omitted, it is called only *his strength,* (Psal. lxxviii. 61. cv. 4.) And therefore the ark is called *the testimony;* partly because there God gave them a special token of his dwelling among them; and partly because the two tables of stone were in the ark, which are called *the testimony:* (xl. 20.) where it is said, Moses put *the testimony into the ark:* and then immediately (ver. 21.) he calls it *the ark of the testimony.*

Ver. 35. *And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years.*] Within a month; which wanted to make complete *forty years.* For it begun to fall just thirty days after they came out of Egypt (on the 15th of April), and ceased to fall on the 15th or 16th of March, the day after the Passover, which they kept in the fortieth year, (Josh. v. 11, 12.) Now in all writers, some days under or over are not wont to be considered, when there is a round number.

But there are those who fancy these words were put into this book after Moses's death: for which I can see no ground. For it is certain he lived the greatest part of the fortieth year after they came out of Egypt, and brought them to the borders of Canaan, within sight of it, (Deut. i. 3.



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xxxiv. 1, 2, &c.) And therefore may well be supposed to have added these words himself to this history, as he did the foregoing, (ver. 32.) that all belonging to this matter might be put together in one place.

*Until they came to a land inhabited.*] *i. e.* To Canaan, or the borders of it, as it here follows. For these words, saith Aben Ezra, have respect to the wilderness in which they now were, which was not inhabited.

*Until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan.*] That is, saith he, to Gilgal, which was the borders, when they had passed over Jordan; when they did eat of the corn of the land, and had no further need of manna.

Ver. 36. *An omer is the tenth part of an ephah.*] From hence also some would fain conclude that Moses did not write this: because, say they, it is not usual, when measures are in common use, to tell in other words how much they contained; which then only is proper when they are grown out of use. But such observations seem to proceed from a humour of cavilling. For why may not an author set down distinctly things very well known in his time, that posterity also may have as distinct a knowledge of them? Besides, the very same men complain, on other occasions, that the writers of history have omitted to give us an account of several things, which in their time were most notorious; whereby posterity suffers much for want of such information. Nor do I see any proof that these measures were not as common in aftertimes as they were when Moses lived.

Several learned men have taken a great deal of pains to reduce these measures to those of the Greeks and Romans, particularly Salmasius in his epistles (n. lxvii.) and Herman. Conringius, in a treatise on this subject, de Mensuris Hebraicis. But none have done it so clearly and exactly as a very learned person of our own country, (Bishop Cumberland, in his Scripture Weights and Measures, chap. 3.) who computes an ephah to have contained seven white-gallons, a bottle, and half a pint: so that an omer was near three quarts: which, if any one imagine too great a proportion to be allowed to one person every day, he propounds these things to be considered: that manna, being of a globular figure (like coriander-seed), must needs have many empty spaces between every three or four grains; and those vacuities may reasonably be estimated a third part of the vessel's capacity: and it being a light aerial food, must needs be inwardly porous, and of a spongy contexture of parts. So that it wasted something in dressing by fire, as it melted by the sun when it grew hot: and consequently three quarts might, it is probable, be reduced to three pints of an oily liquid substance. Which was not too much in a hungry desert, where they might well be thought to have refreshed themselves thrice a day. See also what I have noted before, ver. 18.

## CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1. *AND all the congregations of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin.*] Where they had been for some time, (xvi. 1.) and now pitched in Rephidim. That is, they rested here, after some other stations, in their passage hither: for Moses mentions two between the wilderness of Sin and Rephidim, Numb. xxxiii. 12—14. And that is the reason of the words here following.

*After their journeys.*] They proceeded in their journey to Dophekah, and then to Alush; and so to Rephidim: where they stayed some time.

*According to the commandment of the Lord.*] By the direction of the glorious cloud which went before them, and fixed their station for them where it rested.

*And pitched in Rephidim.*] This place was in the wilderness of Sin also: but called by a particular name; as the place from whence they came was called by the name of the whole. So St. Jerome. All the wilderness, as far as to Mount Sinai, was called Sin, which was the name also of one of their stations (as Moab was both the name of a province and of a city), and there were four others in this wilderness; those by the Red Sea, Dophekah, Alush, and Rephidim.

*And there was no water for the people to drink.*] This gave occasion to another remarkable mercy of God to them; whereas nothing considerable fell out at the two former stations: which is the reason they are here omitted. So Abarbinel judiciously observes. Moses would not set down in this history any of their stations but those in which some new and notable thing happened: the rest, in which no such thing was done, he describes in the book of Numbers, xxxiii.

Ver. 2. *Wherefore the people did chide with Moses.*] Expostulate with him in such an undutiful manner, that it may be translated *scolded* with him.

*Saying, Give us water.*] The word for *give* is in the plural number: and therefore this was spoken both to Moses and to Aaron; though Moses be only mentioned as the person they contended with. For there was no need (as Aben Ezra and others observe) to mention Aaron, because Moses was not wont to speak to the people but by him. Abarbinel carries it further, and will have this speech directed to Moses and to God, because they came hither by God's commandment: which made them insolently say, if by God's providence we were brought to this place, let him take care we be not killed with thirst.

*And Moses said, Why chide you with me?*] Who brought you hither by God's order?

*Wherefore do you tempt the Lord?*] And why do you distrust his power, and goodness, and faithfulness to his promise?

Ver. 3. *And the people thirsted there for water.*] This looks like a needless repetition; it being said before, there was no water in this place, (ver. 1.) which made the people chide with Moses, for bringing them into such an inconvenient station. But if we consider it well, we shall find it a necessary explication of the growth and progress of their discontent. For, as Abarbinel hath well observed, as soon as they came to Rephidim, they saw it was no commodious place, because it would not supply them with water: which made them begin to quarrel with Moses before they needed; merely out of fear, that when the water they had brought from Elim was spent, there would be none for them. And now, when after a day or two it was all gone, they were really very thirsty, and so fell into the murmuring here spoken of, from a sense of their misery, as before only out of a fear of it.

*And the people murmured against Moses.*] They pro-

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ceeded from a lower to a higher degree of discontent; which made them at first only expostulate and argue with him; but now they *murmur* against him; and at length fell into such a rage, that they seemed to be ready to stone him, (ver. 4.) It is necessary to stop such motions in their beginning.

*Wherefore is this, that thou hast brought us out of Egypt?*] This shews the necessity of preserving the remembrance of God, and of his benefits, in our minds. Which if this people had done, they could not have fallen a third time into such a discontented fit, as made them speak reproachfully of their deliverer, and slight the wonderful deliverance itself, which God had lately given them out of cruel servitude. The character which Plato (in his Axiochus) gives of the vulgar sort of people, belongs to the Israelites above all other; *viz.* that this sort is ἀχάριστον, ἀψίκορον, ὠμὸν, βάσκανον, ἀπαίδευτον, (tom. iii. p. 369.)

*To kill us, and our children, and our cattle, with thirst.*] Children, as Abarbinel observes, can less endure thirst than grown men; and cattle need abundance of water, which is the reason they mention them.

Ver. 4. *And Moses cried unto the Lord.*] Which he did not upon their first complaint, (ver. 2.) because their necessity was not so urgent: but now, seeing their distress, and the height of their discontent, he prays God to take care of them: hoping he would supply them with drink, as lately he had done with bread.

*What shall I do unto this people?*] He said enough, no doubt, to quiet them; by remembering them what God had already done for them, and what reason they had still to trust in his good providence: but this would not satisfy them, unless their thirst was presently quenched; which he could not do for them, and therefore knew not how to appease them.

*They be almost ready to stone me.*] He represents to God not only their importunity, but his own great danger. For having promised to bring them to Canaan, he was afraid (as Abarbinel fancies) that if they continued to think they should die with thirst, they would take him for a false prophet, who had deceived them with lies; and consequently inflict the punishment upon him, which the law enacts against a false prophet, which was *stoning*. But, the law being not yet given, this could not be in their thoughts.

Ver. 5. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Go on before the people.*] Be not afraid of their stoning (saith the same Abarbinel), but though they murmur, and are in a great passion, and impatient, go on before them confidently through the midst of their camps; and thou shalt see they shall not touch the hem of thy garment.

*And take with thee of the elders of Israel.*] Not valiant young men to thy life-guard; but grave persons, to be witnesses, that thou dost really bring water out of a rock; and the people may not say there was a spring there before. Concerning the elders of Israel, see iii. 16.

*And thy rod wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thy hand.*] Not a sword, or a lance (saith the same writer), but that wand wherewith thou smotest the river of Egypt, and turnedst it into blood; or didst divide the Red Sea, as some understand it: an arm of the sea being by good authors called a *river*.

*And go.*] As I bid thee.

When he is commanded to march before the people, it is supposed they were to follow: but they could not all move so soon as he and the elders, who went before to the very place. Which the whole body of the people could not do; the passage to the rock, it is likely, being narrow; so that they could not all see him smite the rock, and behold the water gush out; but expected till it flowed from thence unto their camp.

Ver. 6. *Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock.*] That is, *the glory of the Lord*, which in the cloud appeared in this place (as Abarbinel truly expounds it) to strengthen his faith: and to persuade the elders that this water was divinely given them, even as the manna was. For before that fell from above, the glory of the Lord appeared, (xvi. 10.) as it did now, before this water flowed to them from the rock. So that they were fed continually by the Divine Providence; from whence they received both their meat and their drink.

There is an emphatical *he* (as they call it) before the word for *rock;* and therefore it should be translated, *upon that rock*. Where Abarbinel fancies the Lord was wont to appear to Moses: but this being a rocky place, it may only denote that particular part of the rock to which God directed him to go; and was the same (that author probably thinks) with that mentioned xxxiii. 22.

*In Horeb.*] This was not a distinct mountain from Sinai, but only a different part of the same mountain, which was long, and had many risings, of which this was one.

*And thou shalt smite the rock.*] With the rod wherewith he smote the river, (vii. 17. 20.)

*And there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink.*] According to their petition, ver. 2.

*And Moses did so.*] *i. e.* Smote the rock, and brought water out of it, in such plenty, that the Psalmist saith *it ran down like rivers*, (lxxviii. 15, 16.) to supply the want of the whole camp, unto which it flowed as far as Rephidim; so that they needed not to go to Horeb for it. Which is the difference (as Abarbinel thinks) between this miracle and that mentioned Numb. xx. where the waters were but like a well, to which they must go; and did not come to them, much less follow them in their journeys, as this did. For this was a continued fountain of water, which flowed out of the rock, (Psal. cxiv. 8.) and made this part of Arabia habitable in future ages, which no man dwelt in before. Moses doth not add, "and the people drank, and their cattle," because (as Aben Ezra observes) he studied brevity; and this was easily understood.

*In the sight of the elders of Israel.*] That they might be able to testify to the people the truth of this miracle, whereby they were relieved in their distress, and preserved in their travels through the wilderness: the fame of which, no doubt, reached other nations; the memory of it being remaining in several of their fables. For there is a manifest allusion to it in Euripides' Bacchæ, ver. 703. where he makes one of them smiting the rock at Clithæron, and waters gushing out of it.

Θύρσον δέ τις λαβοῦσ', ἔπαισεν εἰς πέτραν,
Ὅθεν δρυσώδης ὕδατος ἐκπηδᾷ νοτίς.

This I find observed by Bochartus, in his Canaan, lib. i. cap. 16.; and Huetius hath observed many more such instances out of Nonnus, Pausanias, and divers other au-



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thors, in his Alnetanæ Quæstiones, lib. ii. cap. 12. n. 18. And he thinks it very probable, that the fable of Janus was forged from hence; for which he alleges many arguments, (in his Demonstratio Evang.) and this among the rest: that Albricus describes his image holding a rod in his left hand, with which he smites a stone, and out of it water flows.

Ver. 7. *And he called the name of the place, Massah and Meribah,* &c.] That place which before was called Rephidim, was after this called Massah and Meribah: with respect to their chiding there with Moses, which is the import of Meribah; and their tempting God, which is the signification of Massah. Some think this one place was not called by two names; but that, upon the second striking of the rock, almost *forty* years after this, it was called Meribah, and till then only Massah. But in that story it is not said the *place* was called Meribah, but the *water,* (Numb. xx. 13.)

*Is the Lord among us, or not?*] Doth he take care of us, or not regard what becomes of us? For God is said to *be among,* or (as the phrase is in the Hebrew) *in the midst of those* whom he protects, and provides for, by a special providence, as we find Deut. vii. 21. xxiii. 14. Josh. iii. 20. and many other places.

Ver. 8. *Then came Amalek and fought,* &c.] The ground of their enmity is commonly thought to be the ancient grudge of the seed of Esau to those of Israel: for Amalek was descended from the eldest son of Esau by a concubine, (Gen. xxxvi. 12.) But it may very fairly also be supposed, that there was some league between the Amalekites and the people of Canaan, of mutual defence, which might move the Amalekites to oppose the passage of the Israelites, and endeavour to hinder their settlement in Canaan; unto which, perhaps, they imagined their own pretences to be as good, though the Israelites challenged the promise of it belonged to them alone.

*Then came.*] These words import that the Amalekites were the aggressors, without any provocation. If they fancied the Israelites would invade them, they might have prepared to defend themselves; but it was no ground for assaulting them. Unto which perhaps they were moved (as for other reasons, so) out of greediness of prey, hearing the Israelites were loaded with the spoils of the Egyptians.

*And fought with Israel.*] They came out of their own country *to fight* with them in the wilderness. Or we may suppose that they attacked their rear, as they were upon their march from Rephidim to Horeb; and cut off some stragglers, or such as lagged behind through faintness and weariness, as Moses relates, Deut. xxv. 18. The author of Dibre Hajamin makes the army of Amalek to have consisted of an incredible number, all exercising divinations and enchantments.

Ver. 9. *And Moses said unto Joshua.*] Who, it seems, was an eminent person, at their first coming out of Egypt.

*Choose us out men.*] Whom he knew to be as valiant as himself.

*And go out and fight with Amalek.*] Meet them, and give them *battle.*

*To-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill.*] To pray to God, who had lately appeared to him there, (ver. 6.)

*With the rod of God in my hand.*] This he said, to encourage Joshua to hope God would not fail to deliver them, though a miracle was required to bring it to pass.

Ver. 10. *So Joshua did as Moses had said to him,* &c.] Nothing but a strong confidence in God could have animated men, inexperienced in the arts of war, to encounter such mighty enemies.

*And Moses, Aaron, and Hur, went up to the top of the hill.*] The Jews do but conjecture who this Hur was; but we may be certain he was a person of great eminence for wisdom and piety, otherwise he would not have been joined with the leaders of God's people, Moses and Aaron. We read, indeed, (1 Chron. ii. 19.) of one Hur, who was the son of Caleb, and grandfather of the famous Bezaleel, who was of the tribe of Judah. But there is nothing to persuade us that he was the person here spoken of, nor that he was the son of Moses's sister, as some of the Jews tell us. See Pirke Eliezer, cap. 45. where strange stories are told of him. But it is more probable that he was Miriam's husband, as Josephus affirms, (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 2.) though we cannot tell whence he himself was descended.

Ver. 11. *When Moses held up his hand.*] Lifting up the hands was a posture of prayer, and imploring the Divine aid, as we find in many places; particularly Lament. iii. 40. "Let us lift up our hearts with our hands to God in the heavens." And it implies great earnestness in prayer; as doth also *lifting up the eyes,* and *lifting up the soul,* (Psal. xxv. 1. cxxi. 1, &c.) But though this be true, and no doubt Moses and his companions prayed to God most earnestly, yet this was not the occasion of his *lifting up his hand;* which was to advance the *rod of God,* which he held in his hand, and lifted up as their *standard* or banner, to which they should look and hope for help, from the mighty power of God, who had done such wonders by that rod.

*That Israel prevailed.*] The sight of the rod of God inspired them with such courage, that their enemies could not stand before them.

*And when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed.*] Their spirits flagged when they did not see the rod; and they began to give ground: imagining, perhaps, that Moses despaired of victory; who (the fight being long) was not able alway to keep his hand erect.

Ver. 12. *But Moses's hands were heavy.*] Through weariness, by long holding them out upon the stretch.

*And they took a stone and put it under him, and he sat thereon.*] It seems he had been standing before, which gave them the greater advantage of seeing the rod, but made him the more weary.

*And Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands.*] Were his supporters; which it is probable was in this manner. Sometimes Moses held up the rod in his right hand, and sometimes in his left (for, ver. 11. he speaks only of one *hand* which was lifted up, or let down), and Aaron stood on one side of him (suppose his right hand), and Hur stood on the other: who, by that means, helped by turns to uphold his hands in that posture: for if they had done it both together, they might have been as weary as he.

*And his hands were steady,* &c.] Were kept up stretched out, without falling down, till sun-set.

Ver. 13. *And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people,* &c.] Routed their whole army. One would think the name of their kings was Amalek (as the kings of Egypt were

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called Pharaoh), because he mentions *Amalek and his people*. Otherwise, if Amalek signifies collectively the Amalekites, then *his people* must signify those who were confederate with them.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] He appeared, it is likely, to him again in this place, (as he had done, ver. 6.) and gave him this order.

*Write this for a memorial in a book.*] Make a record of it; as he did both here, and Deut. xxv. 17, &c. And nobody was so fit to do it as he, who saw all that fell out in this fight; and was the undoubted author of what we read in this book; which was written by himself.

*And rehearse it in the ears of Joshua.*] That he, who was to be the leader of God's people after Moses, might never enter into any league with the Amalekites. For his prosperity depended upon the observation of the commands given by God to Moses: which therefore were carefully written in a book, and delivered to him, that they might not be forgotten. See Josh. i. 7, 8. where there is a plain proof, that the laws delivered by Moses were written before Joshua entered into the land of Canaan.

*For I will utterly put out the name of Amalek from under heaven.*] Have a perpetual quarrel with them, till they be quite extinct; as they were partly by Saul, (1 Sam. xv.) and partly by David, (1 Sam. xxx. 17.) and partly by the children of Simeon, (1 Chron. iv. 43.) Balaam also prophesied of their utter destruction, (Numb xxiv. 20) Which may seem a hard sentence; but it was (as Maimonides observes) to terrify others from the like malice. For as particular persons are sometimes punished very severely, for an example to others; so are families and nations. And Amalek, being the very first that drew a sword against Israel, unprovoked, God passed this heavy doom upon them: whereas Ammon and Moab (saith he) who out of mere covetousness committed what they did against Israel, and wrought mischief to them by craft and subtlety, had only this punishment inflicted upon them, that Israel should not contract affinity with them, &c. (Deut. xxiii. 3, 4. xxv. ult. More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41.)

Ver. 15. *And Moses built an altar.*] Commonly altars were built for sacrifice: which Moses, perhaps, here offered in thankfulness to God for his benefits, particularly this great victory. But they were also built sometimes only as memorials, (Josh. xxii. 26, 27.) as this perhaps was: he thinking it fit to preserve the memory of this victory, not only by writing, but by this monument also, and the inscription he left upon it.

*And he called the name of it Jehovah-Nissi.*] Or, the Lord my banner; *i. e.* by him we overcame them. Some will have it translated, not he *called it*, but he *called him*; *i. e.* the Lord, by the name of *the Lord who lifted up a banner*; *i. e.* fought for them, (Psal. lx. 6.) From which inscription Bochartus thinks came the name of Dionysus among the Greeks: who, from this word *Nissi*, called him *Nissæus*, or *Nysæus*; and adding the name of their own Jupiter to it, called him Διόννσος, (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 18.) For Bacchus is said to have been a great warrior, and to have made mighty conquests. And, as Huetius observes, is called Arsaphes, which is the very name given to Moses by the Egyptians, who called him Osarsiph. Nay, in Orpheus's hymns, Bacchus is called Mises, which seems to be the same with Moses. Out of whose story all that the Greeks and others say of Bacchus, seems to have been framed; as he shews with great probability, (Demonstr. Evan. propos. iv. cap. 4. n. 3.)

Ver. 16. *For he said, Because the Lord hath sworn,* &c.] In the Hebrew the words are, *the hand upon the throne of the Lord.* Which is commonly interpreted, *the Lord hath sworn by his throne.* So R. Solomon, and Aben Ezra; and the Chaldee, whose paraphrase is, *this is spoken with an oath, from the face of the terrible One, whose Majesty is upon the throne of glory, that the Lord will have war with Amalek,* &c. That is, saith Maimonides, he hath sworn by himself, (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 9.) for in this, and all other places, the word *kisse* (i. e. *throne*) signifies his magnificence and power: which is not any thing without his essence; but is himself.

But here being no mention of *lifting up the hand,* which is the phrase for swearing, (Exod. vi. 8. Deut. xxxii. 40.) it may more simply be expounded, *because the hand of the Lord, sitting upon the throne* of his Majesty, is stretched out, and holds up his banner, to fight with Amalek throughout all generations. For Moses seems to allude in this phrase to what he had said, ver. 11, 12. "When Moses lifted up his hand, then Israel prevailed," &c. and bids them take notice, it was his hand, *i. e.* the omnipotent power of God, which gave them this victory: and would perpetually prosecute Amalek, till they were destroyed.

Joseph Scaliger would have *Kes-jah* to be but one word, and to signify the same with *Kese*; which, according to him, is the last day of the month, on which this battle was fought. And so this to be a part of the inscription upon the altar; as if he had said, *this pillar was set up on the last day of the second month, to declare* ἄσπονδον πόλεμον, *irreconcileable war with Amalek for ever,* (lib. iii. de Emend. Temp. p. 223.) But this is too bold a conceit, and is confuted by Hackspan and Glassius. There is a more ingenious conjecture (which I have somewhere met with), if there were any thing in Scripture to warrant it, that *laying the hand on the throne* was a form of swearing: as *touching the altar* was among some nations, which was as much as our *laying the hand on the Bible:* a principal external character of a solemn oath. Whence Juvenal saith, atheists do "intrepidos altaria tangere," *touch the altars boldly without trembling; i. e.* make no conscience of an oath.

But the marginal translation, after all, is very literal, and makes the sense exceeding plain and clear: *because the hand* (of Amalek) *is against the throne of the Lord* (*i. e.* against God himself), *therefore the Lord will have war with Amalek, from generation to generation.* This is easy and natural, and agrees with the whole history: that because they came out and opposed the design of God, who in a visible and most glorious manner conducted the Israelites to the land he had promised to give them, he would never be reconciled to them. For it was a high affront to his Majesty, who had lately done such astonishing wonders, as were famed, no doubt, in all the neighbouring nations, (xv. 14, 15.)

## CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. NOW *Jethro, the priest of Midian,* &c.] Many ancient and later versions have it, *prince of Midian:* (see chap. ii. 16.)

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*Heard of all that God had done for Moses and for Israel,* &c.] The fame of which went into all the countries thereabout, (xv. 14, &c.)

Ver. 2. *Took Zipporah, Moses's wife, after he had sent her back.*] It is uncertain when Moses sent her back to her father: but it is likely it was done at her own desire, when she saw how difficult his work was likely to prove in Egypt: (see iv. 26.) The Hebrew word seems to some to intimate *a divorce,* as the Mauritanian Jews take it. But all Christian versions, and that of the German Jews, and the Persian, understand it as we do. (See Selden de Uxor. Hebr. p. 929.)

Ver. 3. *And her two sons,* &c.] Whose names carry in them a thankful remembrance of God's great mercy to him.

*Gershom.*] See ii. 22.

Ver. 4. *Eliezer.*] Who is thought to have been born a little before he left Midian, and went out of Midian into Egypt by God's special direction. (See iv. 25.)

Ver. 5. *And Jethro,* &c. *came unto Moses.*] Took a journey out of Midian to give him a visit.

*Into the wilderness.*] Into the same wilderness where Moses and the Israelites now were.

*Where he encamped at the mount of God.*] *viz.* At Horeb, which was not far from Midian, it appears from iii. 11. where we read that when Moses fed Jethro's flock, he led them hither to this mount. Which is called *God's mount,* because there he appeared first to Moses, (iii. 2, &c.) and had lately appeared there again upon the rock, (xvii. 6.) unto which place he bid Moses lead the congregation, (xvii. 5.) who were now, I suppose, encamped thereabout, after the fight with Amalek in Rephidim; which was not far from it.

Ver. 6. *And he said unto Moses.*] By a letter which he sent him from the place where he was encamped (of which these were the contents), to give him notice of his coming. Which was but necessary; that he might without any impediment pass the guards, which we may well think Moses had set very carefully, after the fight with Amalek; who had suddenly surprised the hindmost of the people, (Deut. xxv. 18.)

*I, thy father-in-law Jethro, am come unto thee,* &c.] Am upon the way, and come near to thee.

Here it may be fit to take notice, that there is a great dispute among interpreters, about the time when Jethro came from Midian, with Moses's wife and children: whether immediately after the fight with Amalek, as it is here set down; or some time after, when the Israelites were better settled. One would think, that he could not but take the first opportunity to visit Moses, and to bring him and his nearest relations together; after he heard the news of their coming out of Egypt, and their passing the Red Sea, &c. the news of which could not but reach him, who was a borderer upon this wilderness. Yet the Hebrews are generally of an opinion, that this fell out after the giving of the law at Mount Sinai: and many Christians have been of the same mind: particularly such great men as our most learned primate Usher, ad A. M. 2514. and Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 2. where he saith, no other account of it is to be received; "nec aliam sanè sententiam omnino amplexandam sentio:" but they are not agreed in what year he came. Some say it was in this first year, after their coming out of Egypt: and the Hebrews have an opinion that it was in the month of Tisri, and on the eleventh day of that month, when Jethro gave the following counsel to Moses, (ver. 19, &c.) *i. e.* above three months after God gave the law from Mount Sinai; or after Moses received the second tables. But others are as confident that it was in the second year; and place this story, according to order of time, after Numb. x. 28. or, as Dr. Lightfoot thinks, it should come in between the 10th and 11th verses of that tenth of Numbers. And primate Usher, in like manner, judges his coming to have been about that time. But though all this be uncertain, yet Mr. Selden thinks he hath a strong ground to affirm, it was after the giving of the law, from what we read Deut. i. 6. 9—11, &c. And I confess it seems plain from thence, that the regulation which Moses made by the advice of Jethro, was after God spake to them in Horeb, which is the same with Mount Sinai. For though he did appear at Horeb before this (as I observed xvii. 6.) yet he said nothing then of that which Moses mentions Deut. i. which was after the giving of the law. At which time he saith there (ver. 9.) it was that he told them, "he was not able to bear them himself alone," &c. But notwithstanding this, I cannot think that the *coming* of Jethro to Moses was deferred so long (for no reason can be given why Moses here places the story of it, if it did not follow their fight with Amalek), though he did not give him the *advice* for the better administration of justice, till after God had delivered the law from Mount Sinai; as I shall observe in its proper place.

Ver. 7. *And Moses went out to meet his father-in-law.*] Before he came into the camp; or at least before he came to his tent: that he might shew the great respect he bare to him, and his joy to see him.

*And did obeisance, and kissed him.*] Welcomed him according to the custom of those countries.

*And they asked each other of their welfare.*] Had such discourse together, as friends commonly have at their meeting, till they came into the tent.

*And they came into the tent.*] Into the tent of Moses; or rather, the tent prepared to entertain Jethro. But the Talmudists are so possessed with the opinion, that this happened some months, if not a whole year, after the law was given, that they take this *tent* to have been Beth-midrash, the house of exposition; or the school where Moses made the people understand the law. For so Jonathan, in his paraphrase upon this and the foregoing verse; "I, thy father-in-law, am come unto thee, that I may be made a proselyte. And if thou wilt not receive me for my own sake; yet admit me for the sake of thy wife and children, which I bring with me. And Moses went out from under the cloud of glory to meet him, &c. and when they had mutually saluted, they came into the tabernacle of the house of learning." But nothing can be more absurd than this fancy; that he carried him immediately to hear a lecture upon the law.

Ver. 8. *And Moses told his father-in-law all that the Lord had done to Pharaoh,* &c.] It seems to me from these words, and those that follow, that all we read hitherto about this matter fell out in order of time as it is here set down. For if it had happened after the giving of the law, it is most probable he would have said something of the most remarkable passage of all other, God's glorious

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appearance to them on Mount Sinai, and the law he had delivered to them, &c. Whereas, at this meeting, he only relates what God had done to Pharaoh, and to the Egyptians, and how the *Lord delivered* them; and *all the travail that came upon them by the way:* which comprehends their passing through the Red Sea, and their want of water and bread, and their fight with Amalek: that is, all that we read in the foregoing chapters. And, accordingly, Jethro rejoiced for their deliverance from the Egyptians, (ver. 9.) and gives thanks to God for it, (ver. 10.) taking notice of nothing else.

Ver. 9. *And Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which the Lord had done to Israel,* &c.] The gentiles, as Conradus Pellicanus here observes, more devoutly acknowledged God's mercies when they understood them, than the Jews themselves did. With which our Saviour, when he came, upbraids that people; finding such faith among the gentiles, as he could not meet withal in Israel.

Ver. 10. *Blessed be the Lord who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians,* &c.] This may relate to the preservation of Moses and Aaron, who had brought the sorest plagues upon Pharaoh and the Egyptians; and yet God suffered them not to hurt them.

*Who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians.*] And then this relates to the deliverance of the whole body of the people from the Egyptian bondage; and to the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea: whereby the Israelites were finally delivered *from under the hand; i. e.* the tyranny and oppression of the Egyptians.

Ver. 11. *Now I know that the Lord.*] He knew the true God before; but was now fully convinced that he alone was the Most High.

*Is greater than all gods.*] Than all that the world accounted gods. For he did not acknowledge any more Divine powers than one: but he speaks according to the common opinion men had in those days of other gods besides the Most High. This is a common acknowledgment of good men in aftertimes, (Psalm lxxxvi. 8. 10. cxxxv. 5.)

*For in the thing wherein they dealt proudly, he was above them.*] If we refer this to what immediately goes before *(viz. all gods),* the meaning is, that the Lord appeared superior to all the Egyptian gods, who insolently attempted, by the magicians, to equal him in his wonderful works; but were baffled and exposed to contempt, and at last thrown down in their images, (viii. 19. ix. 11. xii. 12.) But it is commonly thought to relate to the Egyptians and Pharaoh, mentioned in the foregoing verse: and then the meaning is, that the Lord confounded them that proudly contemned his authority, saying, " Who is the Lord," &c. (v. 2.) whom he forced to beg his pardon, (ix. 27.) and at last drowned him and his host in the Red Sea, when they said, in a haughty boasting manner, " I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil, my lust shall be satisfied upon them," &c. (xv. 9.) And to this purpose the Chaldee expounds it; *in that very thing wherein they thought to judge* (*i. e.* to punish or destroy) *the Israelites, they were judged themselves; i. e.* drowned in the sea, as they intended to drown all their male children.

Ver. 12. *And Jethro, Moses's father-in-law.*] He is constantly thus described, (ver. 1, 2. 5—8. and every where else but ver. 9, 10.) to distinguish him from any other Jethro, to whom these things might possibly be thought to belong.

*Took a burnt-offering.*] Which was to be wholly consumed upon the altar, and nothing of it eaten by any body, (Lev. i. 9.) This now may be thought to have been done, after the giving of the law at Mount Sinai; which Moses here mentions, because he would put together all that belongs to Jethro's story (though not all done at the very same time), just as I said he did what belonged to the history of the manna, xvi. 33. 35. (See there.)

*And sacrifices.*] *i. e.* Peace-offerings; of which the people, as well as the priests, were to be partakers, (Lev. vii. 34. Deut. xxvi. 7.) And regularly there never were any *burnt-offerings* made, which were wholly consumed upon the altar, but *peace-offerings* attended upon them; if they were not *offerings for the whole congregation,* but for particular persons; that so they who brought them might feast also with God upon the sacrifices. For feasting upon sacrifices was an appendix unto all sacrifices whatsoever, one way or other; if not by themselves, yet by the priests, who ate of the *sin-offerings,* as the proxies of the people. Of this there are numerous instances, not only among the Jews, after the law was given, but among other people, who had this custom antecedent to it: as appears from Numb. xxv. 2. where the Midianites invite the Israelites " to the sacrifices of their gods, and the people did eat," &c. Which they did not learn from Moses, but derived from higher antiquity; it is probable even from Abraham himself.

*For God.*] To be offered unto God. Who offered them we are not told; but it should seem by the word *took,* that Jethro himself (who was a priest) was permitted to perform this office; in token that they owned him to be a faithful servant and minister of the most high God, as Melchisedeck was. And accordingly it follows that Aaron was invited, with the elders of Israel, to come and feast with him upon these sacrifices.

*And Aaron came.*] This seems to signify, that Aaron was but a guest, and had not been the priest who offered the sacrifices. For though we suppose the law to have been now given, yet it is likely Aaron and his sons were not yet consecrated, nor the service of God as yet ordered, according to the law that had been delivered; no more than judicatures were erected, as after this they were by the advice of Jethro.

But of these things we can have no absolute certainty, but only make probable conjectures.

*And all the elders of Israel.*] See iii. 16.

*To eat bread.*] To partake of the sacrifices that had been offered; for this comprehends the whole meal, (Gen. xliii. 25.)

*Before God.*] Before the tabernacle where God dwelt. Or, if that was not yet set up, in the place where God appeared in an extraordinary manner, which it is likely was in the tent of Moses, (xxxiii. 7.)

Ver. 13. *And it came to pass on the morrow.*] The next day after this solemn sacrifice: which the Jews (I observed above) say was on the eleventh day of Tisri. So Sepher Mechilta, and others from thence, as Mr. Selden hath noted, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 2. p. 75.)

*That Moses sat.*] That was the posture of judges.

*To judge the people.*] To hear causes and determine them.

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*And the people stood by Moses,* &c.] That was the posture both of the plaintiff and the defendant. And there were now so many causes brought before him, that they took up the whole day: so that he had no time to eat and refresh himself.

Ver. 14. *And when Moses's father-in-law saw all that he did to the people.*] He either was present, and observed himself; or was informed by others what insupportable pains he took.

*He said, What is this thing that thou doest to the people?*] What a burden is this, to judge the causes of a whole nation!

*Why sittest thou thyself alone?*] Takest more upon thee than any one person is able to bear.

*And all the people stand by thee from morning to the even.*] Till both thou and they are tired.

Ver. 15. *Because the people come unto me to inquire of God.*] I cannot refuse to do justice: and there is none but myself to declare what the law of God is in such cases as are brought before me.

*To inquire of God*] Doth not signify here, to desire him to consult the Divine Majesty for them; but to decide their controversies according to the mind of God, declared in the laws he had given him. So the LXX. *to seek for judgment from God:* and the Vulgar, *to seek God's sentence.* For what was determined according to God's law was *the judgment of God,* and so it is called by Moses: (see Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 15. p. 610.)

Ver. 16. *When they have matter.*] Of controversy.

*They come to me.*] That I may decide it.

*And I judge between one and another.*] Determine where the right lies.

*And I do make them know the statutes of God, and his laws.*] This explains what is meant by *inquiring of God; i. e.* what was the law of God in the case brought before him. From which we may probably gather, that the law was already given from Mount Sinai, and all the other *laws* and *statutes* which follow, (chap. xxi. xxii. xxiii.) before this happened. Unless we will say, as some do, that Moses was directed, upon the spot (as we speak), by a secret inspiration, how to determine every cause.

Ver. 17. *The thing that thou doest is not good.*] Neither profitable for thyself nor for the people; as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 18. *Thou wilt surely wear away.*] Decay apace, and without remedy; as the phrase in the Hebrew signifies.

*Both thou and the people that is with thee.*] Such tedious attendance will impair them also, as well as thyself.

*For this thing is too heavy for thee,* &c.] Too much for one man to undergo.

Ver. 19. *Hearken now unto my voice.*] Be advised by me,

*I will give thee counsel, and God shall be with thee.*] Though I am no Israelite, I will take upon me to be thy counsellor; and, I doubt not, God will shew my advice to be good, by the good success which will attend it.

*Be thou for the people to God-ward, that thou mayest bring the causes unto God.*] Appoint others to hear causes, and do thou give thyself μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ, *to the worship and service of God alone,* as Josephus expounds it, (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 3.) or, as Ruffinus glosses, *reserve thyself only to the ministry of God;* to attend, that is, upon him, and know his mind. Which, if it be the sense, must be understood with this exception, *only in greater causes* (as it follows afterward), which he was to hear himself. And that may well be the meaning of these words, *When the people bring any matter to thee, which is too hard for other judges to determine,* (ver. 22) *do thou, if need be, carry it to God, that he may resolve thee.* Not that he was always to consult the oracle; for he knew in most causes the sense of God's law: but in some it might be necessary to have a particular direction from heaven. As in Numb. xv. 34, 35. xxvii. 5, &c.

Ver. 20. *And thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws.*] How these two differ is not certain: but *ordinances* are commonly taken to concern matters of religion; and *laws* civil matters of justice and charity. In both which he was, if the case required it, to bring it to God; and then to report to the people, what his resolution was about it.

*And shalt shew them the way wherein they must walk.*] How to behave themselves towards God.

*And the work that they must do.*] How to behave themselves one towards another.

Ver. 21. *Moreover.*] Now in order to this,

*Thou shalt provide out of all the people.*] Look out such men as are qualified according to the following directions. Which he did in this manner, as he himself relates, Deut. i. 13. where he saith to the people, "Take ye wise and understanding men," &c. In the Hebrew it is *give ye; i. e.* present to me such men as you think fit for this office: and then it follows, "I will make them rulers over you." They chose them; and then he approved them, and gave them authority. Or, perhaps they presented a good many whom they thought qualified; and out of them he appointed such as he judged most meet. And thus he saith again, (ver. 15.) "So I took the chief of the tribes," &c. (See Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 15. p. 632.)

*Able men.*] Men able to endure labour; or men who are not needy, but rich and wealthy; or men of parts, or men of courage: for it may refer to any of these, especially the last; such as did not fear potent persons, but God alone, as it here follows.

*Such as fear God.*] Men truly religious; who would fear to offend God by doing injustice, but not fear to offend men by doing right.

*Men of truth.*] Honest, upright men: whose love to truth would make them sift it out; by hearing both sides patiently, with impartial attention and unbiassed affection.

*Hating covetousness.*] Not greedy of money; but abhorring bribes, and all base ways of gain. Which, as Demosthenes says, ἐκφρονας καὶ παραπλήγας ποιεῖ τοὺς δικαστὰς, *makes judges beside themselves, and no better than mad.*

For all these good qualities they were to be eminent and noted among the people, as Moses's words import, (Deut. i. 13.) where he bids them present to him, not only *wise men and understanding,* but also *known among their tribes;* generally accounted men of understanding and integrity.

*And place such over them, to be rulers of thousands,* &c.] The Hebrew words are such, that it cannot be determined by them, whether this relate to the number of rulers, or of people that were to be ruled by them; as Mr. Selden observes, and discourses upon it very largely, in the forementioned place, (lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 15. p. 615.) Where he shews, that *Decemvir,* for instance, was not only one set

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over ten; but one of the ten judges of which a court consisted; and so the rest may be interpreted. But the most ancient and most received sense is, that he doth not speak of the number of judges, (for what a strange court would that be in which there was a thousand judges?) but of the people, of whose causes they were to take cognizance: and it is commonly thought also there was but one ruler over a thousand (families or men, it is uncertain which), and so of the rest: though the words may import more than one in each of their judicatures; whether greater or smaller. The Talmudists make a prodigious number of judges of each sort; but it is most rational to think that Jethro's meaning was, that he should constitute greater and lesser judicatures, according to the division of their several tribes, into thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, and a competent number of persons appointed to be judges in these greater or lesser courts.

For, that their tribes were divided into *thousands* (for instance) is apparent from several places, Josh. xxii. 14. Judg. vi. 15. [where Gideon saith, *my family* (in the Hebrew it is *my thousand*) *is the meanest in Israel;*] 1 Chron. xii. 20. Mic. v. 2. These *thousands* Corn. Bertramus takes to be *families*, whom the Hebrews call *houses:* which were divided into so many *heads*, as they call them, as the tribes were into families. And of these, he thinks, Jethro advises him to make such rulers as are here mentioned, of several degrees. But others (particularly Herman. Conringius de Republ. Hebr. sect. 19.) think we are to understand only *rulers* over a *thousand men*, not *families:* as it is certain in military affairs, the captains of *thousands* were only of a thousand soldiers, (Numb. xxxi. 14.)

*Rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens.*] There were four orders of these rulers: but whether there was a subordination of the lower order to the higher, as in armies there is of the captain to the colonel (as we now speak), and the inferiors to him, I cannot determine.

Ver. 22. *And let them judge the people at all seasons.*] Sit every day, some or other of them, in their several districts. (See ver. 26.)

*Every great matter they shall bring to thee.*] Not if they were able to determine it themselves. For they had power to hear all causes; but when they found any too difficult, they were to refer it to be heard by Moses himself. So R. Levi ben Gersom explains it: "Every great cause, in which they know not what to judge, they shall bring to thee, and thou shalt shew what is right:" or how it is to be decided.

There are those, indeed, who think there were several sorts of causes, that might not be brought before these inferior courts; but were to be reserved for Moses's hearing and judging. These they make to be four: First, all sacred matters or things belonging unto God; which they gather from ver. 19. Secondly, all matters of equity; where the rigour of the law was fit to be mitigated. Thirdly, all capital causes. And lastly, such as the *chiliarchs*, *i. e.* rulers of thousands, and the other judges referred to him. But this is said without ground; for it is plain, all sorts of causes might be determined by the inferior courts, if they were able to make an end of them, whether civil or sacred. Only those which were too difficult for them; that is, when they did not find a law to direct them, or it was obscure, or they could not agree about the punishment, then they were to be brought before Moses. So he himself charges; not that the people should bring such causes to him as they thought difficult, but that the judges themselves should bring them; *i. e.* order an appeal to him; (Deut. i. 17.) "bring it unto me (speaking to the judges) and I will hear it." Which shews the cause had been at the bar of other courts before, and that it was not unlawful for them to meddle with it if they had been able to determine it. And accordingly we read here below, (ver. 26.) that the judges did so. In short, these words do not intimate that there were some causes the other judges might not try, if they were able; but only that such things as they found themselves not skilful enough to determine, they should bring to him. (See Mr. Selden in the forenamed book, p. 633, &c.)

*But every small matter they shall judge.*] Hitherto Moses had heard all causes promiscuously, great and small: but Jethro well advises him to delegate the labour of judging all causes *liquidi juris* (as the lawyers speak), *where the right was clear:* and to reserve no part of the judicature to himself, but where the law itself was either defective or obscure.

*So shall it be easier for thyself,* &c.] Thou wilt ease thyself of a great burden, by appointing others to take their share of it.

Ver. 23. *If thou wilt do this thing, and God command thee so.*] If thou wilt follow this advice, by God's approbation; who was to be consulted whether he allowed it.

*Then thou shalt be able to endure.*] Thy days will be prolonged; which otherwise will be shortened with this intolerable labour.

*And the people go to their place in peace.*] Go home very much satisfied, with such quick dispatch, and happy composure of their differences.

Ver. 24. *So Moses hearkened to the voice of his father-in-law,* &c.] Followed his counsel, by God's approbation, with whom no doubt he advised, (ver. 23.) Here the Samaritan copy inserts those words of Moses, (Deut. i. 9, &c.) "I am not able to bear you myself alone, the Lord your God hath multiplied you," &c. Which he spake, indeed, when he made this constitution, but did not set it down in this book; where he intended only a short account of these transactions.

Ver. 25. *And Moses chose able men,* &c.] Out of those who were presented to him by the people. (See ver. 20.)

Ver. 26. *And they judged the people at all seasons.*] Whensoever they resorted to them: for some court or other sat every day that was not appointed by God for other business, *i. e.* for religion.

*The hard causes they brought to Moses,* &c.] It is plain by this that the judges, not the people, brought the hard causes unto Moses, for the people could not know whether they might not have a remedy nearer hand (than by going to him on all occasions) till they had tried.

Ver. 27. *And Moses let his father-in-law depart.*] After he had stayed some time with him, and could not prevail with him to stay longer (which he earnestly desired), and go with them to see the accomplishment of God's promises to them; as those words Numb. x. 29, &c. are thought to signify. But perhaps that Hobab there mentioned was not Jethro himself, but his son; whom Moses also persuaded not to return to his own country: for he makes no



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reply, much less denies to stay with Moses, when he pressed him the second time, though he refused at first, (ver. 32.) But this I shall consider in that place.

*And he went his way into his own land.*] To make his children, or the people of the land, proselytes, saith the Chaldee paraphrase. Which it is probable he endeavoured (*i. e.* to bring them to true religion) and effected in some measure: so that piety was propagated in some families among them to future generations. For the Rechabites came out of this country, (1 Chron. ii. 55.) whose virtue Jeremiah praises in the latter end of the Jewish church, (chap. xxxv.)

## CHAP. XIX.

Ver. 1. *IN the third month.*] Or, in the *third new moon.* For the Hebrew word *chodesh* signifies *a new moon,* as well as a *month:* nay, that is the prime signification, from whence the other is derived. And so we are to understand it here; that on the new moon, *i. e.* the first day of the third month (called Sivan), after their coming out of Egypt, they came into the wilderness of Sinai. Which was just forty-five days after they departed out of Egypt. For, if we add to the fifteen days of the first month twenty-nine, which made the second, these put together, with this new moon, make forty-five. Unto which, if we add that day when Moses went up to God (ver. 3.), and reported, when he came down, the message God sent by him to the elders of Israel; and the next day after, when he returned their answer unto God, (ver. 7, 8.) with the three days more, which God gave them to prepare themselves for his coming down among them, (ver. 10, 11.) there were just fifty days from their Passover to the giving of the law upon Mount Sinai: which laid the foundation of the great feast of Pentecost.

*The same day.*] *i. e.* On the forementioned *new moon* of the third month.

*Came they into the wilderness of Sinai.*] So called from that famous mountain *Sinai,* which gave the name to the wilderness which lay before it. This mountain was also called Horeb, (Deut. iv. 10.) they being only different tops of one and the same mountain; but this higher than Horeb: so that one may see the Red Sea from thence, as they that have travelled into those parts affirm, who say it is now called by the Arabians, Tur; and by Christians, the Mountain of St. Catherine.

Ver. 2. *For they were departed from Rephidim,* &c.] They began to move from *Rephidim* towards that part of the mountain called Horeb, upon their murmuring for want of water, (xvii. 5, 6.) But seem to have returned thither to fight with Amalek, (ver. 8.) And then they were led by God to this other side of the mountain, which is called the wilderness of Sinai.

*There Israel encamped before the mount.*] For the glorious cloud having led them hither, rested upon the mount; as appears from the words following.

Ver. 3. *And Moses went up unto God.*] Whose glorious majesty appeared upon the mount.

*And the Lord called unto him out of the mountain.*] Or rather, *for the Lord called to him out of the mountain,* where the Divine glory rested: unto which he would not have presumed to go, if the Lord had not called to him to come up thither. Which was upon the second day of the third month.

*Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel.*] There was some reason sure for calling them by these two names, *the house of Jacob* and *the children of Israel:* which perhaps was to put them in mind that they, who had lately been as low as Jacob when he went to Padan-Aram, were now grown as great as God made him when he came from thence, and was called Israel.

Ver. 4. *You have seen.*] There needs no proof, for you yourselves are witnesses.

*What I did unto the Egyptians.*] Smote them with divers sore plagues; and at last drowned them and their chariots in the Red Sea.

*And how I bare you on eagles' wings.*] Kept you so safe, and placed you so far out of the reach of your enemies, as if you had been borne up on high by an eagle. Which are observed to carry their young ones, not in their feet, as other birds are wont to do, but on their wings: and to soar so high, and with so swift a motion, that none can pursue them, much less touch them. Bochartus hath observed all the properties ascribed to the eagle; with respect to which, interpreters have thought God's care of his people to be here compared with that bird, (Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 5.) But after all he judiciously concludes, that Moses best explains his own meaning, in his famous song, Deut. xxxii. 11. where the eagle's fluttering about her nest, and making a noise, to stir up her young ones to leave their dirty nest, and try their wings, represents the many means God had used to rouse up the drooping spirits of the Israelites, when they lay miserably oppressed under a cruel servitude, and encourage them to aspire after liberty, and to obey those whom he sent to deliver them.

*And brought you unto myself.*] And by that means brought you hither, to live under my government. For this was the very foundation of his peculiar empire over them, that he had ransomed and redeemed them out of slavery, by a mighty hand and stretched-out arm, (as he speaks, xiii. 3. Deut. iv. 34.) so as he had not delivered any other nation: and thereby made them his own, after an extraordinary manner, peculiar to them alone. This Joshua also recals to their mind, when he was near his death, and renewed this covenant of God with them, (xxiv. 5, 6, &c.)

Ver. 5. *Now therefore.*] Having wonderfully delivered them, and supported them in a miraculous manner, by bread from heaven, and water out of a rock; he now proceeds to instruct them in their duty, as Greg. Nyssen observes, L. de Vita Mosis, p. 172.

*If you will obey my voice indeed,* &c.] If you will sincerely obey me, as your king and governor, and keep the covenant I intend to make with you, then you shall be mine above all the people of the earth; whose Lord I am, as well as yours: but you shall be my peculiar inheritance; in which I will establish my kingdom and priesthood; with such laws as shall not only distinguish you from all other nations, but make you to excel them. This is the sense of this verse, and the following.

*A peculiar treasure unto me.*] *i. e.* Very dear to me; and consequently I will take a singular care of you, as kings

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do of those things which they lay up in their treasury. So the Hebrew word *segullah* signifies. Which Origen proves they really were (notwithstanding all the calumnies of Celsus), their laws being so profitable; and they being so early taught to know God, to believe the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punishments in the life to come; and bred up to a contempt of divination (with which mankind had been abused), as proceeding rather from wicked demons, than from any excellent nature; and to seek for the knowledge of future things in souls, which by an extraordinary degree of purity were rendered capable to receive the Spirit of God, (lib. v. contra Celsum, p. 260.) And this the author of Sepher Cosri happily expresses, when he saith, "Our peculiar blessings consist in the conjunction of our minds with God, by prophecy, and that which is annexed to it:" that is (as Muscatus explains it), "the gift of the Spirit of God." And therefore, he doth not say in the law, If you will obey my voice, I will bring you after death into gardens of pleasure; but "ye shall be to me a people, and I will be to you a God," (par. i. sect. 109.)

*For all the earth is mine.*] Which made it the greater honour, that he bare such a special love to them.

Ver. 6. *And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests.*] An honourable, or a Divine kingdom: not like worldly kingdoms, which are defended by arms, but supported by piety. Or a princely people, that should rule over their enemies. For the same word signifies both *priests* and *princes:* and in the first times of the world, none was thought fit to be a *priest* but he who was a king, or the chief of the family; as we see in Melchizedeck and Jethro.

That God was peculiarly the king of this people, I observed above, (iii. 10.) and here he expressly owns this peculiar dominion over them, by saying, ye shall be *to me* a kingdom. And one reason, perhaps, why he saith they shall be *a kingdom of priests*, is, because they were governed (whilst they continued a theocracy) by the high-priest, as the prime minister under God, who in all weighty causes consulted God what was to be done; and accordingly they ordered their affairs. (xxviii. 30. Numb. xxviii. 21.) Which is the reason why God commands Moses to make such garments for Aaron as should be for *glory and beauty* (or, for *honour and glory*), as we read ver. 2. of that chapter; *i. e.* to make him appear great, like a prince; for they were really royal garments. And for his sons, also, he was to make bonnets of the like kind *for honour and glory*, (ver. 40.) they being in the form of the *tiaræ* which kings wore; and are joined in Scripture with crowns, (Job xxix. 14. Isa. iii. 23, &c.) Whence Philo says, (in his book de Sacerd. Honoribus,) that the law manifestly dressed up the high-priest, εἰς σεμνότητα καὶ τιμὴν βασιλέως. But the liberty and freedom also wherein they were instated, I doubt not, is signified by these words, *kings and priests* (as Onkelos translates them, and as it is expressed in the New Testament, Revel. i. 6. v. 10. and the Syriac also, *kingdom and priesthood*), for *kings and priests* were, of all other men, freed from oppression. And thus I find our Mr. Thorndike, a most learned man, glosses upon these words: (Review of the Rights of the Church, p. 132.) God called them *kings*, because redeemed from the servitude of strangers, to be a people, lords of themselves; and *priests*, because redeemed to spend their time in sacrificing, and feasting upon their sacrifices, (under which figure he afterwards represents the happy state of his church, Isa. lxi. 6.) though they sacrificed not in person, but by their priests appointed in their stead, by imposition of the elders' hands, (Numb. viii. 10.)

*A holy nation.*] A people separated to God from all other nations, and from their idolatry, to serve God in an acceptable manner.

*These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel.*] The sum of what he was to say to them; comprehending both their duty and their high privilege.

Ver. 7. *And Moses came.*] Down from the mount, where he had been with God, (ver. 3.)

*And called for the elders of the people.*] The principal persons in the several tribes, (see iii. 16.) which he seems to have done in the evening of the second day of the month.

*And laid before their faces all these words,* &c.] Plainly declared to them, what God had given him in charge: which they went and propounded to the people of the several tribes, whom they represented.

Ver. 8. *And all the people answered together, and said.*] All with one consent declared as here follows:

*All that the Lord hath spoken we will do.*] They consented to have the Lord for their king; and promised to be obedient to his will.

*And Moses returned the words of the people unto the Lord.*] This seems to have been done the next day, which was the third day of the third month. Upon which report made to God for the people's consent, he proceeds, after a few days' preparation, to declare the laws by which they should be governed, (chap. xx. xxi. xxii. xxiii.) and then, in the twenty-fourth chapter), these laws pass into a covenant between God and them.

Here Moses plainly acted as a mediator between God and the people.

Ver. 9. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Lo, I will come unto thee.*] Appear upon the mount.

*In a thick cloud.*] In a darker cloud than that which had hitherto gone before them to conduct them; so that they should see nothing but flashes of lightning which came out of it, in a very frightful manner, (ver. 16. 18.) For, that there was fire in it, appears from Deut. iv. 11. v. 22, 23. though at first, perhaps, only a thick cloud appeared, as a token of his approach.

*That the people may hear when I speak with thee.*] Though they saw no similitude, yet they plainly heard a voice speaking unto Moses, and declaring their duty. Maimonides, indeed, thinks that the words were directed only unto Moses; and that the Israelites heard merely the sound of the words, but did not distinctly understand them, (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 33.) Which is directly against what Moses says, (Deut. iv. 12.) "The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire," &c. and, (v. 4, 5.) "The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount, &c. saying, I am the Lord thy God," &c. Which words are plainly directed to all the people.

*And believe thee for ever.*] They had been staggered in their belief, after they had professed it at the Red Sea, (xv. *ult.*) but after this, it might be expected they would never question his authority any more.

*And Moses told the words of the people unto the Lord.*] Or rather, *for Moses had told,* &c. Upon which account God was pleased to make the foregoing declaration. Till they had owned him for the *Lord their God, i. e.* their king



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and governor, he did not speak unto them at all, but only unto Moses: but now that they had consented to be his, he resolves to speak audibly to them; and henceforth to dwell among them; and in order to it, fix his tabernacle with them. For which he gives order (chap. xxv. &c.) immediately after they had entered into covenant to do as they had promised.

Or these words (which seem to be a needless repetition) may relate to that which follows, and be translated thus: *Moses having told the words of the people unto the Lord, the Lord said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and sanctify them,* &c.

Ver. 10. *Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow.*] This shews that Moses was sent down early on the fourth day, to prepare them for the appearance of the Divine Majesty among them, by sanctifying them; that is, separating them from all uncleanness; or rather, from all common and ordinary employments; that they might give themselves to fasting, and prayer, and abstinence from otherwise lawful pleasures. For Pirke Eliezer takes abstinence from their wives, mentioned ver. 15. as a part of this sanctification, (cap. 41.) And so doth Gregory Nyssen in his book de Vita Mosis, p. 178. And Maimonides observes, that separation from wine and strong drink is called holiness in the law of the Nazarites, (Numb. vi. 5.) and therefore may be thought part of the sanctification here required, (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 33.)

*And let them wash their clothes.*] The Hebrews understand it, of washing their whole bodies. For thus Aaron and his sons were to be consecrated to their office, (xxix. 4. xl. 12.) and therefore thus the people were now to be made a holy people unto the Lord, and made fit for the presence of the Divine Majesty. Under whose wings (as they speak) none were received in future times, *i. e.* made proselytes, but by baptism (or washing of their whole body), which was taken from this pattern. And accordingly, where we read in the law of particular purifications by washing their clothes in case of any uncleanness, as Lev. xi. 25. 28. 40. xiv. 8. 47. (where Moses speaks of cleansing a leprous person), Numb. xxxi. 24. (where he speaks of cleansing soldiers), and many other cases, they understand it in the very same manner. In some cases indeed it is expressly prescribed, (Lev. xv. 5—7. xvi. 26, &c.) and they expound all others, where *clothes* only are mentioned, by the same rule; as Mr. Selden shews, (lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 3.) where he observes, that, in the pagan language, *pure garments* signify the washing of the whole body. (See p. 29.)

Ver. 11. *And be ready against the third day.*] He doth not mean the third day of the month, but the third day after this command to sanctify themselves. In which they were bound to spend *two* entire days; and then the Lord promised to come down in all their sight upon Mount Sinai. That is, when they were fit to receive him, by their professing themselves a holy people, of which that outward washing was a token.

*For the third day the Lord will come down,* &c.] Not from the mount, but from heaven, *upon Mount Sinai.* On which the Schechinah descended in a cloud, which struck a great awe into them: for it was darker than the pillar of the cloud by which they had been conducted hither; through which some rays, or glimpse of a glorious majesty that was in it, broke forth upon them.

Ver. 12. *And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about.*] To keep them at a due distance, out of a just reverence to the Divine Majesty.

*Take heed unto yourselves, that ye go not up,* &c.] This caution also was given them, to work and preserve in their minds a most profound reverence of the Divine Majesty, and to those laws which were to be delivered from this mount.

Ver. 13. *There shall not a hand touch it, but he shall surely be stoned, or shot through.*] Be stoned, if he were near at hand; or shot through with darts or arrows, if at a distance. So Aben Ezra. And so Jonathan, likewise, translates the latter clause, *they shall throw darts at him:* and so our old translation, *stricken through with darts.* But the Talmudists, and the greatest lawyers among the Jews, expound both these clauses of *stoning,* which was twofold, as we read in the Misna Tit. Sanhedrin, cap. 6. either by throwing stones at a malefactor, or throwing him down from a high place upon stones. And thus this last phrase imports in the Hebrew, and may properly be translated, "projiciendo projicietur," *he shall be violently thrown down;* or, *thrown down headlong.* It is the very same word with that (xv. 4.) concerning the casting Pharaoh's chariots into the sea. And this was a punishment, as Mr. Selden observes, like that among the Romans, from the Saxum Tarpeium, which the Jews inflicted upon some captive Edomites, (2 Chron. xxv. 12.) and Jehu inflicted upon Jezabel, (2 Kings ix. 32.) On which story R. Levi ben Gersom observes pertinently, that as she caused Naboth to be stoned, so she was punished herself in the same kind; for stoning, saith he, was either by throwing stones at malefactors, or throwing them down upon stones: to justify which, he alleges this place in Exodus. And David Kimchi makes the same observation. (See Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 5. p. 74, &c.)

*When the trumpet soundeth long.*] When the sound of it is protracted, or drawn out; and, consequently, was less terrible than while it was shorter and broken. (See ver. 16.)

*They shall come up to the mount.*] To the foot of it, (ver. 17.) that they might more plainly hear the voice of God.

Ver. 14. *And Moses came down from the mount to the people.*] As he had been commanded, (ver. 10.)

*And sanctified the people.*] Commanded them to sanctify themselves, (as the author of Sepher Cosri explains it, par. i. sect. 87.) both with internal sanctification and external; among which the principal was, separation from the company of women, as it here follows, (ver. 15.)

*And they washed their clothes.*] See ver. 10. Unto which add, that it is no wonder they used this purification before the giving of the law: which had been anciently in use among their ancestors, upon solemn occasions. As appears by what I observed on Gen. xxxv. 2. where Jacob, before the building of an altar to God in Bethel, as he had vowed, cleansed his family after this manner. For so Aben Ezra truly expounds these words *be clean,* wash your bodies: which was the old rite of cleansing. (See there.)

Ver. 15. *And said unto the people, Be ready against the third day.*] Prepared to hear the words of God.

*Come not at your wives.*] For this time was set apart for solemn fasting and prayer; that they might be fit to

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converse with God, by having their minds abstracted from earthly things.

Ver. 16. *And it came to pass on the third day.*] See ver. 11.

*There were thunders and lightnings.*] Which broke out of the thick cloud, to awaken them to attend unto his Majesty, who was approaching.

*And a thick cloud.*] In which a flaming fire presently appeared, (ver. 18.) ὡς ἀόρατον γενέσθαι τὸ ὄρος, *so that the mountain could not be seen;* as Greg. Nyssen explains it, de Vita Mosis, p. 179.

*And the voice of the trumpet.*] The heavenly ministers, who were attendants upon the Divine Majesty, made a sound like that of a trumpet, to summon the people to come and appear before God, and receive his commands.

*Exceeding loud.*] Beyond what the blast of any men could make: for it made the whole camp quake, as the following words tell us.

Ver. 17. *And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp.*] When their trembling was abated, by the remission, as we may suppose, of the sound of the trumpet.

*To meet with God.*] That they might be espoused to him.

*And they stood at the nether part of the mount.*] Below at the foot of it, not presuming to touch it; which they were severely forbidden, ver. 11, 12. (See Deut. iv. 11.)

Ver. 18. *And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke.*] Nothing could be seen but smoke, mixed with a flame.

*Because the Lord descended on it in fire.*] The Schechinah came down into the thick cloud (ver. 9. 16.) with a glittering company of angels, who appeared like flames of fire, unto which they are compared by the Psalmist, (civ. 4.) Thus Moses himself seems to expound it (Deut. xxxiii. 2.) "He came with ten thousands (or myriads) of holy ones (*i. e.* of angels); from his right hand went a fiery law for them." Which plainly relates to this appearance at Mount Sinai.

*And the smoke thereof ascended, as the smoke of a furnace.*] Mixed with fire, which went up even to the midst of heaven, as Moses explains it, Deut. iv. 11.

*And the whole mount quaked greatly.*] See Psalm lxviii. 8. civ. 32.

Ver. 19. *And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long.*] It is a different word here in the Hebrew from that (ver. 13.) which we translate *sounded long:* signifying that it *proceeded* or went on either a long time, or to a greater loudness.

*And waxed louder and louder.*] In the Hebrew the words are *exceeding strong:* ὑπερέχει ἑαυτὴν ἡ σάλπιγξ, &c. *the trumpet exceeded itself;* the succeeding blasts transcending those that went before, as Greg. Nyssen well interprets the whole.

*Moses spake.*] The people trembled before at the loud sound of the trumpet, (ver. 16.) but now it grew so very terrible, that Moses himself said, (as the apostle expounds this passage, Heb. xii. 21.) "I exceedingly fear and quake." For hither, I think, Junius rightly applies those words.

*And God answered him by a voice.*] Bidding him not be afraid, but come up unto him, as it follows in the next verse. Greg. Nyssen thinks that the voice of the trumpet ἦν ἔναρθρος, *became articulate,* with the organs of speech, by the Divine power.

Ver. 20. *And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai.*] It is said before that the Lord descended upon it; (ver. 18.) therefore the meaning here is, that the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, settled there to speak unto the people.

*On the top of the mount.*] On the highest part of it, that there might be the greatest distance between him and the people, who stood at the foot of it.

*And the Lord called up Moses,* &c.] He stood lower before, though not so low as the people: but now is called up higher, even to the very place where God was; and, consequently, entered into the midst of the fire and smoke, wherein the mountain was wrapped, (ver. 18.) upon God's appearance there. From which, in all probability, the Persians (who had heard or read what is here related) framed the story of their Zoroaster: who, wandering in desert places, was carried up to heaven, and saw God encompassed with flames; which he could not behold with his own eyes (the splendour of them was so great), but with eyes which the angels lent him: and there he received from him a book of the law, &c. (See Huetius Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 5. n. 2.)

Ver. 21. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Go down and charge the people,* &c.] It seems that upon Moses's going up, some of the people thought of approaching nearer, out of curiosity, to see if they could discover more of the Divine Majesty. And therefore God sends him down again immediately, to bid them remember the charge he had given them, and not dare to come nearer than they were.

*And many of them perish.*] As many as were so presumptuous. *Many* sometimes signifies *all:* and here all that should adventure to go beyond their bounds.

Ver. 22. *And let the priests also.*] Who these were is much disputed; for Aaron and his sons were not yet consecrated. The Jews (it is commonly known) readily answer, they were the *first-born;* whose prerogative it was to minister to God, as his priests, till the law of Moses ordered things otherwise. But I have often observed this not to be true; being confuted by several examples of others who sacrificed and were not the first-born. And lately there is a learned man, who, in a just discourse, hath overthrown this opinion, (see Campeg. Vitringa Observ. Sacræ, lib. ii. cap. 23.) which was called in question, and briefly censured some time before, by a very learned friend of mine, Dr. Outram, (de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 4.) Conradus Pellicanus, in the beginning of the Reformation, seems to have given a better account of the priests here mentioned, which were the prime and most honourable persons in the several tribes; the elders, and such as administered the government under Moses: among which there might be some of the first-born, nay, it is possible, many of them; but not by any special right which they had to this office.

*Which came near unto the Lord.*] To perform Divine services. By which one would think he speaks of those who had been already employed in this office: for having before this built an altar, (xvii. 15.) some think it probable sacrifice was offered upon it. But if it were only a monument, and no sacrifices were to be offered till they came to the mount of God, who was to appoint them; then Moses picked out the most excellent persons (as I said before) to perform this service when they came there, (xxiv. 5.)

*Sanctify themselves.*] Nothing was said before of their

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sanctification; which is here enjoined by itself, because their high office required a peculiar separation to prepare them for it.

*Lest the Lord break forth upon them.*] Lest when they come near to sacrifice, God should be offended with their uncleanness, and destroy them. This supposes they might go nearer than the people.

Ver. 23. *And Moses said unto the Lord, The people cannot come up to Mount Sinai,* &c.] He thought it was needless to go down to restrain the people; having given them the charge which God commanded him, (ver. 11, 12.) and *set bounds about the mount* (as it here follows), by drawing a line, perhaps, beyond which they should not pass, and thereby separating the mount from them; which he calls *sanctifying it.*

Ver. 24. *And the Lord.*] Or, *but* the Lord.

*Said unto him, Away, get thee down.*] He knew the people's inclinations better than Moses did; and therefore commanded him to make no delay, for fear they should grow more bold than he imagined.

*And thou shalt come up, and Aaron with thee.*] After he had delivered this new charge to them. Which was the more necessary, because Aaron being also called up, they might think likewise of sharing this privilege.

*And Aaron with thee.*] Unto whom God did this great honour, because he was to be called shortly to the dignity of the high-priest: and would be the more respected by the people, when they saw him admitted far nearer to God than they were.

*But let not the priests and the people break through,* &c.] But let not any body else, as they love their lives, presume to press beyond their line: no not the priests, on whom I have bestowed the honour of coming nearer to me than other men, (ver. 22.)

Ver. 25. *So Moses went down unto the people, and spake unto them.*] Delivered the message to them, and to the priests, as he was directed: and then (as he was also ordered) returned to the mount, and his brother with him; but not to the top of the mount where he was before, (ver. 20.) as appears from the nineteenth verse of the next chapter: which shews that Moses was there where the people might speak to him; and therefore, if he went up now to the top of the mount, he came down again, when the Lord spake audibly to them, and stood in a place where he might be a mediator between them. So he himself saith, (Deut. v. 4, 5.) that when the Lord talked with them face to face in the mount, he *stood between the Lord and them.* And accordingly it follows (ver. 23. of that chapter), that when they heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness, *they came near to Moses, and said,* &c. which shews he was not far off from them, though nearer to God than they.

But perhaps Moses and Aaron did not come up into the mount, till after the ten words (or commandments) were spoken: when Moses, we read (xx. 21.) *drew near unto the thick darkness where God was;* though we read nothing of Aaron there. Which inclines me to think the foregoing account of this matter to be the truer.

## CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1. *AND God spake all these words, saying.*] After the trumpet had summoned them all to attend, and sounded a long time louder and louder, there came a voice from the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, out of the midst of the fire, (as we read Deut. iv. 12. v. 4. 22.) that is, of the angelical host which encircled him, and appeared like flames of fire: which made the apostle say, the *law was ordained by angels,* (Gal. iii. 19.) who were then in attendance upon the Divine Majesty, as his retinue, when he *spake all these words,* that follow to the end of the seventeenth verse; which are called the *ten words,* or commandments, in xxxiv. 28. And he spake them with so great a voice, (Deut. v. 22.) that all the people, who were very numerous, plainly heard them, which was very wonderful.

This was upon the sixth day of the third month, called Sivan. (See Selden, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 11.)

Ver. 2. *I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt,* &c.] In this preface to the ten commandments, he asserts his right to give them laws, not only in general, as he is Lord of all, but by a peculiar title he had to their obedience; whom he had taken to himself, after a special manner, to be his people, by bringing them out of the land of Egypt, and the servitude under which they groaned there. This was a benefit fresh in their minds, and most apt to affect their hearts: and, therefore, he doth not say, as the author of Sepher Cosri observes, (par. i. sect. 17.) *I am the Lord of heaven and earth;* or, *I am thy Creator;* but, *I am the Lord thy God,* who have shewn a particular favour and kindness to thee, by bringing thee out of the land of Egypt, &c. When he became their king by a special title, (as I observed, iii. 10.) and, upon that account, gave them these laws, whereby they were to be governed: and gave them peculiarly to them (as the forenamed author notes), who were tied to the observance of them, by virtue of their deliverance out of Egypt, and God's placing his glory among them. Whereas, if they had been tied to them by virtue of their creation, they would have belonged to all nations as much as unto them. Thus he. Maimonides will have these words, *I am the Lord thy God,* to signify the existence of God; and the next, (ver. 3.) his unity: which two are the great foundations of religion, (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 33.) And, indeed, the word Jehovah, or Lord, is generally thought to signify, *he who is of himself.* And the next word Elohim, which is the most ancient name of God in Scripture, learned men of late derive from the Arabic word *alaha* (there being no root in Hebrew remaining from whence it can so regularly come), which signifies to *worship, serve,* and *adore.* Hottinger hath taken a great deal of pains, in his Hexaemeron, and elsewhere, to confirm this out of that, and out of the Ethiopic language also. The Jews say, indeed, that Elohim is the namo of *judgment,* as Jehovah is of *mercy;* but Abarbinel confutes this, to establish a notion of his own (viz. *the omnipotent Cause of all things),* which others oppose, as much as he doth the former. And therefore most, I think, now rest in the forenamed notion, that it properly signifies Him, who only is to be religiously worshipped and adored; as it follows in the next words.

Ver. 3. *Thou shalt have no other gods.*] That is, *believe in one God;* or, *believe there is no other God but me,* as Nachman interprets it; and, consequently, worship no other God. This is the great foundation (as the Hebrews speak) of the law: for whosoever confesses any other God, he denies the whole law. And they truly observe, also, that

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this negative precept includes the affirmative, *viz.* a command to worship him, the only God. As when Naaman saith, he would neither offer burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other God but the Lord; it is plain he meant, that he would sacrifice to him, (1 Kings, v. 17.) See Selden, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 1.

*Before me.*] As they were not to forsake him and worship some other God; so not to worship any other God, *together with him,* as many did, (2 Kings xvii. 33.) For in his presence he could not endure any competitor.

Ver. 4. *Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image,* &c.] The difference between *pesel,* which we translate *graven image,* and *temunah,* which we translate *likeness,* seems to be, that the former was a protuberant image, or a *statue* made of wood, stone, &c. and the other only a *picture,* drawn in colours upon a wall, or board, &c. Both which, some have thought, they were prohibited here so much as to make; whether it were the image, or picture, of the stars, or birds, or men, or beasts, or fishes, for fear they should be drawn to worship them. Thus, it is certain, Origen understood this commandment, when he said, there was not permitted to be so much as ζωγράφος, οὔτε ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ αὐτῶν, &c. *a picture-drawer, or a maker of statues in their commonwealth:* to take away all occasion of drawing men's minds from the worship of God, (lib. iv. contra Cels. p. 181.) Clemens Alexandrinus was of the same opinion, (lib. v. Stromat. and Tertullian, L. de Spectaculis, cap. 23.) Which they derived, in all probability, from the Jews, who, from the time of the Maccabees to the destruction of Jerusalem, thought they were forbidden by this law to make an image or figure of any living creature, especially of a man. This Hermannus Conringius hath plainly demonstrated (in his Paradoxa de Nummis Ebræorum, cap. 5.) out of many places in Philo and in Josephus. The latter of which tells us, (lib. xviii. Archæolog. cap. 5.) that all their governors before Pilate were wont to use ensigns in Jerusalem, without the image of Cæsar in them, because their law forbade them εἰκόνων ποίησιν, *the making of images.* And when Vitellius was to lead the Roman army through Judea, against the Arabians, with images in their ensigns, the people ran to meet him, beseeching him to forbear it, οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πάτριον περιορᾶν εἰκόνας εἰς αὐτὴν φερομένας, *for it was not consonant to the laws of their country to see images brought into it.* But whether this was the ancient exposition of the law before those times may be doubted. The Talmudists think it was unlawful to make any figures of celestial bodies, either prominent or plain, though it were for ornament's sake: but as for animals, they might make prominent statues of them, except only of men; the images of whom they might draw on a plain: (see Selden, lib. i. de Jure N. et G. cap. 6—8.) which distinctions most look upon as ungrounded; and the common opinion is, that Moses did not forbid the very making of an image; but that they should not make them to set up in the place of Divine worship.

Ver. 5. *Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.*] If they saw an image (as they must needs do in other countries, though we suppose they had none among themselves), he requires them not to use any gesture, or to do any thing that might signify reverence or honour given to them. Such were *prostrating* themselves before them, *bowing* their bodies, *kissing* their hands; much less to *offer sacrifice,* or *burn incense,* &c. to them. Here seems to be a plain gradation in this commandment; three things being here forbidden, if we take the first part of it to signify that they might not so much *as make a graven image, or any likeness* of any thing, for fear they should be tempted to idolatry. But though this may be supposed to have been a sin, yet not so great as the next, *to bow down to them;* which was a degree of honour too high to be paid unto any image: but was not the highest of all; which was to *serve them,* by offering sacrifice, burning incense, making vows to them; or swearing by them; or consecrating temples to them; or lighting candles before them.

*For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God.*] This reason shews that this commandment is different from the first, and not a part of it. For worshipping of images is forbidden, not merely because he was their God, and there is but one God; but because he *is a jealous God,* who could not endure any corrival, or consort, in that which was proper to himself. And so the ancient Jews and Christians also, before St. Austin took this for the second commandment. The Arabian Christians, in later times, particularly Elmacinus, distinctly names the ten commandments in that order which we now do; as Hottinger observes in his Smegma Orientale, p. 436.

*Visiting.*] *i. e.* Punishing with heavy judgments, (Lev. xxvi. 39.)

*The iniquity of the fathers upon the children.*] This was threatened to terrify them from this sin, which would ruin their families; being a kind of high treason against the Lord of heaven and earth. Yet Aben Ezra understands it only of such children as trod in the steps of their forefathers; for if they repented the punishment was mitigated, (Lev. xxvi. 40, &c.)

*Unto the third and fourth generation.*] That is, as long as they could be supposed to live (which might be to see the third, and perhaps the fourth generation), he threatens to pursue them with his vengeance in their posterity; whose punishment they themselves should behold, to their great grief. So great was his hatred to this sin; and so odious were such people to him. Thus Maimonides expounds it in his More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 54. *Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children,* is threatened only against the sin of idolatry; as appears from what follows, that such sinners are called haters of him. And he mentions only *to the fourth generation;* because the most a man can live to see of his seed, is the fourth generation. Accordingly God orders, saith he, that if any city proved idolaters, the inhabitants should be destroyed utterly, and all that was therein, (Deut. xiii. 13—15.) Fathers, children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, and the newborn children, were all killed for the sin of their parents." Hence, he saith, (Deut. vii. 10.) he repayeth men that hate him *to their face:* which is there twice mentioned.

*Of them that hate me.*] For he looked on them not only as enemies, but as haters of him. It is an observation of the same Maimonides, that, in the whole law of Moses, and in the books of the prophets, we shall never find these words, *fury, anger, indignation, jealousy,* attributed to God, but when they speak of idolatry: nor any man called an *enemy to God,* an *adversary,* a *hater* of him, but only *idolaters,* (Deut. vi. 14, 15. xi. 16, 17. xxxi. 29, &c. Nehem. i. 2. Deut. vii. 10. Numb. xxxii. 21. Deut. xii. 31.

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xvi. 22.) See More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 36. which he repeats cap. 54. "No man is called a hater of God, but an idolater;" according to that Deut. xii. 31. "every abomination to the Lord which he hateth." By which it appears, that they counted the worshippers of images idolaters; though they did not think these images to be gods (for no man in the world ever thought an image made of wood and stone, silver or gold, to be the Creator of heaven and earth, or the Governor of the world), but took them only for things intermediate between God and them, as he there speaks.

This was a law so well known to the ancient heathens, that the best men among them would suffer no images to be set up in their temples. In particular, Numa forbade this to the Romans, which he learned, as Clemens Alexandrinus thinks, from Moses. Insomuch, that for the space of a hundred and seventy years, though they built temples, yet ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν, οὔτε πλαστὸν, οὔτε μὲν γραπτὸν ἐποιήσαντο, *they made no image, neither statue, nor so much as a picture,* (lib. i. Stromat. p. 304.) Plutarch relates the same in the life of Numa Pompilius, and adds this reason, that he thought it a great crime to represent the most excellent Being by such mean things; and that God was to be apprehended only by the mind. The ancient Persians pretend to have received the same law from their Zoroaster; who, in a number of things, is so like to Moses, that Huetius thinks (not without reason) his story was framed out of these books.

Ver. 6. *And shewing mercy unto thousands.*] To invite their obedience, he promises to be kind unto them and their posterity for *many generations* (so *thousands* signifies), who were loyal and faithful to him. Such is the infinite goodness of God, that he delights more in shewing mercy, than in acts of severity; there being such a disproportion between the one and the other, as there is between three or four and a thousand. Which made the heavy punishment of idolaters the more reasonable, because they might have enjoyed such great and long-continued blessings, if they would have kept close to their religion.

*Of them that love me.*] Adhered to him alone, as the only object of worship and adoration; with such an affection as a chaste wife bears to her husband. For God now espoused this nation to himself (as the prophets taught them to understand it), and therefore all the idolatry which is forbidden in these commandments is called *going a whoring* from him.

*And keep my commandments.*] Not only professed to be his entirely, but proved it by observing his precepts. Which *keeping* or observing of *his commandments,* is mentioned here, perhaps, and not in any of the following commandments, because this and the first were the principal, upon which the rest depended: there being no reason to mind what he said, if they acknowledged any other God but him.

Ver. 7. *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.*] By the *name* of the Lord, in Scripture, is meant the Lord himself: and to *take,* or *lift up* his name, is to swear by him. So this word *nasa* sometimes signifies, without the addition of God's name, (Isa. iii. 7.) *Jissa,* he shall *lift up* in that day; which we truly render, *in that day he shall swear:* which they did then with the hand lifted up to heaven. And to take his name or swear *in vain,* is to swear falsely. That is the principal meaning undoubtedly, that they should not call God to witness unto a lie; promising in his name that which they meant not to perform; or affirming or denying with an oath that which they knew not to be true. For so the word *schave* frequently signifies in Scripture, *a lie.* This relates not to their giving a testimony before a judge upon oath (of which he speaks afterward in a distinct commandment), but to their intercourse and commerce one with another. For an oath, saith R. Levi, of Barcelona, ought to establish every thing: and thereby we declare ourselves to be as much resolved concerning that which we swear, as we are concerning the being of God.

Heathens themselves accounted an oath so sacred a thing, that it was capital for a man to forswear himself, as Hen. Stephanus (in his Fontes Juris Civilis, p. 7.) observes out of Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. and the reason he gives of it is this: that such a man committed two heinous crimes, by violating his piety to God and his faith to men in the highest degree.

But besides this, both Jews and Christians always understood swearing lightly, upon frivolous occasions, or without any necessity, to be here forbidden. R. Levi, beforementioned, saith this precept may be violated four several ways, besides swearing that which we mean not to perform. And Salvian applies this to the trivial naming of God and our Saviour, upon all occasions, and sometimes upon bad occasions. "Nihil jam pene vanius quam Christi nomen esse videatur," &c. Every body then swearing by Christ he would do this or that, though of no consequence whether he did it or no, or perhaps a thing which ought not to be done, (lib. iv. de Gubern. Dei, p. 88. edit. Baluz.)

They that understand this of swearing by false gods (which are called *vain things* in Scripture) do but trifle; that is condemned in the foregoing commandment; it being a piece of worship to swear by them.

*For the Lord will not hold him guiltless,* &c.] If men did not punish the false swearer, the Lord threatens that he will. And so mankind always thought, as appears by the law of the twelve tables (mentioned by Hen. Stephanus in the book quoted above), "Perjurii pœna divina, exitium, humana, dedecus:" *The divine punishment of perjury is utter destruction; the human punishment is disgrace or infamy.* And Alexander Severus was so sensible of this, that he thought, "Jurisjurandi contempta religio, satis Deum ultorem habet:" *The contempt of the religion of an oath hath God for a sufficient avenger.* For an oath is the strongest bond that is among men, to bind them to truth and fidelity, as Cicero speaks, (lib. iii. de Offic. cap. 31.) Witness, saith he, the twelve tables; witness our sacred forms in taking an oath; witness our covenant and leagues, wherein we plight our faith to enemies; witness the animadversions of our censors, "qui nulla de re diligentius quam de jurejurando, judicabant;" *who judged of nothing more diligently than of an oath.*

Nor was the other sort of *vain* (that is, light and idle) swearing, without any just occasion, suffered to go unpunished: for Mr. Selden observes, out of Maimonides, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 11. p. 497.) that if any man was guilty of it, he that heard him swear was bound to excom-

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municate him (what that was he shews in the first book), and if he did not he was to be excommunicated himself. And there is great reason for these civil laws, which have provided a punishment for this crime; not only because it is a great disrespect to God, to use his name so lightly on every trivial occasion; but because such contempt of the Divine Majesty makes men fall into the fearful sin of perjury.

Ver. 8. *Remember the sabbath-day, to keep it holy.*] Be mindful of the day called the sabbath; to make a difference between it and all other days; so that it be not employed as they are.

Ver. 9. *Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work.*] This is not a precept requiring labour; but a permission to employ six days in a week, about such worldly business as they had to do. Which permission also God himself abridged, by appointing some other festival days; as all governors may do, upon some special occasions.

Ver. 10. *But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God.*] Appointed by his authority to be a day of rest from your labours.

*In it thou shalt not do any work.*] Herein the peculiar respect to the seventh day consisted: on all other days they might work; but on this they were to cease from all manner of work. In which very thing was the sanctifying of this day; it being hereby separated and distinguished from all other days in a very remarkable manner. But then it naturally followed, that, having no other work to do, they should call to mind the reason why it was thus sanctified, or set apart from other days. And the reason, say the Jews themselves, was, "That having no other business, they might fasten in their minds the belief that the world had a beginning; which is a thread that draws after it all the foundation of the law, or the principles of religion." They are the words of R. Levi, of Barcelona.

Besides which, there was another reason, which I shall mention presently. But by this it appears, that the observation of this day was a sign, or a badge, to whom they belonged: a profession that they were all the servants of him who created the heaven and the earth, as God himself teaches them to understand it, (xxxi. 13. 17.) And that their minds might be possessed with this sense, he ordered this solemn commemoration of the creation of the world to be made once in seven days. For as, if there had been quicker returns of it, their secular business might have been too much hindered; so, if it had been delayed longer, this sense might have worn too much out of their minds.

*Thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter,* &c.] They might no more employ others in their worldly business on this day than do it themselves: but their children, though they understood not the reason, were to rest; that in time they might learn this great truth, that all things were made by God.

*Nor thy cattle.*] Their oxen, and asses, and all other creatures wont to be employed in their labours, were to enjoy the benefit of this rest as well as themselves, (Deut. v. 14.) Which was absolutely necessary; it being impossible for their servants to rest (as is here also required) if they were to set their cattle on work.

*Nor thy stranger that is within thy gates.*] No stranger, who, by being circumcised, had embraced the Jewish religion. But other strangers might work; who only dwelt among them, having renounced idolatry, but not taken upon them the obligation to observe their whole law. Yet if any such person was a servant to a Jew, his master might not employ him on the sabbath-day in any work of his; but the man might work for himself, if he pleased, being not bound to this law. (See Selden, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 12.)

Ver. 11. *For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth.*] There were two reasons for the sanctification of this day. One was, because God rested from his work of creation on the seventh day, which is mentioned here; the other was, because he had given them rest from their labours in Egypt, which he mentions in the fifth of Deuteronomy. There is nobody hath explained both these better than Maimonides: (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 31.) "There are two different causes, saith he, for this precept, from two different effects. For when Moses first explained to us the cause of this celebration, in the promulgation of the ten commandments, he saith it was, because *in six days the Lord made heaven and earth.* But in the repetition of them, he saith, 'Remember that thou wast a servant in Egypt, &c. therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath-day,' (Deut. v. 15.) The first cause is the glory and magnificence of this day, as it is said, 'Therefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and sanctified it,' (Gen. ii. 3.) This was the effect of that cause, *for in six days he made heaven and earth* (this was the reason, he means, of the first institution of the sabbath), but that he gave this precept of the sabbath unto *us,* (*i. e.* the Israelites) and commanded us to observe it, was from the other cause, which followed the first cause, *because we were servants in Egypt.* All which time we could not serve according to our own will and pleasure, nor had any rest, or observed a sabbath: and therefore God gave us this special precept of resting and cessation from labours, to join together these two reasons, *viz.* the belief of the beginning of the world, which presently suggests to us the being of God; and then the memory of God's benefits unto us, in giving us rest from our intolerable burdens in Egypt."

*Wherefore he blessed the sabbath-day, and hallowed it.*] In the beginning of the world he blessed the seventh day, (Gen. ii. 3.) and now particularly chose *this* seventh day for a sabbath; which he ordered them to observe in memory of their coming out of Egypt on that day; as I observed, xvi. 5. 23. By which he preserved in their minds that singular benefit which he had bestowed upon them: "and most manifestly (saith Maimonides in another place, par. iii. cap. 43.) procured great ease to all sorts of men, by freeing a seventh part of their lives from wearisome labour: which hath another blessing in conjunction with it, that it perpetually preserved and confirmed that most precious history and doctrine concerning the creation of the world."

Ver. 12. *Honour thy father and thy mother.*] In another place they are commanded to *fear* them, (Lev. xix. 3.) and as here the father is put before the mother, so there the mother is put before the father; to shew (as Maimonides takes it, in his treatise called Memarim, cap. 6.) that we ought not to make any difference between them; but they are both equally to be honoured and reverenced. Which is a duty of such great concernment, that we are taught, by the placing of this commandment immediately after those which pecu-



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liarly relate to God's worship, that, next to his Majesty, our parents are to be honoured, with that reverence, love, obedience, and maintenance, which are due to them. And therefore notorious disobedience to them is threatened with death, as well as apostacy from God. Wherein this *honour* or *fear* doth consist, is taught in all books of religion: and Mr. Selden hath named a great many things wherein the Jews place it, as the learned reader may see, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. p. 558.)

I shall only add, that this was a law among the heathens, mentioned by Saleucus, Charondus, and others, in these words, τὰ τέκνα τοὺς γονεῖς τιμάτωσαν, *let children honour their parents.* And thus Ulpian expresses it, "Filio semper honesta et sancta persona patris videri debet." And afterward, "Filium patrem et matrem venerari oportet." With much more that Hen. Stephanus hath collected, in his Fontes et Rivi Juris Civilis.

*That thy days may be long in the land,* &c.] As disobedience to parents is, by the law of Moses, threatened to be punished with death; so, on the contrary, long life (which is the greatest worldly blessing) is promised to the obedient; and that in their own country, which God had peculiarly enriched with abundance of his blessings. Heathens also gave the very same encouragement, saying, that *such children should be dear to the gods, both living and dead.* So Euripides.

Ὅστις δὲ τοὺς τεκόντας ἐν βίῳ σέβει,
Ὅδ' ἐστὶ καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανὼν θεοῖς φίλος.

And this famous Senarius, mentioned by the same Hen. Stephanus, with many other notable passages.

Ἱκανῶς βιώσεις γηροβοσκῶν τοὺς γονεῖς.

*Thou shalt live long* (or, *as long as thou canst desire*) *if thou nourish thy ancient parents.* Whence children are called by Xenophon, and others, Γηροβοσκοί.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt not kill.*] After the command about the respect due to parents, naturally follows the regard we ought to have to all other men who spring from them. And the greatest injury we can do another is to take away his life; whereby he is deprived of all the enjoyments of this world, and human society itself is also wounded, which cannot subsist if its innocent members cannot be safe. *Innocent,* I say, for this commandment doth not hinder men from defending themselves from violence, (xxii. 2.) nor forbid magistrates to punish those with death who commit crimes worthy of it; for this is to preserve the lives of other men, (xxii. 18—20.)

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*] Next to a man's self, his wife is nearer to him than any other person; they two being *one flesh.* Which makes the injury done to him in her person a breach of human society next to murder. Nay, the LXX. place this commandment before the other, *Thou shalt not kill:* virtuous women valuing their chastity more than their lives; and the crimes to which mere pleasure tempts men being more grievous, in the opinion of the great philosopher, than those to which they are stimulated by anger. Whoredom is also forbidden in the law of Moses, and incest; as wounding any man is, as well as murder: but in these *ten words,* which are a short abridgment of their duty, it was sufficient only to mention the principal things of every kind which were hateful to God and injurious to men.

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt not steal.*] This was to injure men in their goods and possessions; either by open rapine, or by craft and cheating; against which God intended to secure them by this precept. Several sorts of this sin are afterwards mentioned in particular laws.

Ver. 16. *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.*] As our neighbour is not to be injured by us in deeds, so not in words, by giving a false testimony against him before a judge, which is the chief sin of this kind. This is both an injury to our neighbour, and an affront to God; in whose place the judge is, whom we go about to deceive.

Large commentaries on these commandments are not to be expected; which may be found in many authors commonly known.

Ver. 17. *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house,* &c.] Here is forbidden so much as the designing any mischief to others in any of the things forementioned. For as all injuries in word or deed are prohibited in the four preceding commandments; so in this he prohibits those which are only in the heart or counsels of men, but never come to light. And in the enumeration of the things they were not to covet, he begins first with that which was last mentioned, and so backward to the other. For he saith, *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house,* by designing to bear *false witness,* or to commit *theft.* And then follows, *thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife,* by intending to abuse her, if opportunity served; *nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant,* &c. which are his principal goods. He saith nothing of thirsting after his *life,* which is supposed to be unlawful, because less than that is forbidden.

Menander hath something like this:

Μηδὲ βελόνης ἔναμμ' ἐπιθυμῇς Πάμφιλε,
Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς βλέπει σε πλησίον παρών.

*Do not so much as covet the thread of a needle, for God sees thee, being intimately present with thee.* (See more in Grotius's Prolegomena in Excerpta ex Stobæo.)

Ver. 18. *And all the people saw the thunderings,* &c.] *Seeing* being the principal sense, it is frequently put for the rest: and this passage may be translated, *they sensibly perceived,* &c. (See Gen. xlii. 1. and Drusius's Quæstiones Hebr. lib. i. cap. 10.)

*The thunderings and the lightnings.*] See xix. 16.

*And the noise of the trumpet.*] Which ceased, while God spake the *ten words* to them; but now began again, together with thunders and lightnings, when they were ended. For as they were introduced in a most majestic manner, to raise their attention, and strike an awe into them; so they were closed, that they might be the more sensible of the dreadfulness of that Majesty who spake to them; and that they might have a greater reverence to his law.

*They removed, and stood afar off.*] They were at the bottom of the mount while God spake to them; but now started back, for fear those flames they saw upon the mountain, (Deut. v. 25.) and perhaps flashed from thence in a terrible manner, should devour them. How far they removed we know not; some think to the place where they were encamped before this glorious appearance, out of which Moses brought them to meet with God, (xix. 2. 17.)

Ver. 19. *And they said unto Moses.*] By the heads of their tribes and their elders, (Deut. v. 23.) who came from the people to Moses while he remained still in his place.

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For he saith there, *they came near unto him*, when they spake these words; which signifies they were at some distance before.

*Speak thou with us, and we will hear*, &c.] They desire that what God had farther to command them, he would be pleased to acquaint Moses with it; and they would receive it as his own words; but should die with fear if they heard him speak any more with his own voice. This is more largely related, Deut. v. 24, 25, &c.; and accordingly God afterward communicated to Moses alone the rest of his laws, both concerning religion and civil government.

Ver. 20. *And Moses said unto the people.*] He bade the elders return this answer to the people that sent them.

*Fear not.*] Be not afraid of your lives. No hurt shall come to you.

*For God is come to prove you.*] God intends, by this dreadful appearance, to discover unto yourselves and others whether you will be such as you pretend, (xix. 8.)

*And that his fear may be before your face.*] And that you may have an awful sense of him in your mind, by having before your eyes continually the glory of his majesty, of which you were lately sensible, (ver. 18.)

*That you sin not.*] Let this be your only fear, not to offend God by disobeying his commands.

Ver. 21. *And the people stood afar off.*] In their tents, within their camp. For God commanded him to bid the elders, after this discourse, to go to their tents from whence they came; where, I suppose, the rest of the people were, (Deut. v. 30.) But he bade Moses stay with him; and he would, as they desired, tell him all the rest of the things which he intended to enjoin them, (ver. 31.)

*And Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was.*] Who called him to him again, as he had done before, (xix. 20.) There is a curious observation in Pirke Eliezer, that the Hebrew word here is not *nogesh*, he *approached*, or *drew near*, as we translate it; but *niggesh*, he *was drawn near:* the angel Gabriel, or Michael (as he fancies), coming, and taking him by the hand and leading him up to God, (cap. 41.) But this signifies rather that he did not go up of his own accord, but was called by God to draw near to his Divine Majesty. Which he did the next day, upon the seventh day of Sivan: and received fifty-seven laws (besides the ten which God himself delivered), partly civil and partly religious; which were explications of the decalogue.

Ver. 22. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] When they were together in the thick cloud beforementioned.

*Thus thou shalt say unto the children of Israel.*] When thou goest down again to them.

*Ye have seen that I have talked with you from heaven.*] The apprehension of one sense (as Maimonides phrases it, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 46.) is usually in Scripture put for the apprehension of another. As, *see the word of the Lord;* (Jer. ii. 31.) that is, hear it, or mark it diligently. Or, the meaning here may be, *you saw, i. e.* perceived, by the thunderings, and lightnings, and all the rest of the tokens of a majestic presence, that it was I who spake from above.

Ver. 23. *Ye shall not make with me.*] The Hebrew writers here make a pause, or full stop, as if it were a complete sentence. And the meaning is explained in the Talmud to be, *Ye shall not make the similitude of the ministers that minister before me above,* as the sun, the moon, the stars, or the angels, (Gem. Bab. upon Avoda Zura.) And so Maimonides, upon the same subject; it is unlawful to form the images of the sun, the moon, the stars, the celestial signs, or angels, according to that which is written, *Ye shall not make with me; i. e.* nothing like the ministers that minister to me above. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 6. p. 198.) But if we join these with the following words the sense is the same; that, as they acknowledged no other gods but him, so they should not make any image to represent him. To enforce which, the word *make* is repeated in the end of the verse, whereby greater efficacy is added to the command.

*Gods of silver, or gods of gold, shall ye not make unto you.*] He gives this caution, lest by the splendour of these metals they should be tempted (being prone to superstition and idolatry) to make such kind of representations. For by *gods* are meant images to represent him; which at the first were made very glittering, like the heavenly bodies; but afterward they proceed to worship images of mere wood, or stone.

The coherence of this with the foregoing verses is something obscure: unless we observe how this is reported in the book of Deuteronomy: where Moses puts them in mind, that they "saw no similitude on the day that God spake with them in Horeb," (iv. 15.) and therefore ought not to "make them a graven image, the similitude of any figure," &c. (ver. 16—19.) Accordingly the meaning is here, "ye have seen that I talked with you from heaven," (*i. e.* you heard only a voice, but saw no similitude of man, or any other creature,) therefore ye shall not represent me by any image, though never so rich and glorious. And thus Greg. Nyssen seems to have understood it, de Vita Mosis, p. 180 God gave Moses many Divine commandments, the chief of which is ἡ εὐσέβεια, καὶ τὸ τὰς πρεπούσας ὑπολήψεις περὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἔχειν, *piety towards God, and to have becoming notions and conceptions of the Divine nature,* as transcending all visible things, nay, all our thoughts, and like to nothing that we know. And therefore he bids them, in their conceptions of him, not to look at any thing they saw, nor liken τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ὑπερκειμένην φύσιν, *the nature which transcends the whole universe,* to any thing that they were acquainted withal.

There was the greater need of this precept, if the Egyptian worship in these days was the same with that in other times; when Osiris was adored in the form of a golden ox, or an ox of wood all *gilded over,* as Plutarch calls it βοῦς διάχρυσος.

Ver. 24. *An altar of earth shalt thou make unto me.*] For the better observation of the foregoing commandment, he orders that his altars should be made as plain and simple as might be. Either of sods and turfs of earth (which were easily prepared, in most places, whilst they stayed in the wilderness), or of rough and unpolished stone (if they came into rocky places where no sods were to be got), that so there might be no occasion to grave any image upon them. Such altars, Tertullian observes, were among the ancient Romans in the days of Numa: when, as they had no sumptuous temples, nor images, so they had only *temeraria de cespite altaria, altars hastily huddled up of earth without any art,* (Apolog. cap. 25.) which Jamblichus calls βωμοὺς αὐτοσχεδίους, *ex tempore,* altars (as we would now speak) *thrown up on a sudden.* And so Scioppius



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pretends he found some MSS. have it in that place of Tertullian, not *temeraria*, but *temporaria;* altars made only for a present use, not to remain after the sacrifice was done. Nay, Fortunatus Scacchus will have it that Moses here commands them *to make the earth their altar;* as the words may be translated out of the Hebrew: which he thus interprets, "Thou shalt mark out a place upon the bare ground, and there offer sacrifice," (Myrothec. ii. Sacr. Elæochrys. cap. 56.)

*And shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings*, &c.] This form of worship, as Maimonides himself acknowledges, was appointed by God, because it was used in all the world. Which moved him, not to abolish it, but to translate it, from created and imaginary beings, to his own most adorable name. Therefore he commanded us, saith he, to make him a sanctuary, (xxv. 8.) and consecrate an altar to his name, and offer him sacrifices (for which he alleges this very text), and on the contrary prohibits us to do such things to any other being, (xxii. 20. xxxiv. 13, 14. More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 32.)

*In all places.*] This shews that the foregoing commandment hath a peculiar respect to the time they were in the wilderness (especially till the tabernacle was erected) when they were in their travels, removing from place to place, and not fixed in any: then these altars were very proper, which might be prepared on a sudden, and as suddenly thrown down again.

*Where I record my name.*] Or cause it to be remembered and acknowledged, by some token or symbol (that is) whereby he signified that he would be worshipped there. Which sense the Chaldee seems to me to have expressed most exactly; *in every place where I shall make my glory (i. e.* the Schechinah) *to dwell, from whence I will bless thee: i. e.* hear their prayers. This must be the meaning here; because the ark, which was the memorial of God's presence with them, was not yet made. Or else, he means the sacrifices and altars beforementioned, which Mr. Mede thinks may be here pointed at; because these were rites of remembrance whereby the name of God was commemorated and recorded, and his covenant with men testified and renewed. (See book ii. p. 453, &c.) And, indeed, the word *zacar* doth most certainly signify, not only to *remember* or *record*, but to *worship* and to perform sacred offices: so the meaning may be, *in every place where I exhibit myself to be worshipped and honoured.*

*I will come unto thee*, or, *meet with thee.*] Upon which account the tabernacle of the Lord was called *Ohel Moed*, the tabernacle of meeting. Not because of the people's meeting there to worship (as is commonly supposed, when we translate those words *the tabernacle of the congregation*), but of God's meeting there with his people, as Mr. Mede observes (p. 436.) from many plain places of Scripture, (Exod. xxix. 42. xxx. 36. Numb. xvii. 4.)

*And I will bless thee.*] Give thee testimonies of my gracious presence and acceptance. The gentiles believed their gods were present where their images were worshipped. But he promises to be present in all places whatsoever, where he would have his name celebrated (*i.e.* where he would be worshipped), though their sacrifices were offered upon the most mean and simple altar.

Ver. 25. *If thou wilt make me an altar of stone*, &c.] If it cannot be made without stones (saith Maimonides, par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 45.) take care that the stones remain in their own natural form, and that they be not polished, &c. This was to avoid idolatry; for fear they should make any figure with the tools they employed, in shaping and fashioning the stones, after an artificial manner: or should reserve the pieces of stone that were pared off for superstitious or magical uses. Just, saith Maimonides, as he forbids planting a grove near his altar, for that was to imitate idolaters, (Deut. xvi. 22.) See Deut. iv. 15, 16. which plainly shews this was the reason of this command.

In short, these altars were built like those of turf, on a sudden, without any art; only by piling stones one upon another. Such an altar David built upon a special occasion, (2 Sam. xxiv. 25.) and after him Elijah, (1 Kings xviii. 31, 32.) and Fortunatus Scacchus makes it probable that it was such an one which Ezra built, at their return from Babylon to their own country, (iii. 2, 3. Myrothec. ii. Sacr. Elæochrys. cap. 59.) where he represents the form of such an altar among the heathen, out of an ancient monument, (p. 585.) And there is little doubt, I think, that the altars built by the patriarchs were of this sort; particularly that which Abraham erected whereon to offer his son Isaac, (Gen. xxii. 9.) for it was raised so suddenly that no art could be employed about it.

I omit other reasons which the Jews allege for this law, for they seem to me to be fanciful. And shall rather observe, that Plato in his Laws ordered all things belonging to the service of God should be very simple and plain, without any cost or ornament: and therefore forbids gold, silver, or ivory, because they were *things too invidious* (ἐπίφθονον κτῆμα), and brass and iron he would not have used, because they were πολέμων ὄργανα, *the instruments of wars:* but one single piece of wood or stone should serve for an image, and that made in a day's time, (lib. xii. de Legibus, p. 955, 956. edit. Serran.)

It seems difficult also to reconcile these two verses with God's own ordinance, not long after, in the twenty-seventh chapter of this book; where he bids Moses to make him an altar neither of earth, nor of stone, but of shittim-wood, covered with brass, for the use of the tabernacle, where he recorded his name. But it is to be considered, that these two verses speak only of occasional altars (as I may call them) which they might have use of, not only before but after the tabernacle was erected. These God doth not forbid, when there was a special reason for them; but he intending there should be no stated altar, but that at the tabernacle, he would have these made of unpolished stones, laid one upon another, that they might be thrown down as soon as raised; and that they might not draw people from the tabernacle, nor administer occasion of idolatry, by an artificial workmanship and imagery. Now that there were such altars raised upon certain great occasions, but not to continue, appears from the sacred history. For (xxiv. 4.) Moses built one at the foot of Mount Sinai, by God's command it is likely, and of this fashion. And he gave order for building one of stone after they came to Canaan, (Deut. xxvii. 1—3.) which Joshua performed, according to this rule, as is expressly said Josh. viii. 30, 31. Of this sort were those of Gideon and Manoah, (Judg. vi. 24. 26. xiii. 19.) And we read of altars built by Samuel, (1 Sam. vii. 17.) and by Saul, (xiv. 35.) and David, as was before ob-

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served, (2 Sam. xxiv. 25.) and Solomon, (1 Kings iii. 2. 34.) besides the altar which was in the tabernacle and the temple.

Ver. 26. *Thou shalt not go up by steps unto my altar.*] This was most suitable to the state of travellers, to have their altars low, not lofty. Besides, he would not have them imitate the gentiles, who sacrificed in high places; imagining their sacrifices were most acceptable when they were nearest to heaven. Whence the Egyptians, living in a flat country wherein were no mountains, built altars of a very great height, which could not be well done by sods of earth, or stones loosely laid together. Nor would God have it done, when he ordered Moses to make an altar of brass and wood at the tabernacle; which it is evident was so low, that a man might stand and minister there without being raised from the earth: for it was but three cubits high, (xxvii. 1.) which is less by one cubit than the ordinary stature of men.

*Not go up by steps.*] There were steps in the temple built by Solomon unto the brazen altar, which was ten cubits high: and Ezekiel expressly mentions them in the description of his temple, (xliii. 17.) which seeming to disagree with this command, interpreters are much concerned to reconcile them. And the forenamed Fortun. Scacchus, cap. 63. contends earnestly that no altar was higher than three cubits; and therefore those steps mentioned by Ezekiel did not belong to the altar, but to the basis or ground-work (as we speak) upon which it stood. But this is said without good ground, for we read expressly that Solomon's altar was ten cubits high, (2 Chron. iv. 1.) at which therefore the priest could not minister, without some *steps*, whereby he ascended so high, as to be able to lay on the wood and the sacrifice upon it, &c. By *steps* therefore (to omit other conjectures) I understand *many steps* (which are here forbidden), such as the gentiles had to go up to their *Bamoth*, or high places; as we see by one of the pyramids in Egypt, and the high tower at Mexico; to which they ascended by a hundred and eighty steps. But a very few served for Solomon's altar; and they were so contrived also, as, the Hebrew writers tell us, that there was no danger of that which God intended hereby to prevent in the words following.

*That thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.*] The Hebrews say it was a kind of causeway, or bridge, whereby they went up to the altar; which rose by little and little, till they came to the place where they were to stand. (See L'Empereur upon the Codex Middoth, cap. 3. sect. 3.) Or else the steps were so broad and so little distant one from another, and the ascent thereby made so easy and equal, that there was no need of lifting up their legs high, and therefore no danger of discovering the lower parts of the body (their thighs, buttocks, and secret parts), which might have been seen by those below (had they ascended by many large and high steps) under such loose garments as were worn in those countries; and thereby the priests might have been exposed to contempt, and the people moved to laughter, or had bad thoughts excited in them. In short, the meaning is, they should not go up many steps, far distant one from another, so that one must have taken large strides to ascend them.

The Jews say, particularly Maimonides, (par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 45.) that the worshippers of Baal-Peor were wont to discover their nakedness, that is, their secret parts, before him. Which he takes to be the reason of this command; lest any such thing should happen in God's presence: and this was the reason also of another law, that the priests should have breeches made for them, which none of the people wore, in those times, but the priests alone; and that only when they ministered. The Gemara Hierosolym. upon the story of Balaam, gives a long account of this impure worship, as L'Empereur observes upon Codex Middoth, cap. 3. sect. 4. But there is no proof of this from any ancient author; and the Babylonian Gemara gives a different account of the worship of Peor; which looks as if the Jews studied how to make it ridiculous, as well as filthy. But if there were any solid ground for it, it would afford the clearest explication of this place.

## CHAP. XXI.

Ver. 1. *NOW these are the judgments thou shalt set before them.*] By *judgments* are meant such political laws which God thought fit to give for the determination of differences among the people; and that they might be justly and peaceably governed. Which, though they were not spoken with such pomp and majesty as the ten commandments were (and much less were the ceremonial precepts delivered with such solemnity), yet the Israelites believed that they came from the same authority, though spoken to Moses in the mount privately, and not in the audience of all the people; as appears by their submission to these, no less than to the other laws. And there was great reason for it; it being their own desire not to hear God's voice any more; but to be instructed by Moses what God required, and they promised to obey it, (xx. 19.)

Ver. 2. *If thou buy a Hebrew servant*, &c.] Or a *slave*. Some persons sold themselves by reason of poverty: of which sort the Hebrews understand that law, (Lev. xxv. 39.) Others were sold by the court of judgment; which was in case of a theft they had committed; for which, not being able to make satisfaction unto him that had received the damage, they were condemned to be his servants. Of these they interpret this place, and Deut. xv. 12. But this sale, they say, did not extend to both sexes; for a woman was not to be sold for theft.

*In the seventh year he shall go out free for nothing.*] If the damage was so great, that his six years' service had not satisfied for it, yet he was not to be kept longer. And his servitude also might end sooner, by manumission, or redemption, or the death of his master, if he were a gentile or a proselyte. Nay, if he were a Hebrew, his death put an end to it, in case he left no son. And his master also was bound to maintain his wife and children (if he had any), all this time giving them food, raiment, and a dwelling, though they were not to be his servants. (See Mr. Selden lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 7.)

It is remarkable, that he sets this law in the first place, because mercy, next to piety, is the most excellent virtue: and God would have his people, saith R. Levi Barzelonita, adorned with and full of the noblest qualities, which are benignity and mercy.

This year of release also being a sacred year; the whole land being holy to the Lord, so that no man might chal-

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lenge any right or propriety in it, to sow his field, or reap that which grew of itself, &c. it was sacrilege for any master to keep a servant from his freedom, when the year came which was the Lord's release, as we read expressly Lev. xxv. and Deut. xv. Whence it was, that, because the Jews were so profane as to break this law, and not give their servants liberty (as we read in the thirty-fourth of Jeremiah), God punished them with a captivity of seventy years, in which the land lay waste, till it had fulfilled the years of rest which they would not observe; as Mr. Mede hath truly noted, Discourse xxvi. latter end.

Ver. 3. *If he come in by himself*, &c.] That is, a single man without a wife; so he was to depart. But if he was a married man when he was sold; as the master was not to let his wife and children want food, and raiment, and habitation, while he continued his slave; so, when he was free, he was not to meddle with them, or detain them from their father and husband, (Lev. xxv. 41.)

Ver. 4. *If his master have given him a wife.*] Unto such a servant as this, who was sold by the court of judgment, his master might give a gentile maid to wife (and no other Hebrew, but such as he, might marry a gentile), that he might beget children of her, who were to be the master's servants or slaves for ever. The Hebrew doctors say, the master could not do this, unless such a servant had a lawful wife and children before of his own, who were not to be kept from him; but he might beget children for himself, as well as for his master; who could not impose upon him more than one maid-servant to be his wife. He that sold himself also was not subject to this law. But as his master could not impose a wife of this sort upon him; so neither was he bound, when the servant went free, to bestow any gift upon him: which was due only to him that was sold by the court for theft, (Deut. xv. 12.) to whom the ancient Jews say he was to give thirty shekels.

*And she have born him sons or daughters.*] During his service.

*The wife and children shall be his master's*, &c.] For the wife was a slave as well as himself when he married her. And she was given to wife, merely that he might beget slaves of her. Who therefore continued with the master, as well as their mother, when the man had his liberty: for they were not so much his, as his master's goods; who had such a power over them, that he might circumcise them, as he did his own children, without their consent. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 7. and de Uxore Hebr. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 39.)

Ver. 5. *And if the servant shall plainly say.*] In the Hebrew the words are *saying, shall say; i. e.* stand in it (as we speak) and steadfastly resolve, by saying it not in a fit, but constantly.

*I love my master, my wife, and my children*, &c.] If his love to such a wife and children, who were not properly his own, was greater than his love to liberty; which made him still desire their company, and choose to stay with his master who had been so good to him.

Ver. 6. *His master shall bring him to the judges.*] That it might appear he was not fraudulently or forcibly detained against the law, but with his own consent, or rather at his desire.

*He shall also bring him to the door, or the door-post.*] After the case had been heard, and the judges had given sentence.

*And his master shall bore his ear through with an awl.*] In token that he was now affixed to his house, and might not so much as step over the threshold without his leave, but be obedient to his will for ever. This is to be understood only of one that was sold by the court; not of him that sold himself. And though the Hebrews take this to have been a mark of infamy, set upon a man who chose servitude before liberty; yet it being chosen out of love to his master, I cannot think that they intended by this act to disgrace him: but look upon it only as a solemn addiction of him to his master's service; which was done, it is likely, in the presence of the judges. This custom of boring the ears of slaves lasted a long time after this in Syria and Arabia, as Bochartus shews out of Juvenal, sat. i. and Petronius, (lib. iii. Hierozoic. cap. 6. p. 1.)

*He shall serve him for ever.*] Till the year of jubilee, or till his master died (for his son was not to detain him when his father was dead), unless he would release him, or he was redeemed.

Ver. 7. *And if a man sell his daughter to be a maid-servant.*] Besides the two former sorts of persons sold to be his servants, there was a third here mentioned, which is thus expounded by the Hebrews: that she was to be a virgin under age; that is, less than twelve years old and a day. For if she was more than that, it was not lawful for him to sell her: and when she came to be of age it put an end to her servitude, as well as the year of jubilee did, or redemption, or the death of her master. Besides, her father might not sell her, unless he were reduced to extreme poverty. If he did, without such necessity, he was forced by the court of judgment to redeem her. And she was not to be sold neither, unless there was some hope her master or his son might take her to wife.

*She shall not go out as the men-servants do.*] There were other and better conditions for her, than for the servant mentioned ver. 3, 4. particularly, her master could not marry her to any body but to himself or his son.

Ver. 8. *If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself.*] This shews she was sold to him upon the presumption he would take her for his wife; and there was such a previous agreement about this, that there needed no other espousals: but if, after this, he changed his mind, and did not like her enough to make her his wife; then God ordains as follows:

*Then shall he let her be redeemed.*] She was to serve her master six years, if she was sold for so long; unless she was redeemed (which her master is here required not to refuse) or manumitted; or set free by the year of jubilee; or by the death of her master; or (which was peculiar in this case) the signs of her being ripe for marriage appeared: (see Selden in the place beforementioned.)

*To sell her to a strange nation he shall have no power.*] No man had power to sell a Hebrew servant to one of another nation: and therefore, by a *strange people* (as the word is here in the Hebrew) must be meant an Israelite of another family, that was not of her kindred, nor had any right of redemption.

*Seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her.*] Frustrated her hope of marrying her.

Ver. 9. *If he hath betrothed her to his son.*] Which was

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expected from him, if he did not think fit to marry her himself, *he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters.* If the word *he* relate to the father, the meaning is, he shall give her a portion, as if she were his own daughter. If it relate to the son, the meaning is, he shall treat her like a wife.

Ver. 10. *If he take him another wife, her food,* &c.] If after the son had married her, he took another wife besides, he was still to perform to this all those things that belong to a wife, *viz.* give her food, and raiment, and at certain times (which were determined by law in some countries) cohabit with her as her husband. From this place the Hebrews have made a general rule, that these three things are owing to all wives from their husbands, *viz.* alimony, clothes, and the conjugal duty. For howsoever the Vulgar Latin understands the last word, the Hebrews generally take it for that which St. Paul calls *due benevolence,* 1 Cor. vii. 3. (See Selden, de Uxor. Hebr. lib. iii. cap. 4.) Now what was accounted alimony, and sufficient for clothes, he shews cap. v. and what belongs to the other, cap. vi. The Hebrew word *gonata,* which we translate *duty of marriage,* properly relates to the stated and determined time wherein every thing is to be done; and therefore here signifies the use of marriage, *certo tempore et modo,* as Bochart hath well expounded it, (lib. ii. Canaan, cap. 11.) Many indeed will have it derived from עון, from which comes מעון, a *habitation;* as if it signified here the cohabitation of a man with his wife. But Aben Ezra rather refers it to ענת, from whence comes עת, *time:* whence *gonat* signifies the set and appointed time wherein every thing is done. And so the Chaldee uses the word *goneta,* for the term prescribed to every thing (as the same author observes), that it may be done in due time and manner.

Theodoric Hackspan thinks Moses here speaks of the father; to whom all the precedent and subsequent acts belong, and not to the son.

Ver. 11. *And if he do not these three to her.*] *i. e.* Neither marry her to himself, nor to his son, nor suffer her to be redeemed.

*Then she shall go out free without money.*] When she came of age, and was ripe for marriage, she was to be set free, and pay nothing for her freedom: nay, on the contrary, he was to give her something, as appears from Deut. xv. 12, 13. 17. What the signs of puberty were, Mr. Selden shews, Lib. de Successionibus, cap. ix.

Ver. 12. *He that smiteth a man, so that he die.*] That is, commit wilful murder, as we now speak.

*Shall surely be put to death.*] Wheresoever we find this word *maveth (death)* absolutely, without any addition, it always signifies *strangling.* They are the words of R. Levi Barzelonita. But the Jewish doctors will not have this law extend unto proselytes of the gate, much less to gentiles, whom, if any Israelite killed, he was not to suffer death for it. (See Mr. Selden, lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. 1.) But Plato, in his Book of Laws, (lib. ix. p. 872.) hath determined more justly than these rabbies, that in the case of murder the same laws should be for strangers and for citizens.

Ver. 13. *And if a man lie not in wait.*] Do not design to kill another.

*But God deliver him into his hand.*] But he happens, as we speak, to kill a man by that action which aimed at another end. This the Scripture expresses more religiously, by acknowledging God in every thing that falls out, who permits such things as are mentioned, Deut. xix. 5. whereby a man is killed, without the intention of him who was about such actions.

*Then I will appoint him a place, whither he shall flee.*] He may flee to one of the places which I will appoint for his security. Which place, the Jews say, was the camp of the Levites, while they continued in the wilderness: but when they came to Canaan, there were cities appointed for this purpose, as we read Numb. xxxv. 11, 12. Deut. xix. 2, 3, &c. And there being several kinds of involuntary killing men, the Hebrews make these φυγαδευτήρια, or *places of refuge,* to belong only to one of them, for the rest did not need them, as Mr. Selden shews, (lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2.) An officer of justice was not bound to flee if he chanced in the execution of his office to kill a man that resisted him: nor a master if he killed his scholar, or a father his son, when he gave him correction.

Ver. 14. *But if a man come presumptuously.*] The Vulgar Latin rightly translates it *industriously,* or with design to kill him; for it is opposed to ignorance. The Hebrew word also carries in it a signification of *boiling anger;* which doth not alter the case: for if a man in the height of his rage resolved to kill another, and laid wait for him to execute his design, it was justly judged to be wilful murder, and punished with death. Which was far more equal than Plato's law, that such a man should only be banished for three years; as he that on a sudden killed a man in his anger only for two, (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 867.)

*Upon his neighbour.*] The Hebrew doctors by *neighbour* understand only an *Israelite,* or a *proselyte of justice:* as for others, they were not put to death if an Israelite killed one of them. Which was not the intent of this law; whereby God would have all men that lived among them safe and secure from being murdered.

*To slay him with guile.*] By which it appeared the act was designed and deliberate. For two things are denoted by this word *with guile;* first *forethought,* and then *delay,* as Isaac Karo observes: (see L'Empereur in Bava kama, cap. iii. sect. 6.)

*Thou shalt take him.*] If it be inquired who should take him, it seems to be determined, Deut. xix. 12. where the elders of the city were to fetch away a wilful murderer from the city of refuge. In aftertimes the king ordered it, as Moses did while he lived, (1 Kings i. ult. ii. 29.) By which places it appears, that if a man refused to come from the altar (being judged upon proof to be a wilful murderer or other high offender), he might be there killed, as Georg. Ritterhusius shews, (L. de Jure Asylorum, cap. viii.) where he observes, out of Plutarch in his Laconia, that Agesilaus declared publicly at the altar of Pallas, where he sacrificed an ox, that he thought it lawful to kill one that treacherously assaulted him, even at the altar. And thus the practice was among Christians (as he there shews) when their temples became sanctuaries to malefactors.

*From my altar.*] This was an asylum, as well as the cities of refuge; but under many limitations, both with respect to the part of the altar, and to the persons that fled thither, and to the crime they had committed; as Mr. Selden shews in the place abovementioned, (p. 475.)

*That he may die.*] Though he was the high-priest, and in

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the act of sacrifice, he was to be taken away without delay if he had committed wilful murder; if it was involuntarily, then he was to be taken from thence and carried to the city of refuge; for God would not have a pious place (as Conradus Pellicanus glosses) be a protection to impiety. (See Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 8. p. 100.)

Maimonides's observation is pertinent enough upon this occasion; "That the mercy which is shewn to wicked men is no better than tyranny and cruelty to the rest of God's creatures: and therefore, though such persons sought to God for his patronage, by betaking themselves to that which was dedicated to his name, he would not afford them any protection; but commanded them to be delivered up to justice," (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 39.)

Ver. 15. *And he that smiteth his father or mother.*] So as to wound them, and to make the blood come; or to leave a mark of the stroke, by making the flesh black and blue, as we speak, (Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. p. 556.)

*Shall be surely put to death.*] Strangled (say the Hebrews, see ver. 12.) by the sentence of the judge, there being competent witnesses of the fact, as in other cases. The giving them saucy words, or making mouths at them, which signified contempt, was punished also with whipping. There was no need to say any thing of killing them: for all wilful murder was punished with death. And Solon, it is commonly noted, made no law about this; because it was not to be supposed any man would be so wicked. Nor was this crime known among the Persians, as Herodotus saith, in his days. Nor do we find any mention of it in the law of the twelve tables. But in aftertimes there were most severe punishments enacted against parricide, which are described at large by Modestinus. And Diodorus Siculus tells us of the like among the Egyptians. (See Hen. Stephanus in his Fontes et Rivi Juris Civilis, p. 18.) Plato would have him that killed either father or mother, brethren or children, not only to be put to death, but to be disgraced after his execution, by throwing his dead body naked into a common place without the city, where all the magistrates, in the name of the people, should every one of them throw a stone at his head, and then carrying him out of the coasts leave him without burial, (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 873.)

Ver. 16. *He that stealeth a man.*] By *a man* the Hebrews understand an Israelite; whether he was a freeman, or but a servant; as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2.)

*And selleth him.*] No Israelite would buy him, and therefore such plagiaries sold him to men of other nations, which made the crime to be punished with death; because it was a cruel thing, not only to take away his liberty, but make him a slave to strangers.

*Or if he be found in his hand.*] Though he had not actually sold him; yet his intention was sufficiently known by his stealing him.

*Shall be surely put to death.*] I observed above, ver. 12. they interpret this phrase every where to signify *strangling*. If it be said any where *his blood shall be upon him*, it signifies stoning. Maimonides makes this the reason why such a man was condemned to die, because it might well be thought he intended to kill him, whom he violently carried away (at least, as I understand it, if he could not find means to sell him), More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41.

Ver. 17. *And he that curseth his father, or his mother,* &c.] The Hebrews take this law to concern those who cursed their dead parents, no less than those who cursed them when they were alive: but not without præmonition and witnesses, as in other capital crimes: and not unless they cursed their parents by some proper name of God, as Mr. Selden observes out of the Jewish doctors, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13.) This and the other law (ver. 15.) enacted death as the punishment of such crimes, because they were a sign (saith Maimonides, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41.) of a desperate malice and audacious wickedness; being a subversion of that domestic order which is the prime part of good government. (See Lev. xx. 9.) And thus far the Athenians went in this matter, that by their law a son was disinherited who reproached his father. And if the father did not prosecute such a son, he himself became infamous. So Sopater ad Hermogenem; Τὸν ὑβρίσαντα τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα μὴ μετέχειν τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ τὸν ὑβρισθέντα πατέρα μὴ ἐπεξιόντα τῷ παιδὶ ἄτιμον εἶναι. By the same law, also, if he struck his father both his hands were to be cut off; as we read in Heraclides Ponticus, in Allegor. Homer. and in Quinctilian, Declam. 372. "Qui patrem pulsaverit, manus ei incidantur." And by another law he was to be stoned to death, as the author of Problemata Rhetor. tells us: Νόμος ἐκέλευσε τὸν τύψαντα αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα λιθοβοληθῆναι, and that without any formal process against him, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀκρίτως.

Ver. 18. *And if men strive together.*] Fall out and quarrel.

*And one smite another.*] So that from words they proceed to blows.

*With a stone,* &c.] Men usually in their anger take up any thing that is next at hand to throw at him against whom they are enraged; or, finding nothing, smite them with their fists.

*And he die not, but keepeth his bed.*] Sometimes the blow falls in such a place that sudden death follows: or such a wound or bruise is given as confines a man to his bed.

Ver. 19. *If he rise again, and walk abroad,* &c.] If a man recovered so far as to get up and walk abroad, after the stroke, it was presumed (though he died not long after) it was by his negligence, or something else, not of the blow he received. And upon the hearing of the cause, the judges were to *acquit* the man that gave the blow; *i. e.* he was not to die for it.

*Only.*] The Hebrew particle *rak* signifies *but*, or *truly*, as well as *only:* and here expresses, that the man who gave the blow should not escape all punishment, but suffer something for the hurt he had done. Yet if we take it to signify *only*, the sense is not much altered; for the meaning is (as Constant L'Empereur observes in Bava kama, cap. viii. sect. 1.) by this word to exclude death, but not other punishment in his purse.

*He shall pay for the loss of his time,* &c.] The Jews say, in Bava kama, cap. viii. sect. 1. that satisfaction was to be given him for the loss he had sustained in five things: for the hurt in his body; the loss of his time; the pain he had endured; the charge of physician and surgeon; and the disgrace: all which they there endeavour to prove out of the Scripture. Two of them are plainly here. The first of which the doctors upon the Misna consider with great nicety, as L'Empereur observes upon the forenamed trea-

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tise; some men being able to earn more by their labours than others; and the disability the stroke brought upon them being, more or less, of a larger and shorter continuance; with respect to all which a proportionable compensation was made to them.

*And shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.*] Here they also distinguished between the cure of the wound, bruise, or swelling, caused by the stroke, and of any other breaking out that he chanced to have at the same time. He was bound to pay for the cure of the former, but not of the latter. And if after a man was cured he fell ill again, he that struck him was not bound to take care of his cure.

The same provision is made in the civil law, as L'Empereur notes, which perfectly agrees with this constitution of Moses: "Judex computat mercedes medicis præstitas, cæteraque impendia, quæ in curatione facta sunt: præterea operas quibus caruit, aut cariturus est ob id, quod inutilis factus est."

According to Plato's laws, he that wounded another in his anger, if the wound was curable, was to pay τοῦ βλάβους τὴν διπλασίαν, *double to the damage the wounded man sustained thereby.* If it was incurable, he was to pay fourfold; and so he was to do likewise if it were curable, but left a remarkable scar. If the wound was given involuntarily, he was to pay only simple damages: Τύχης γὰρ νομοθέτης οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς ἄρχειν: *for no lawgiver is able to govern chance,* (lib. ix. de Leg. p. 878, 879.)

Ver. 20. *If a man smite his servant,* &c.] A slave; who was not an Israelite, but a gentile.

*He shall surely be punished.*] With death, say the Hebrew doctors, (in Selden, lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. 1. p. 463.) if the servant died while he was beating him: for that is meant by dying *under his hand.* But it seems more likely to me that he was to be punished for his cruelty, as the judge who examined this fact thought meet. For his smiting *with a rod,* not with a sword, was a sign he intended only to correct him, not to kill him. And besides, no man could be thought to be willing to lose his own goods, as such servants were.

Ver. 21. *Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two.*] A day and a night, as the Hebrew doctors interpret it.

*He shall not be punished.*] Because it might be presumed he did not die of those strokes.

*He is his money.*] His death was a loss to his master: who therefore might well be judged not to have any intention to kill him; and was sufficiently punished by losing the benefit of his service.

Ver. 22. *If men strive, and hurt a woman with child.*] Who interposed between the contending parties; or came perhaps to help her husband.

*So that her fruit depart from her.*] She miscarry.

*And yet no mischief follow.*] She do not die, as the Hebrew doctors expound it. (See Selden, lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. 1. p. 461.)

*He shall be surely punished, according as the woman's husband will lay upon him.*] Her husband may require a compensation, both for the loss of his child, and the hurt or grief of his wife. Yet he was not to be judge in his own case; but it was to be brought before the public judges, as it here follows.

*And he shall pay as the judges determine.*] Who considered in their decree what damage was done; which was estimated by the hurt his wife received in her body; and by the lessening of her price, if she were a slave and might be sold. Unto which several other mulcts were added, to be given to the woman herself, as Mr. Selden observes in the place abovenamed.

Ver. 23. *And if any mischief follow.*] If the woman did die.

*Thou shalt give life for life.*] In the interpretation of this, saith Jarchi, our masters differ. For some by *life* understand that which is properly so called, or the person himself: so that it should signify, being put to death: but others understand by it, a pecuniary mulct; that so much money should be paid to the heirs, as the person killed might have been sold for. The LXX. carry it to quite another sense; which is, that if a woman miscarry, and the child was μὴ ἐξεικονισμένον, *not yet formed and fashioned,* that the man who occasioned the miscarriage was to pay a fine. But if it were formed, then life was to be given for life. So that this whole law is to be understood of an *abortion;* and according to the condition of the *abortive* (not the life or death of the mother), so the punishment was to be inflicted. And thus Philo takes it, and hath a large discourse upon it. (See Selden, lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. 1. p. 464. and Constantine L'Empereur in Bava kama, p. 200, &c.)

Ver. 24, 25. *Eye for eye, tooth for tooth,* &c.] These and all the rest that follow to the end of the twenty-fifth verse, the Hebrews understand to signify pecuniary mulcts; as may be seen in their Comments upon this place. And Maimonides gives three reasons for it, which L'Empereur takes notice of, and endeavours to confute in his Annotations upon Bava kama, p. 187, &c. 198, &c. But, after all, there seems to be a great deal of reason, at least in many cases, to admit of a compensation. As in that mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, (lib. xii.) where the one-eyed man complained of this law (which was among the heathen) as too rigid; for if he lost the other eye, he should suffer more than the man whom he injured, who had still one eye left. Upon such considerations Phavorinus argues against this law, which was one of the twelve tables, as not possible to be justly executed, according to the very letter of it. For the same member of the body is far more valuable to one man than it is to another. For instance, the right hand of a scribe, or a painter, cannot be so well spared as the right hand of a singer. And therefore the law of the twelve tables concerning *taliones (like for like),* was with this exception—*Ni cum eo pacet:* that is, if he who had put out a man's eye, or taken away the use of any other member, would not come to an agreement, *de talione redimenda, to make him satisfaction,* and redeem the punishment he was to suffer in the very same kind. So Sex. Cæcilius expounds it in Aulus Gellius, (lib. xx. cap. 1.)

Ver. 26. *If a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid,* &c.] It is but reason that this should extend to all servants, though of another nation, not merely to those who were Jews. And so Maimonides seems to allow, when he saith, "This is a precept of piety and mercy to poor wretches, who should not be any longer afflicted with servitude when they have lost a member of their body." (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41.) And therefore the common resolution of their doctors is very cruel, that gentile servants (whom they call Canaanites), who were not circumcised,



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should not have the benefit of this law. For they thus distinguish servants of another nation. Some were circumcised and baptized; others still remained gentiles, or were only proselytes of the gate. The former kind might be set free three ways; by being redeemed by a price paid by themselves, or any friend; by manumission; and by virtue of this law, upon the loss of any member. For though only an *eye* and a *tooth* be here mentioned, yet herein are included all the rest of the principal members of the body, which, being mutilated, cannot be repaired; which they reckon to be four-and-twenty in all. If they did not dismiss such a servant thus maimed, the court of judgment, upon an appeal to it, compelled them to give him his liberty with a certificate of it. But the second sort of gentile servants could be made free only by the two first ways, having no benefit (according to this doctrine) by this third way here mentioned. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 8.) But heathens themselves were more merciful than these doctors; for the civil laws (as L'Empereur observes upon Bava kama, cap. 8. sect. 3.) made better provision for slaves when they were hardly used.

Ver. 27. *And if he smite out his man-servant's tooth,* &c.] The loss of a *tooth* was not so great as that of an *eye:* yet, to prevent cruelty, God ordained a master should lose the service of his slave for so small a loss as this.

Ver. 28. *If an ox gore a man, or a woman, that they die, then the ox shall be surely stoned.*] This was not a punishment to the ox, as the Sadducees, saith Maimonides, cavil against us, but to his owner; who was admonished hereby to look better after his cattle: for which reason also the ox was not to be eaten. (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 40.)

*And his flesh shall not be eaten.*] Because God would have the owner entirely lose all benefit by it, as Maimonides interprets it. And so Josephus, (lib. iv. Archæol. cap. 8.) μηδ' εἰς τροφὴν εὔχρηστος, &c. *It was not permitted to be so much as profitable to him for his nourishment.* And the Hebrew doctors say, that if a man ate so much as the bigness of an olive of this flesh he was to be scourged. By this means both he and others were admonished to be more careful and cautious: and God also declared how heinous the crime of murder is; the punishment of which, in some sort, reached even unto beasts: which were therefore also stoned, when they had killed a man, that no more might be in danger of their lives by them. Some think its flesh therefore could not be eaten, because, being stoned, it was a carcase whose blood was in it. But Maimonides answers to this in his treatise of Forbidden Meats, that the scope of the law is, that as soon as the sentence for its being stoned was pronounced it became unclean. Nay, if a man, to prevent this sentence, killed it after a legal manner, no man might eat a bit of it. And when it was stoned, the flesh was neither sold, nor given to the gentiles, nor to the dogs, &c. as Bochart observes, (lib. ii. Hierozoic. par. i. cap. 40.)

The same Maimonides, in his treatise of Pecuniary Mulcts, rightly extends this law to other creatures, whether beasts or birds, that any man kept; as L'Empereur observes upon Bava kama, cap. 4. sect. 5. And Plato, I observe, hath the very same law, that ἐὰν ὑποζύγιον ἢ ζῶον ἄλλό τι φονεύσῃ τινά; &c. *if an ox, or any other animal, kill a man (except it were in the public combats), the officers called* Ἀγρονόμοι, *that were set over their fields, were to kill it, and throw it out of their territories,* ἔξω τῶν ὅρων τῆς χώρας ἀποκτείναντας διορίσαι, (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 873.)

*But the owner shall be quit.*] The loss of his ox was all his punishment. And if the ox did not kill the man, but only wounded him, in that case the owner was obliged to make him such a compensation as the judges thought equal, and to take care the like happened not again.

Ver. 29. *But if the ox were wont to push in time past, and it hath been testified to him,* &c.] In the former case, the owner was only punished with the loss of his ox; it being the first time that it had been known to push. But if the ox had formerly been known to be so unruly, and he had been told of it, and yet did not take care to prevent further mischief, then he, as well as the ox, were to be put to death. The Jewish doctors, indeed, have softened this by divers exceptions: as, first, they say it was to be proved that the ox had pushed upon *three* several days; for though it appeared he pushed a great many times in one day, it would not make the man liable. And, secondly, it was to be testified, not only to the owner, but before the magistrate, that he had pushed so often. And, lastly, they interpret the last words of this verse *(the owner also shall be put to death),* of punishment by the hand of Heaven: that is, they leave him to God. (See Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 40.) But though Abarbinel propounds this as the opinion of their wise men, yet he was sensible of its absurdity. For he confesses that God doth decree the sentence of death should be executed upon the owner of the ox: only he thinks that he remits something of the strictness of it in the next verse. And there are *three* cases here mentioned relating to this matter: one in the foregoing verse, where the ox is ordered to be stoned: another in this, where the owner is also made liable to be put to death: and a third in the next verse, where a pecuniary mulct is only set upon him.

Ver. 30. *If there be laid upon him a sum of money, then he shall give it for the ransom of his life.*] By this it appears there might be a case wherein the owner of the ox should not be put to death, but only be fined, though the ox had been wont to push, and he was told of it. And the interpretation of this and the foregoing law, which is given by Constantine L'Empereur, is not unreasonable, upon Bava kama, cap. 4. sect. 5. Either the knowledge which the owner had of the ill conditions of his ox was certain or uncertain; and his carelessness in preventing the mischief he was wont to do was greater or lesser; and the friends of him that was killed pressed the strictest justice, or were content to remit it. In the former cases (if the knowledge was certain, the carelessness very gross, and the friends were strict in the prosecution) he was punished with death: but if otherwise, he was punished only by setting a fine upon him. Certain it is, that the foregoing law might prove too rigorous in many cases (as, if the ox pushed, being provoked; or broke loose when he was tied up; or was let go by the negligence of a servant, &c.); and therefore God permitted the judges to accept of a ransom, as they saw cause, which was to be paid according as the Sanhedrin thought meet. So Jonathan.

*Whatsoever is laid upon him.*] He was to submit to the fine, whatsoever it was: and it was given to the heirs of him that was killed. If a man's wife was killed, the Jews

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say it was given to the heirs of her father's family, and not to her husband.

Ver. 31. *Whether he have gored a son, or have gored a daughter,* &c.] Because what was said (ver. 29.) of killing *a man or a woman,* might have been restrained to the father or mother of a family, whose loss was greatest, and their lives most precious: therefore the same law is here extended to the children: yet both Jonathan and Onkelos confine it to the children of Israelites; as if all mankind besides were nothing worth. (See Bochartus in the place abovementioned.)

Ver. 32. *If an ox shall push a man-servant or a maid-servant,* &c.] Whether the servant was of greater or lesser value, saith Maimonides, the punishment was the payment of thirty shekels (and the loss of the ox); half the price of a freeman, who was estimated, he saith, at sixty shekels, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 40.) He adds, in another place (in his treatise of Pecuniary Mulcts), that the owner was not bound to pay this ransom, unless the ox killed the man out of his own ground. For if he was killed within the owner's ground, the ox, indeed, was stoned, but no ransom was paid. Divers other cases he mentions in that book, as L'Empereur observes upon Bava kama, p. 85. where he takes notice that Solon himself wrote βλάβης τετραπόδων νόμον, *a law concerning the mischief done by cattle,* as Plutarch relates in his life.

Ver. 33. *And if a man shall open a pit,* &c.] In the street, or public highway, as Jonathan rightly interprets it. For if he opened or digged a pit in his own ground, he was not concerned in this law, though another man's beast fell into it.

*And not cover it.*] If he did cover it conveniently, though in time the cover grew rotten, and a beast fell into it, he was not bound to make it good, as Maimonides resolves the case.

Ver. 34. *The owner of the pit shall make it good,* &c.] There were so many cases arose upon this law, that it is not easy to number them. Maimonides hath amassed together abundance belonging to this matter, with wonderful accuracy, as Bochartus observes; who hath transcribed a great many of them, in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 40. p. 391, &c.

Ver. 35. *If one man's ox hurt another's, that he die.*] Which equally belongs to all other cattle, as Maimonides observes; for the law mentions an ox only for example's sake.

*They shall sell the live ox, and divide the money,* &c.] Though the ox that was killed was worth as much more as the other, yet satisfaction was to be made only out of the live ox which did the mischief, as the same Maimonides observes, who hath several cases upon this law, as may be seen in the forenamed book of Bochart's, p. 393. But it might so happen, that the ox which was killed was of little value, and the live ox worth many pounds: in which case it seems so unreasonable, the man whose loss was small should be a great gainer by the sale of the ox which did the mischief, that the Jewish lawyers resolve the meaning of this law is, the man whose ox was killed should receive half the damage he had sustained; as L'Empereur observes upon Bava kama, cap. 1. sect. 4.

Ver. 36. *Or if it be known that the ox hath used to push,* &c.] There is a great difference between what is done casually, and what is done constantly. The former verse speaks of the hurt done by a beast that was not wont to push; and this, of the hurt done by one that was notoriously mischievous; and accordingly, greater damages were given in this latter case than in the former. And by this general rule the Jews regulated all other cases: making those mischiefs that were done by beasts which were wont to hurt, or were of a hurtful nature, to be punished above as much more, than the mischief done by a creature that was not wont to hurt, or with a part of his body which uses not to hurt. (See L'Empereur in Bava kama, cap. 2. sect. 1.)

## CHAP. XXII.

Ver. 1. *IF a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it.*] Before the theft was discovered to be done by him.

*He shall restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep.*] There is a smaller satisfaction required in other things, (ver. 9.) and here is also a disproportion observable between the stealing of an ox and of a sheep. The reason of both was this; that money, goods, garments, jewels, which men keep in their houses within towns and cities, are better guarded, and not so easily stolen as cattle in the field: and of cattle in the field, an ox was more easy to be stolen than a sheep: for sheep feeding in flocks may be all in view of the shepherd; but oxen, feeding scattered one from another, are not so easily observed and kept by the neatherd. Thus Maimonides, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41. But the true reason of the difference between an ox and a sheep seems to be, that an ox was of greater value, and likewise useful to more purposes in husbandry, (as ploughing, carrying in, and treading out the corn, &c.) which made the punishment of stealing an ox greater than that of stealing a sheep. Yet there was a difference between a thief who came and confessed his sin of his own accord, and him that stood out till he was apprehended and convicted of it: for, in the former case, Moses seems to require only the restitution of that which was stolen, with the addition of a fifth part of the value, and a sacrifice, (Lev. vi. 4, 5.) All this is far more equal than Plato's constitutions, which for all thefts require the same punishment, which was paying double; ἐάντε μέγα ἐάντε σμιχρὸν κλέπτη τις, εἷο εἷς νόμος κείσθω, &c. (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 857.)

Ver. 2. *If a man be found breaking up.*] Some translate it, *if a man be found with a digging instrument;* or, it may signify any sort of weapon: yet he was to be taken in the very act of breaking up or digging.

*And be smitten that he die,* &c.] The master of the house might kill the robber in this case; because it might well be thought he intended to kill him rather than lose his booty. The law of the twelve tables allowed this, as A. Gellius relates, (lib. xi. cap. 18.) "Duodecim tabulæ nocturnum furem quoquo modo, diurnum autem, si se telo defenderit, interfici impunè voluerunt." It was one of Plato's laws, also, that if a thief entered a man's house in the night he might innocently kill him: Νύκτωρ φῶρα εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσιόντα, ἐπὶ κλοπῇ χρημάτων, ἐὰν ἑλὼν κτείνῃ τις, καθαρὸς ἔστω, (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 874.) But the Hebrew doctors make



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some exceptions; as, if he did not fly; and if there were no witnesses present: for if there were, then it was like theft in the day-time. (See Grotius, lib. ii. de Jure B. et P. cap. i. sect. 12.)

Ver. 3. *If the sun be risen*, &c.] When they might possibly know who he was; and it might be presumed he intended only to steal, not to kill; then to kill him was to be accounted murder.

*He shall be sold for his theft.*] For six years. But the Hebrew doctors have many mollifications of this law: for they say a woman was not to be sold; nor a man, but for the principal sum. For *double*, or *four* or *fivefold*, he was not to be sold; but have credit for it, till he was able to pay. And he was not to be sold who robbed a Samaritan; nor if he had stolen less than he was worth when sold, &c. with many other, which so mitigate, that they almost abrogate it. But the law of the twelve tables thought it reason, a thief should be delivered to him whom he robbed to be his slave, as A. Gellius tells us, lib. xx. cap. 1. (See Bochart. Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 40.)

Ver. 4. *If it be certainly found in his hand alive*, &c.] There was a great difference between killing, or selling, after the stealth; and having these cattle found alive with him. In the former case he was punished four or fivefold, (ver. 1.) but in this only double. Because the former concealed his theft with more industry, and left less hope of discovery and restitution than in the latter, as Bochart there observes. Where he also takes notice of the like law at Athens, mentioned by Demosthenes and by A. Gellius, (lib. xi. cap. 18.) But the Hebrews here also have their exceptions; and will not have this extended to women, children, and servants.

*He shall restore double.*] In case he did not confess the fact himself, but was otherwise found out. For if he did accuse himself, and had neither sold nor killed that which he stole, he was not to restore double. He that stole from another thief was not bound, as Maimonides thinks, to restore double. But in case a thief killed what he had stolen, and after that consecrated it to God, he was obliged notwithstanding to restore fourfold: though if he consecrated it before he killed or sold it, only to restore double. For though the sanctification of a thing, after the sin was committed, did not take away the guilt: yet before he aggravated his fault by killing or selling what he stole, the sanctification lessened the punishment. (See L'Empereur in Bava kama, cap. 7. sect. 1, 2.)

Ver. 5. *If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten.*] This our rabbins, saith R. Levi of Barcelona, understand concerning the damage done by beasts eating another man's grass or corn, &c.

*And shall put in his beast.*] This they understand of the damage that may be done by their feet, in treading down the tender grass or corn.

*Of the best of his field, and of the best of his vineyard, shall he make restitution.*] What is determined in this case, the Jews extend to all other: that men should make satisfaction for the wrong done to their neighbours in any kind, with the best of what they possessed of that kind. So the Misna in Bava kama, cap. 1. sect. 1. and Abarbinel on this place, *damages are paid out of the best.* Which made men very careful in looking after their beasts, that they did no hurt in their neighbours' ground. For which Plato orders only such satisfaction to be made as the Ἀγρονόμοι should judge meet, (lib. viii. de Legibus, p. 843.) But the Jews were so scrupulous in this matter, that, to prevent the damage one man might do another, they made a constitution that no man should keep goats, or rabbits, or any such-like small creatures, near the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-yards of his neighbour; no, nor in any parts of the land of Israel, (as the Misna hath it in the Bava kama, cap. 7. sect. 7.) but in Syria, or in the deserts of their own land. This the Talmudists carry so far, as to urge it to inept superstition; as L'Empereur observes on that place.

Ver. 6. *If fire break out*, &c.] The Hebrew word properly imports that which breaks out of itself (as R. Levi Barzelonita observes), so that the meaning of this law is, that though a man kindle a fire within his own bounds, and it spread further, to the damage of his neighbour, he shall be guilty, though he had no hand in putting the fire to the stacks of corn which were burnt by it; because he should have looked better after it when he had kindled it. For every man, saith he, is bound to watch the fire that he kindles, lest it do mischief; it being its nature to break out, and catch hold of any thing that is near it. And therefore Plato ordains (in the place mentioned upon the former verse) that ἐὰν πυρεύων τὴν ὕλην μὴ διευλαβηθῇ τῶν τοῦ γείτονος, &c. *if a man set fire to any combustible matter, and do not take care his neighbour receive no harm by it, he shall pay such damages as the magistrates judge just.* But here the Jewish lawyers consider, at what distance the fire was kindled; and resolve, that if there was a fence of four cubits high, or a public highway, or a river between the fire and the field, or stack of corn that was burnt, the man that kindled it was free. (See Bava kama, cap. 6. sect. 4, 5. and L'Empereur in his Annotations there.)

Ver. 7. *If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money, or stuff to keep*, &c.] The equity of the law contained in this and the following verse, is very well explained by Maimonides, par. iii. cap. 42. More Nevoch. He that takes a neighbour's goods or money to keep for nothing, and hath no profit thereby, doth a kindness to his neighbour, and therefore is not to bear the loss of them; which must fall upon the owner himself. But he that desires to be the keeper of his goods, and receives a benefit by the use of them, or is paid for his care, must make them good if they be stolen. Or if the owner and the keeper equally partake of the profit, they must equally bear the loss. R. Levi Barzelonita interprets this place of that which a man takes into his custody *chinnam* (as his word is), *gratis*, as we speak, without any reward for his care in keeping it.

Ver. 8. *Shall be brought to the judges.*] The principal judges were called *Elohim, gods.* And there were to be three of them at least; who were to examine upon oath (ver. 11.) and endeavour to find out the truth. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Syned. cap. 5. p. 232.)

*To see.*] *i. e.* Find out.

*Whether he have put his hand unto his neighbour's goods.*] Or, whether through negligence he suffered them to be stolen. In which he was bound to make them good, as Maimonides saith, in the place beforementioned; who will have the name of *Elohim* originally to belong to judges; and from thence to be translated to God, the Judge above all, (par. ii. cap. 2.) But of this see xx. 2.

Ver. 9. *For all manner of trespass, whether it be for ox,*

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*or ass, or sheep.*] Though these be only mentioned, yet the law reaches to all cattle whatsoever.

*Which another challengeth to himself.*] There is great variety in the translation of these words, as Mr. Selden shews; (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 12.) but, according to ours, the meaning is, when a man affirms that he either deposited such things with his neighbour, or lent them to him, or that he took them, (as R. Levi Barzelonita interprets it, Præcept. liv.) both parties were to be brought before the judge; that he might examine where the right lay.

*He shall pay double unto his neighbour.*] *i. e.* He who pretended to have deposited the goods (suppose) was to pay double if he brought an unjust action against his neighbour; or he with whom the goods were deposited was to pay it, if it appeared he had dealt fraudulently: but if it were found that the goods were lost by mere chance, he was not bound to pay any thing.

Maimonides explains it thus, according to the opinion of the Talmudists (as Mr. Selden observes in the place now mentioned); when a man brings an action against another about such things as are here mentioned, and the defendant confesses part of the charge, but denies the rest; he was to restore as far as he confessed; but for the other which he did not confess, he was to be put upon his oath. Or, if he denied the whole, and he that brought the action had but one witness against him, he was to purge himself by an oath; for, by the law, no man was compelled to clear himself by an oath but in three cases, of which this was one, when a man was guilty by one witness.

Ver. 10. *If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast to keep,* &c.] If he lend any of these things to his neighbour, upon certain considerations, or let them for hire; and his neighbour affirms that they died, or were hurt, or driven away by enemies who carried them captive; but there was no witness of any of these allegations; then the cause was to be brought before the judge to find out the truth, in the manner following:

Ver. 11. *Then shall an oath of the Lord be between them both,* &c.] If there was no other way to discover the truth, then he to whom they were delivered, was to purge himself by an oath that he had not killed the beast, nor done any thing to hurt it; and the owner was to trouble him no further: nor was he bound to make any satisfaction, provided he had used these goods according to the agreement between them; for if he had employed them contrary to their contract, then he was bound to make them good to the owner of whom they were borrowed or hired. If he refused to take the oath, he was pronounced guilty; and restitution was ordered to be made out of his goods. But there were some temperaments of this law; for every man was not admitted to purge himself by an oath. For instance; he that was of so bad a reputation, that they had a suspicion he would not stick to perjure himself, was not admitted to be abjured; no, though he that brought the action required it, &c. (See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 12. p. 520.)

Ver. 12. *And if it be stolen from him.*] Through his negligence who was entrusted with it.

*He shall make restitution to the owner thereof.*] Because he was bound to have looked better after it; by receiving wages for his care and pains in keeping it (as some interpret), or engaging to make it good, if he did not take the same care of it as if it had been his own.

Ver. 13. *If it were torn in pieces, then let him bring it for witness,* &c.] If he could produce any part of it, as an evidence that it was torn, and he endeavoured to rescue it, he was not to make it good. But here the Hebrew doctors make many exceptions: for they would have him make good what was torn by one wolf alone; because they think he might have been able to defend the cattle against one, though not against many. If, also, he put the oxen or sheep into a pasture, wont to be infested with wild beasts or thieves; or, if he did not call in the help of his neighbours, &c. in these, and such-like cases, he was to make good that which was torn, as Maimonides reports their judgment. (See Bochart. Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 44.)

Ver. 14. *If a man borrow aught of his neighbour, and it be hurt or die.*] This the Hebrew doctors think concerns such things as were lent to another out of kindness, without any consideration for the use of them. About which, if there arose any controversy, by reason of some maim that it received, or its death, it was to be determined by the rule following.

*The owner thereof being not with it, he shall surely make it good.*] These words, and those in the beginning of the fifteenth verse *(but if the owner be with it, he shall not make it good)*, seem to signify, that if the owner was with the thing that was lent, at the time of its hurt or death, it was to be presumed he would do his best to preserve it, and see it was not ill used, and so must bear the loss: but if he was not present at that time, then the contrary was presumed, that the borrower was in fault, and therefore bound to make it good. Which, though it may seem hard, was but necessary to make men careful, and do their best to preserve what was lent them in pure kindness. R. Levi, of Barcelona, (Præcept. lvi.) interprets it quite another way, in this manner: that if the owner was with it at the time it was borrowed, though not present at the time of its hurt or death, the borrower was free; but if the owner was present at the time of the hurt or death, but not at the time of lending, he was bound to make it good. For "the matter (saith he) depends upon the beginning of it."

Ver. 15. *If it be a hired thing, it came for his hire.*] Some make the Hebrew word *sachir* (which we translate *hired thing*) to relate unto the person; *if he be a mercenary; i. e.* the man who lends agrees to let the borrower have it at a certain price, &c. But this is the same, in effect, with the sense of our translation, which makes this word relate to the thing itself: which, if it were borrowed with a condition to pay so much for the use of it as the lender demanded, then the man who hired it was not bound to make it good, whether the owner were present or not, when it was hurt, or died. But the owner was to run the hazard, because of the hire which he received for the use of the thing.

Ver. 16. *If a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her.*] Whosoever lay with such a maid in the city was thought to have been an *enticer* only (unless witnesses came and proved that he forced her), because it might be well supposed her voice would have been heard, if she had cried out upon the force in the city. But if he lay with her in the field, where nobody could hear, it was presumed to be a rape. Thus Maimonides and other Hebrew doctors.

*He shall surely endow her to be his wife.*] This law doth not say, as the old translation hath it, *he shall endow her,*

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*and take her to be his wife,* but only, *endow her to be his wife:* that is, give her such a dowry that she might be his lawful wife. So the same Hebrew doctors understand it; who will not have it to be a command that he should marry her (though that was best), but only that he should make satisfaction for taking away her virginity; which was by paying so much, in the nature of a dowry, as would render her fit to be his wife, if both of them could agree. Yet so, that if either he, or she, or her father refused (for it was in the power of any of these, as they say, to hinder the marriage), he paid this mulct as the dowry of a virgin to her father. (See Selden's Uxor. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 16.) There is another law of this nature, (Deut. xxii. 28, 29.) but it speaks of a virgin deflowered by force: of which see there.

Ver. 17. *If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him.*] Here is mention made only of the father; not of the man that deflowered her: who, one would think, should have been bound to marry her, if she and her father pleased. And so Josephus, ὁ φθείρας παρθένον, &c. αὐτὸς γαμείτω. But if the father of the damsel did not like to give her to him, he was to pay as here is directed.

*He shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.*] That is, saith Josephus, fifty shekels, τὴν τιμὴν τῆς ὕβρεως, *as a satisfaction for her reproach,* (lib. iv. Archæol. cap. 8.)

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.*] This law about witches follows the other about virgins; because witches, among other practices, help by evil arts to allure and entice silly virgins to consent to men's solicitations. Epiphanius reports from one that saw it such a magical operation used by a Jew to procure the love of a Christian woman, who was preserved from the δύναμις φαρμακείας, *power of his witchcraft,* by the seal of Christ (as he calls the sign of the cross), wherewith she fortified herself, at the first attempt made upon her, (Hæres. xxx. n. 7, 8.) But such wicked wretches did a world of other mischief, and therefore were to be put to death, whether they were men or women. The Scripture, indeed, mentions a *witch* only, (saith the Gemara of the Sanhedrin, cap. 7. n. 10.) because, for the most part, they were women who were addicted to magic. So Maimonides also, because the greater part of evil works are performed by women; therefore the law saith, *thou shalt not suffer Mechasshepha, a witch, to live;* (par. iii. cap. 37. More Nevochim.) Where he discourses of the sorts of witchcraft: and in general affirms, that there were no magical works performed without respect to the stars. For such people held that every plant had its star, and so had every animal, and all metals. For example; they said, "Pluck such a leaf, or such an herb, when the sun, or any other planet, is in such a place; let such a metal be melted under such a constellation, or such a constitution of the moon; and then say such and such words, and let a fume be made with such herbs or leaves, and that in such and such a form, and then this or that will follow. This was their doctrine, and such works as these were the peculiar worship of the stars, who were delighted, they imagined, with such actions, words, or fumes, and for the sake of them would do whatsoever was desired."

All this, he saith, he took out of their books then extant; from which he concludes, that the scope of the law being, that all idolatry should be taken out of the world, and that no virtue should be ascribed to any star of doing good or hurt to men (which opinion led men to their worship), it necessarily followed that all *witches* and *wizards* should be put to death, because they were idolaters; though after a peculiar and different way from that wherein the vulgar worshipped idols. And he thinks that a *witch* is rather mentioned than a *wizard* (though both intended), because men are naturally more tender towards the female sex, and apt to favour them: and, therefore, it is as if Moses had said, *Thou shalt kill even a woman that is guilty of this crime.* But afterwards (Lev. xx. 27.) he commands both men and women to be stoned.

Others of the Hebrew doctors (particularly R. Levi Barzelonita) give this reason why *witches* were not to live, "Because they directly thwarted God most blessed, who made all things when he created them for such and such purposes; which they perverted, and, by devices of their own, made to serve other ends which God never designed:" (Præcept. lxii.) but this they could not do without the help of evil spirits; and therefore their crime consisted in entering into a familiarity and a league with them, whose assistance upon such occasions they invoked: which was, in effect, a renouncing of God.

This was an impiety which had overspread the whole world, especially the eastern parts of it. And as for the Romans, we find a law, as old as the twelve tables, against witchcraft; "apud nos in duodecim tabulis cavetur, ne quis alienos fructus excantassit," as we read in Seneca, (lib. iv. Nat. Quæst. cap. 7.) where he mentions the like law among the Athenians. For the Greeks were extremely addicted to this, especially in Thessaly. Of which none, that I have read, spake so plainly as Plato, in his eleventh book of Laws, p. 932, 933. where he orders punishments not only for those who destroyed others by portions, but for those who pretended to be able to revenge themselves on others, ἢ μαγγανείαις τε τισὶ καὶ ἐπῳδαῖς καὶ καταδέσεσι λεγομέναις, "either by certain *enchantments,* or by *charms,* or by those *spells* which are called *ties,* or *knots.* Concerning which, he acknowledges, it is hard to know any thing, or to persuade others there is nothing in them. For if a man see any where, κήρινα μιμήματα πεπλασμένα, &c. *waxen resemblances,* made and set either at their *doors,* or in the *turning of the ways,* or at the *tombs of their ancestors;* none can prevail with him to neglect these things, because he knows not what efficacy is in them." And therefore he would have even such people, who used these sorts of witchcrafts, to be put to death, if they were professors of any sort of knowledge (as Μάντεις καὶ τερατοσκόποι), but if they were simple people, he leaves the judges to punish them as they found reason.

Ver. 19. *Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.*] This is so infamous a sin, and such a dishonour to nature, and the Author of nature (as Conr. Pellicanus well glosses), that it was not fit such a person should live upon the face of the earth, but die without mercy. See Lev. xviii. 23. xx. 15, 16. where this is more largely handled.

Ver. 20. *He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed.*] Sacrifice being the principal act of worship in those days, includes in it all other acts of worship and Divine service, which they were required to pay to the Lord alone (xx. 2, 3, &c.); but the punishment of doing otherwise was not enacted till

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now. Of which he treats more largely Deut. xvii. 2, 3, &c. See there.

Ver. 21. *Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him.*] Here are two distinct commands. The first of which [*not to vex a stranger*] the Hebrews will have to consist in not upbraiding him with his former state of heathenism, nor giving him any opprobrious words: as saying, Remember what thou wast; or what thy father did. And this was neither to be done to a proselyte of justice, nor to a proselyte of the gate, as far as Mr. Selden could judge of their opinion herein, (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 4.) The second [*not to oppress him*] consisted in not using him hardly in their dealings with him, by making him pay, for instance, for any thing more than it was worth. Which, the same Mr. Selden (lib. vi. cap. 5. p. 690.) thinks, the Hebrews were of opinion belonged only to their usage of proselytes of justice, who were perfectly in their communion. But this is very unreasonable: for (as R. Levi Barzelonita himself observes), by thus treating any proselyte, they might endanger their return to paganism again, out of indignation to be so despised; and much more when they saw they were wronged. Which God took care they should not be, because they were more helpless than other men, and had fewer friends. Which is the reason that this precept (as the Jews themselves have computed) is inculcated in one-and-twenty places. (See particularly xxiii. 9. Lev. xix. 33.)

*For ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*] There could not be a more powerful reason to move them to treat strangers kindly, than the remembrance of their own oppressions in Egypt, from which they were delivered by the mere mercy of God, which they ought to imitate.

Ver. 22. *Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child.*] Give them no trouble either in word or deed, as the same R. Levi interprets it (Præcept. lxv.); but in all their commerce with them, in buying, selling, or any other intercourse, treat them not only civilly, but kindly and benignly. And the reason of the precept, saith he, is the same with the former; because widows and orphans have few or none to protect them, or plead their cause; and therefore the law took care of them, as if their husbands and parents were yet alive.

Ver. 23. *If thou afflict them in any wise.*] By giving them ill language, or by insulting over them, or destroying their goods: much more if any man smote them, he was liable to the judgment of God, as Nachmanides interprets it.

*And they cry at all unto me.*] A child, saith the same R. Levi, cries to his father, and a wife to her husband: but the widow and the fatherless cry unto me, and I will hear them, for I am merciful.

*I will surely hear them.*] Punish you for your ill usage of them, as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 24. *And my wrath shall wax hot.*] This signifies their punishment should be Θείλατος, *sent upon them from God;* who orders no penalty to be inflicted by their judges, because he intended himself to be their avenger, and that in a very remarkable manner, by serving them in their kind; as it here follows.

*And I will kill you with the sword, and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.*] Here the Hebrew doctors cry out, *Measure for measure* (as R. Levi observes); for he threatens that the wives of those that afflicted them should be widows, and their children fatherless, and find none to take pity upon them. For with the measure that men mete withal, others shall mete to them: "if a woman (as he goes on) shall afflict them, she shall die, and her husband shall marry another wife, which shall afflict her children."

*If thou lend money to any of my people.*] That is, to an Israelite.

*That is poor by thee.*] By a *poor* man they do not understand one that goes a begging, but one in such want that he is more to be pitied than those who have the confidence to beg in the streets. The foundation of this precept (as the beforementioned R. Levi observes) was to fix in them the great virtue of mercy, kindness, and clemency; whereby poor people being helped, in this way of lending them money *gratis*, might recover again to a better condition, by the goodness of God to them.

*Thou shalt not be as an usurer to him.*] Neither domineer over him, nor make him pray, and entreat, and wait long, as if he were a slave; nor exact any thing for the use of the money.

*Neither shalt thou lay upon him usury.*] Not make him find sureties: or, as some of them interpret it, this is a precept requiring all Israelites to have no hand in letting out money to usury, either by writing the bonds, or by being a witness to them, or by being bound with others for the interest of money: for the word they observe is in the plural number, *ye shall not put upon him usury.* Which law concerning usury is fully handled by Mr. Selden, (lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 9, 10.) where he shews that some usury was forbidden by the law; and other by the decrees of their wise men. The law forbade them to contract to receive back again any sum of money more than they lent. But it was further required by their wise men, that they should not receive any gift beforehand to induce them to lend; nor any thing afterward by way of gratuity, or to express their thankfulness. Yet this last was permitted in the loan of orphans' money, as Maimonides saith. And what was thus forbidden to be done to an Israelite, was permitted to be done to a gentile. Nay, some will have that to be an affirmative precept which we read Deut. xxiii. 20. obliging them to take usury of a gentile, if they lent any money to him. But that Maimonides contradicts. And there are those who think this law only forbade them to take usury of a *poor* Israelite, but not of a *rich:* it being unreasonable that he should increase his wealth by the use of his neighbour's money, and he have no profit thereof.

Ver. 26. *If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment.*] His *coverlid*, as we speak, or bed-clothes. For it is plain, by what follows, he speaks of that which was to keep him from the cold in the night.

*To pledge.*] As a security for the payment of the money which he lent him.

*Thou shalt deliver it to him by that the sun goeth down.*] This shews that he speaks of a poor man; which is more fully declared, Deut. xxiv. 12, 13.

Ver. 27. *For that is his covering only,* &c.] It was contrary to humanity, to keep from him the only thing he had to keep him warm in his bed; for it was in effect to kill him.

*And it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear him.*] Punish thee for thy barbarous cruelty, (ver.

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23.) and besides, the Hebrew doctors say, he was to be beaten, by order of the court of judgment.

*For I am gracious.*] And would have you like myself.

Ver. 28. *Thou shalt not revile the gods.*] *i. e.* The judges, as no doubt it is to be interpreted. (See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 13. p. 268.) And the Hebrew doctors give this reason for it; because it tends to terrify them from doing justice, and exposes them to the contempt and hatred of the people; whom it also inclines to sedition. But many of them (see him, cap. i. p. 9.) will have another precept contained in this, that they blaspheme not the name of the Most High. Some few also (among whom is Philo) fancy it to be a command not to revile the gods that other people worship, though they be false ones. And so Julian the apostate took it; who is confuted by St. Cyril, as Mr. Selden there observes.

*Nor curse the ruler of thy people.*] That is, either the prince of Israel, or the president of the great Sanhedrin. So R. Levi Barzelonita, (Præcept. lxxvii.) The intention of the Scripture is to admonish us of our duty to him, who is the prince of the empire of Israel; with respect both to the dominion of the kingdom, and of the law (as his words are), it being a great crime to speak evil of him, by whose care all differences were composed, &c.

If any man was guilty of this crime, he was to be scourged three times: and if he were the son of a prince, he had four scourgings. And that very justly; for heathens themselves reckoned this among the greatest offences. It was one of the laws of Charondas (as Hen. Stephanus observes in his Fontes et Rivi Juris Civilis): ἔστω δὲ μέγιστα ἀδικήματα, θεῶν καταφρόνησις, καὶ γονέων κάκωσις ἑκουσία, καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ νόμων ὀλιγωρία, καὶ ἑκούσιος ἀτιμία δικαιοσύνης, *let these be reckoned the greatest crimes; contempt of the gods, and voluntary abuse of parents, disrespect to rulers and laws, and voluntary dishonour of justice.* In like manner Zaleucus ordains, that, next after the gods, and demons, and heroes, γονεῖς τε καὶ νόμοι καὶ ἄρχοντες σύνεγγύς εἰσι ταῖς τιμαῖς, *parents, and the laws and rulers, should be equally had in honour.* And Plato thought those that would not be subject to them were unsufferable: because they had the spirit of the old Titans, who would have pulled the gods out of their thrones, τὴν λεγομένην παλαιὰν Τιτανικὴν φύσιν ἐπιδείκνυσι καὶ μιμοῦνται.

Ver. 29. *Thou shalt not delay to offer the first of thy ripe fruit,* &c.] The Hebrews will have this to be a direction for the bringing unto God, in due order, those things which were to be offered to him. As, first, the *trumah;* which was the first oblation that was made out of the corn, when it was newly threshed out: which was to be, they say, a fiftieth part; which was given to the priest. Then the first tithe, which was given to the Levites; and the second tithe, which the possessors ate at Jerusalem, when the tabernacle was settled there. This order, they say, God here requires them not to invert, by offering that last which should have been first. So R. Levi of Barcelona, (Præcept. lxxviii.) But, from what follows, it seems to relate only to the first-fruits of their harvest, and of their vintage; which they were bound to bring as soon as they were ripe; and it was the portion of the priests. (See Deut. xviii. 4.) There was no determinate portion prescribed: but they who were tolerably good (as the Hebrews say) gave a fiftieth part; liberal men a fortieth; and covetous men a sixtieth; less than which was not accepted for a *trumah.*

*The first-born of thy sons shalt thou give me.*] The reason of this is given chap. xiii. when it was first enacted.

Ver. 30. *Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen,* &c.] See xiii. 2. 12. 15.

*On the eighth day thou shalt give it me.*] It was not acceptable to God, because not fit to be offered to him, till the eighth day; for the same reason that children were not circumcised till the eighth day. For all creatures, when they are newly born, saith Maimonides, (par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 49.) by reason of their abundant moisture, are so weak and feeble, that it is doubtful whether they will live or no: and therefore, till seven days be over, they are looked upon as but abortives (so his words are), and scarce numbered among the living. Besides, they are not sufficiently purged till then from the foulness of their stomach and bowels: which is another reason they were not to be offered unto God; who did not accept that which was imperfect or impure. Whatsoever was the reason, this law was observed also among the gentiles, as Bochart shews out of Pliny in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50.

Yet there was this difference between these and the first-fruits mentioned in the foregoing verse; that though these creatures were fit for sacrifice on the eighth day, yet they might stay longer before they were offered, though not beyond the year, for then they were not accepted, (as was observed before, xii. 5.) but the first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil, were to be offered presently, as soon as they were ripe.

Ver. 31. *And ye shall be holy men unto me.*] Because the Israelites were a peculiar people, separated to God by peculiar laws and rites by him instituted, (and thence called a *holy nation,* xix. 6.) therefore God commanded them to distinguish themselves, even in their diet, from other people; and look upon it as below their dignity to eat such things as the gentiles did. This is the meaning of their being holy to God, as appears from Deut. xiv. 2, 3. 21.

*Neither shall ye eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field.*] Both because the blood was in it and it was devoured by unclean creatures. R. Levi, beforementioned, saith, it was unwholesome; which he makes the reason of the prohibition. But whether it was torn by a wolf, a lion, or a bear, or any other beast, it made no difference, if so be it died presently, or not long after. So the Jews interpret the Hebrew word *terephah,* as L'Empereur observes out of Moses Mikkotsi, (in his notes upon Bava kama, cap. 7. sect. 2.) who saith it signifies *that which a beast tears, or bruises, so that it is near to death, though it be not actually dead.* For if it was dead, they call it נבלה *nevelah,* a carcass; which in their language signifies not only that which dies of itself, but which is killed with a weapon, or torn by a wild beast. Accordingly they take *terephah* here to signify, not only that which is torn by beasts, but that which any other way is so hurt that it is near to death. As, if it fall from a house, and break its ribs, or other members; or an arrow be shot through its heart or lungs; or any disease have affected those vital parts. If death were likely to ensue upon such things, it was not to be eaten.

*In the field.*] Whether it were torn in the field, or any

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other place, it made no difference: but the *field* is mentioned, because there commonly such things happen.

*Ye shall cast it to the dogs.*] R. Solomon saith they might sell it to the gentiles, whom the Jews counted no better than dogs. Which agrees with the decree in the Misna, (Bava kama, cap. 7. sect. 2.) that though it appeared afterward a thief had stolen what was torn, yet he was to make the legal restitution: contrary to the opinion of R. Simeon, who absolved such a thief, because he might not eat it, and consequently have no benefit by it. But most thought he might sell it; and therefore was liable to make satisfaction. If any Israelite did eat of it, he was to be scourged. Sir J. Marsham quotes the like precept out of Phocilides's verses, which end thus:

—— Ϟηρῶν ἀπὸ Ϟῆρες ἔδωνται.

*Let beasts be eaten by beasts.* (Chron. Egypt. sect. ix.)

## CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1. *THOU shalt not raise a false report.*] The Hebrews think this law peculiarly concerns judges; who are not to suffer their minds to be prepossessed with false reports. For that word we translate *raise*, signifies also to *take up, i. e.* to entertain, or *receive* (as we have it in the margin) and give credit to reports. And, consequently, they were not to hear any man's cause unless his adversary was present; but to look upon all as false, which was said by one party alone without the other. So R. Levi of Barcelona. Yet he confesses, that the law hath respect also to him who brings an action against another; that he should not lay his cause before the judge, in the absence of him that is to answer, though the judge would hear it. And he also adds, that the rabbins take it to comprehend such as report a calumny, or that receive it; or give a false testimony. And Philo thinks the Greeks from thence took that law, μὴ μαρτυρεῖν ἀκοήν, *not to make a proof of a hearsay;* which was in the Attic law, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. p. 576.) And it seems to me most rational to take this to relate to *witnesses* (as the following clause doth), that they should neither calumniate any man, nor bring ungrounded reports to carry a cause.

*Put not thy hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness.*] This the Hebrews likewise think concerns judges; who are required not to receive the testimony of a wicked man, nor do any thing upon his suggestions. And here they mention ten sorts of persons whose testimony was not be received. But the last words in this clause incline one to think it rather concerns witnesses than judges. For *to put one's hand with another*, is to help and assist him; to be confederate with him: and therefore *to put the hand with the wicked*, is to help a wicked man in a bad cause, *viz.* (as the last words interpret it) by giving a false testimony in his behalf. Of the Hebrew word *chamas*, which we rightly render *unrighteous*, or unjust, Bochartus hath a long discourse in his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 15.

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil.*] This may well be thought to respect judges, as the foregoing verse doth witnesses. And the most obvious meaning is, that no judge should condemn an innocent man, though the whole court, besides himself, gave sentence against him. But many of the Jews say, that they should not condemn one, whom they thought guilty, if he was cast only by one voice: if there were a majority of two, then, indeed, they say, a judge was bound to join with them. See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 5. p. 229: and cap. 6. p. 259. where he shews they take the word *evil* in this place to signify *the evil of punishment.* (See also cap. 12. p. 525.) But this seems to be only a subtlety. Their opinion is more reasonable, who, by the Hebrew word *rabbim* here, understand, not a multitude, but *great* and *potent men:* to whom a judge was not to have respect in judgment, no more than to a poor man; who (ver. 3.) is opposed to those men of might. But what follows I think will better interpret this.

*Neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgment.*] This is interpreted by Maimonides to signify, that no judge was to give his sentence in a capital cause, either for absolving or condemning, according to the opinion of the rest, if he were not able to deliver any opinion of his own. (See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. p. 529.) Other fancies they have about the word *rabbim* in this clause of the verse, which he notes there, cap. 9. p. 421. But the sense I think will be most plain and easy, if we take *rabbim* in the first part of the verse (as we do) for the *multitude;* and in this latter part, for the *great* and *potent*, or *ruling* men, who are generally attended by a multitude; and expound the whole thus: that the judges were not to be deterred, either by the people or by mighty men, to pronounce a false judgment. This agrees with what follows, and with Lev. xix. 15.

Ver. 3. *Neither shalt thou countenance a poor man in his cause.*] So as to give a wrong judgment in his favour. The word we translate *countenance* (in Hebrew *tehedar*) signifies to *adorn*, or *honour:* and so we translate it, Lev. xix. 15. And so it may be translated here, *Thou shalt not adorn, or set off a poor man's cause, with fine words and plausible colours, to make it look better than it is.* (See Deut. i. 16, 17.)

Ver. 4. *If thou meet thy enemy's ox or ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again.*] The Samaritan copy adds (after *ox or ass*) *or any other beast.* And Moses himself extends it to all sorts of goods that are lost, (Deut. xxii. 3.) But the Jewish doctors as (R. Levi of Barcelona confesses) restrain the word *enemy* to an Israelite: as if they thought not themselves bound to any such kindness for one of another nation. This, perhaps, they gathered from Deut. xxii. 1, 2. where, instead of the word *enemy*, we find Moses uses the word *brother.* But this should have taught them, to look upon all men, even enemies, as brethren; having the same common original, and bearing the image of the same God.

This verse may be connected with the foregoing in this manner: *If you be inclined to shew pity*, do it in such instances as these, but not in judgment.

Ver. 5. *If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden.*] His ass is only mentioned, but oxen, and other like creatures, are intended; as appears from the former verse. Yet this likewise the hard-hearted Jewish doctors would have belong only to an Israelite who hated them. And they put several cases upon this law: as, what if the beast be a gentile's, and the burden belong to an



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Israelite, or on the contrary; what is to be done? And if they meet with two beasts belonging both to Israelites, and labouring under burdens; but one the beast of a friend, the other of an enemy; which is he bound to help? In which they resolve, that he is by this precept to have regard to the beast of his enemy: that he may subdue his evil affection, which would persuade him otherways. How far also the word *see* extends, is a question among them: that is, how far they were to go out of their way to lend their help: with such-like niceties, which I shall not trouble the reader withal.

*And wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.*] The sense is clear enough: but the construction of the words, in the Hebrew, is not so plain. For the word *azab*, which we translate *help*, signifies to *leave* or *forsake:* and so the Chaldee here interprets it; *Thou shalt in that moment dismiss or forsake thy enmity to him, and go and help him.* And L. de Dieu to the same purpose; *Rather than leave him under his burden, quit thine enmity to him,* &c. A great many other ways there are to make out the grammar of the Hebrew words; but Bochart thinks all in vain: unless, instead of the particle *lo* with a *vau*, we admit it with an *aleph:* and then it runs clearly in the Hebrew in this manner, *Thou shalt cease (or abstain) from leaving him* (*i. e.* not follow thy own inclinations to pass by him); *leaving thou shalt not leave him* (*i. e.* by no means leave him), *viz.* to raise up his beast himself, as if it nothing concerned thee. Or, *Thou shalt abstain from leaving it* (*i. e.* the ass labouring under his burden); *I say, thou shalt by no means leave it.* The same thing is repeated, because it is a command so opposite to men's depraved affections; and therefore was fit to be inculcated, that they might not lightly pass it over. (See Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 40. p. 399.)

Ver. 6. *Thou shalt not wrest the judgment of thy poor in his cause.*] As they might not favour a man because he was poor, (ver. 3.) so much less might they wrong him; or not do him right, because he wanted money to prosecute it. There seems to be an emphasis (as Conradus Pellicanus observes) in the word *thy* poor: importing that they had such a relation to them, that they ought to be as much concerned for them as any other member of their body.

But the Jews, fancying this to be sufficiently included in the precept beforementioned, (ver. 3.) understand here by the *poor*, a bad man: who is *pauper præceptorum, non facultatum, one that wants virtue, not money.* To whom a judge might not say he was a wicked fellow, and condemn him without any farther examination of his cause: for it belongs to God (saith the same R. Levi) to execute judgment upon the ungodly, and not to the judges.

Ver. 7. *Keep thee far from a false matter.*] *i. e.* From a false judgment (for he seems to speak to the judges), and neither admit that which is false, nor pronounce it.

*And the innocent and righteous slay thou not.*] That is, (saith the beforenamed R. Levi Barzel.) beware carefully, lest thou takest away the life of him that may be innocent of that whereof he is accused. And therefore, he saith, the judges were to condemn no man, but by the testimony of two eye-witnesses. And they make this precept as much as, *thou shalt not judge out of conjectures.* Nay, if there were two witnesses that did not speak to the same matter, he was not to be condemned. As, if one witness said he saw such a man break the sabbath, and another said he saw him commit idolatry; judgment was not to be given against him upon this testimony; because Moses saith, *slay not the innocent.* Another example of which is still more close, which is mentioned in the T. Sanhedrin: if one said he saw him worship the moon, and another that he saw him worship the sun, the man was not to be condemned who was thus accused, because the witnesses did not speak to the same sort of idolatry. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. p. 567.) By the same reason they were not to acquit him who was plainly convicted of such impieties.

*For I will not justify the wicked.*] *i. e.* Such an unjust judge.

Ver. 8. *And thou shalt take no gift.*] No, not to absolve the innocent; or to condemn the guilty: as it is interpreted in Siphri.

*For a gift blindeth the wise.*] Such presents made to a judge are apt to cast a mist (as we speak) before his eyes, *i. e.* to corrupt his understanding; though he be otherwise perspicacious enough to discern between truth and falsehood, good and evil, (1 Sam. viii. 3.) The word which we translate *wise*, is in the Hebrew *piccehim, open* or *seeing;* concerning which consult Bochart, lib. i. Canaan, cap. 16. p. 470.

*And perverteth the words of the righteous.*] By *words* seems to be meant the sentence of those who might otherwise have been inclined to be righteous and upright judges.

The Hebrew lawyers say, that not only pecuniary gifts are here forbidden, but such words also (I suppose they mean promises of reward) as may win the affection: and that he who gave the present was guilty, as well as he that received it. (See Selden de Synedriis, lib. ii. cap. 13. p. 570.) But especially Joh. Coch. ad excerpt. Gem. Sanhedrin. cap. i. sect. 10. Annot. 4. where, among other things, he gives this ingenious derivation of the Hebrew word *schochad*, which we translate *gift* (out of the treatise called Chetuboth, where it is said to be as much as *schechu chad*, that is, *whereby he is one):* for the party who receives the gift hath his mind so drawn to the giver, that *he becomes one and the same with him.* And no man is fit to be judge in his own cause. Plato thought this so necessary a law, that he expressly enacts, (lib. xii. de Legibus, p. 955.) that all men who served their country in any office, should δώρων χωρὶς διακονεῖν, *perform their duty without gifts.* Ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος ἁπλῶς τεθνάτω ἀλοὺς τῇ δίκῃ. *He that offended against this law was to suffer death.* Which was the law of the twelve tables among the ancient Romans; "Judex qui ob rem dicendam, pecuniam accepisse convictus est, capite punitor:" *a judge that is convicted to have received money for giving his sentence, let him lose his head.*

Ver. 9. *Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger.*] This was said before, (xxii. 21.) but then it was a precept to all Israel; which is here applied peculiarly to judges; whom he would have to deal equally with strangers, and to make no difference between them and Israelites, remembering what they themselves were not long ago; and that they found by experience it was affliction enough to be strangers. That is the meaning of what follows in this verse.

*For ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*] Ye have felt what a distressed condition that is; how friendless and helpless. (See Deut. xxiv. 17, 18. xxvii. 19.)

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Ver. 10. *And six years thou shalt sow thy land.*] There was the same reason for dressing their trees.

*And gather in the fruits thereof.*] Together with the fruits of their trees.

Ver. 11. *But the seventh year thou shalt let it rest, and lie still.*] Neither sow, nor reap, nor prune the trees, nor gather the fruit.

*The poor of thy people may eat.*] And the Levites, and themselves also; who might take their share, not to lay up but for present use; though not as proprietors, but in common with the rest of the country. Whence it was that Alexander the Great, allowing them to live by their ancient laws, among other things granted τὸ ἕβδομον ἔτος ἀνεισφορον εἶναι, *every seventh year should be tribute-free;* (Josephus, lib. ix. Archæol. cap. 8.) For since they received nothing, it seemed reasonable to him they should pay nothing.

*And what they leave the beast of the field shall eat.*] This signifies God sent such vast plenty, when they observed his laws, that so much sprung up of itself as would more than satisfy men, and afford food to the beast.

*In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard and olive-yard.*] Under these two are comprehended all other sorts of fruit trees, as the Hebrews themselves acknowledge, who give several reasons for this law. Which was ordained, saith Maimonides, (par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 39.) in compassion to all men in general, that they might have some time of breathing and refreshment. But principally, say others of them, to be a memorial of the creation of the world, and the production of all things by the power of God in six days, and his resting on the seventh. Their exposing all things in common which that year produced, as well as letting the land rest, "put them in remembrance (saith R. Levi of Barcelona, Præcept. lxix.) that God was their preserver as well as creator: the earth bringing forth fruit every year, not by its own proper strength, or of its own accord, but because it hath a Lord upon whom it depends; who, where he pleases, hath a right to dispose of its fruit to a public use." This command also bred in them a trust in God and in his providence; and was a curb to covetousness, and taught them mercy also and liberality. Philo adds, that this was a politic contrivance to let the earth rest; partly that it might have time to recruit its strength, that it might bring forth more plentifully; and partly that the people might grow stronger, and more apt for all employments, by so long forbearance of their labours. This Eusebius thought worthy to transcribe out of him at large, in his Præpar. Evang. lib. viii. cap. 9.

But this precept about the year of rest is more fully delivered in Levit. xxv. 2, 3, &c. where see what I have noted.

Ver. 12. *Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest.*] He would not have them imagine they should rest less on the sabbath this year than in others, because this whole year was a kind of sabbath; but keep it with the usual strictness. Which is the reason, perhaps, of the repetition of this precept in this place.

*That thine ox and thine ass may rest,* &c.] This shews that one great end of instituting the observation of this day at Marah (xv. 25. xvi. 23.) was, that men and beasts might rest, in remembrance of the rest that God had given them from their burdens in Egypt. (See xxxv. 2.) R. Levi Barzelonita observes, that this precept is repeated in the law twelve times.

Ver. 13. *In all things that I have said unto you, be circumspect.*] Be cautious, lest you offend in any of the forenamed particulars; but especially in that which follows.

*And make no mention of the names of other gods.*] Such cautions as these, to prevent idolatry, are repeated no less than forty-four times in the law, as the same R. Levi observes. And the meaning of this is, either that they should not swear by other gods, or make any vows in their names; nor consequently enter into society with gentiles, as the best of the Hebrew writers understand it, and as the Vulgar Latin takes it, or that they should not so much as simply name the gods of other nations. They who are of this last opinion differ in their explication of it. For some of them say, only the calling them by such names as attribute some divinity to them, is the thing forbidden; not calling them by their proper names of Moloch or Bell, or the like: and thus Tertullian understood it. But there are others who think it unlawful so much as to use any of their names in common discourse; though there be no mention of their divinity. For Chemosh and Milcom, and such-like names, they say, are not mentioned in Scripture but with detestation and reproach (as the abomination of the Moabites or Ammonites), and therefore they think it unlawful to say, *I invite thee on the feast-day of such an idol of the gentiles,* or the like. Yet some of those who imagine the simple use of their names to be forbidden, except the names of those mentioned in Scripture. So Maimonides; the names of the idols of the gentiles which are mentioned in Scripture it is lawful for us to name; as Peor, Bell, Nebo, Baal, &c. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 13. p. 269, &c.) They say this precept binds men and women in all places, and at all times; and the punishment for its violation was beating.

*Neither shall it be heard out of thy mouth.*] *i. e.* With any respect or reverence to them: otherwise, the simple pronunciation of the name was not unlawful.

The sabbath being instituted partly to preserve them from idolatry, some think the reason why this precept is joined to that.

Ver. 14. *Three times shalt thou keep a feast unto me in the year.*] *viz.* At the Passover, Pentecost, and when they gathered all the fruits of the earth, and dwelt in tabernacles; as it follows in the next verses. The first of which was plainly instituted, in memory of their coming out of Egypt. The second, some think, was in memory of their coming into Canaan, (rather of the overthrow of Pharaoh in the sea, and giving the law on Mount Sinai.) And the third, in memory of their dwelling so long in the wilderness, and of the wonders which God did there; as Maimonides observes in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43. At these three great solemnities three things were to be done: first, they were to make a feast: secondly, to appear before God in the court of the temple: and, thirdly, to rejoice. Besides which, they were to bring certain offerings unto God.

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread,* &c.] See xii. 17, &c. xiii. 6, 7.

*In the time appointed of the month Abib.*] Or in the *month of new ears of corn.* (See xiii. 4.) For many learned men (particularly Huetius) think this word *Abib* not to be a proper name, but an *appellative* (as they speak), the proper



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names of months being not yet used among the Hebrews: who spake of them before the captivity of Babylon, according to the order and number wherein they stood, *viz.* first, second, third, &c. month. (See Demonstr. Evang. prop. iv. Cap. de Libro Joshua, n. 2.)

*And none shall appear before me empty.*] The phrase in the Hebrew (which we translate *appear before me)* is very remarkable, *viz. None shall see my face:* which does not signify that they beheld the external symbol of his presence; but that they looked directly that way where it was; and that they should not be accepted by God, unless they brought some present with them. For none approached to an earthly majesty in those countries without a present (as we read in the sacred story), which was a token of love and affection, as well as of respect and honour. And therefore this precept did not belong only to this feast, but to all the three mentioned in the verse before, as appears from Deut. xvi. 16. And accordingly there were special oblations ordained by the law itself, which were then to be made. At the Passover, when their harvest began, they were to bring *a sheaf of the first-fruits of their harvest,* and might not eat any corn till this was done, (Lev. xxiii. 10. 14.) At the next feast they brought *two wave loaves,* for a second first-fruit, of their wheat harvest; (Lev. xxiii. 17.) and at the feast of tabernacles, they offered the first-fruits of wine and oil. (See Mr. Mede, Discourse xlvi. p. 355.) Besides all which, good men brought free-will offerings; which are often mentioned in the law.

Ver. 16. *And the feast of harvest.*] Called also the *feast of weeks,* (xxxiv. 22.) because it was seven weeks after the Passover. Mr. Mede, in the place now named, thinks this was called the *harvest-feast;* because, as harvest began at the Passover, so it ended at Pentecost. And thus Bochart also: "At the Passover they first put the sickle into the corn; and about Pentecost harvest was finished, and all brought into the barn," (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 13.) But this seems not to be true; for now only the first-fruits were brought: which were not offered in the end, but in the beginning of harvest. And so it follows here.

*The first-fruits of thy labours which thou hast sown in the field.*] Which is not to be understood of all their labours, but of those fruits which were first sown in the ground. It being therefore called the *harvest-feast,* because the principal part of harvest, *viz. the wheat-harvest,* (as it is expressly called, xxxiv. 22.) then began: which sort of grain was sown before barley, as that was before flax; and therefore here called *the first-fruits of their labour sown in the field.*

*And the feast of in-gathering.*] Called also the *feast of tabernacles,* Lev. xxiii. 34.

*Which is in the end of the year.*] By this it appears that their year anciently began in the month Tisri, about autumn; at which time the world itself began, as Scaliger, and a great many other learned men assert, with such reasons as are not easy to be confuted.

*When thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field.*] At this feast their harvest was completed; the fruits of the earth being not only ripe, but gathered into their barns. Which was the foundation of the great rejoicing we read of at this time; because God now gave them some rest and respiration, as Maimonides speaks, from their employments, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43.) where he observes that Aristotle himself, in his eighth book of Ethics, mentions such a feast among the gentiles, and upon the same ground, in these words, as he recites them: "Anciently, sacrifices and public assemblies for the sake of sacrifices, were in the gathering of the fruits and products of the earth: as if the sacrifices were offered for their respiration." The Israelites dwelt in booths at this feast for another reason: and their dwelling in booths was now most tolerable (as the same Maimonides there notes), because the weather was moderate at that time; when they were not wont to be troubled either with heat or with rain.

Ver. 17. *Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God.*] This verse more fully explains what was said ver. 14. by shewing where they should keep these feasts, *viz.* before the Lord; *i. e.* in the place where his most glorious majesty should settle; which was first in the tabernacle, and afterward in the temple: and then who should appear before him there, *viz.* all the males. Others were not bound to it; though some religious people carried their whole families with them, as appears by Elkanah, (1 Sam. i.) This command is repeated, (xxxiv. 23.) and the true reason of it seems to have been this: that while they dwelt in the wilderness they ate no meat at all at their private tables, but what had been first offered up to God at the tabernacle, (Lev. xvii. 4, 5.) Which precept was dispensed withal when they came into the land of Canaan, and dwelt, many of them, so remote from the tabernacle, that they could not come up every day to sacrifice, (Deut. xii. 21.) Instead of which therefore there were these three constant and set times appointed in the year: in which every male was bound to come up, and see God at his tabernacle, and there eat and drink before him. Whence the sacrifice which was then offered, was wont to be called *a sacrifice of seeing,* as Dr. Cudworth hath observed in his little treatise of the Right Notion of the Lord's Supper. But as the doctors interpret it, they were not bound to bring their males to appear before the Lord till they were able to walk, in their father's hand, up from Jerusalem to the temple.

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice.*] That is, the paschal lamb, as Jonathan in express words interprets; and as it appears from xxxiv. 25. That the Passover was a sacrifice, I observed before, xii. 27.

*With leavened bread.*] There being three great solemn feasts appointed in the foregoing verses, (ver. 14. 17.) in this and the following he prescribes some rules how they were to be observed. And here, in this verse, ordains two things relating to the Passover: that it should not be *eaten with leavened bread;* nor any of the *fat of it remain until the morning.* Both which were ordained before, (xii. 10. 14, 15.) in its first institution: and here repeated, upon its being mentioned again with the other feasts.

It may be fit for me here to observe, that to move the Israelites to keep this Passover with the greater care, God calls it both here and in xxxiv. 25. after a peculiar manner, *my sacrifice* and *my feast* (as the latter part of this verse may be translated), being a feast of a most solemn nature; and a sacrifice then offered of singular use. For which reason he requires them, as not to offer it with leaven (which was at that time forbidden for special reasons), so

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not to reserve the fat of the offering till the next day: for that was not for the honour of the sacrifice; flesh being apt quickly to corrupt in those hot countries, and to offend the palate, or the nose, which had been against the dignity of the sacrifice. Which is the reason the Jews give why the flesh of the peace-offerings was not to be kept till the third day, (Lev. xix. 6.) It was to preserve *the magnificence of the sacrifice;* things kept so long being apt to stink. Whence ἔωλα, *yesterday's meats,* in Hippocrates, is the same with σαπρὰ, *corrupt:* and Galen expounds ἐωλίζειν by the word προσηπεῖν, *to tend to corruption;* as Pet. Castellanus observes, (lib. i. de Esu Carnium, cap. 5. p. 42.)

Ver. 19. *The first of the first-fruits of thy land, thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God.*] This precept hath a respect to the next feast, that of Pentecost. And therefore, though there were several *first-fruits,* which were all to be offered in their time (which were of seven things, barley, wheat, figs, pomegranates, olives, dates, and grapes), yet here are meant only the two *loaves* or *cakes* made of their new wheat, which were to be offered at this feast, (Lev. xxiii. 17.) for till this was done they might not make use of their corn. (See more concerning this matter on Lev. xxiii. 10.) R. Levi of Barcelona, and others, rightly observe that this was brought as an acknowledgment unto God, that he was the giver of all good things.

*Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.*] This precept hath a particular respect to the third feast, that of the *in-gathering of the fruits of the earth, in the end of the year,* mentioned ver. 16. And the Jews commonly take it to be a prohibition against eating a kid so boiled, or tasting of the milk: taking it to be a precept against cruelty. But here is not a word about *eating,* either of the kid or the milk; but only about *boiling.* The famous Bochartus mentions three other interpretations, but confutes them all: and taking the words simply, as we translate them, supposes there was some such custom as this among the gentiles, which Moses would not have them imitate. And so doth Maimonides, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 48.) where he takes this, indeed, for a command not to eat flesh with such milk; but saith, that, besides it was very gross nourishment, &c. it seems to him it was prohibited, because it smelt of idolatry; the gentiles doing so in their worship, upon some of their feasts. He could not find indeed, as he confesses, any such rite in the books of the Zabii: but yet he was confirmed in this opinion, by the law constantly mentioning this only when it speaks of their feasts; for there are other places where we meet with it, xxxiv. 26. Deut. xvi. 21. in both which he speaks, as he doth here, of their three great feasts. At the last of which, Abarbinel expressly affirms, the ancient idolaters were wont, when they gathered the fruits of the earth, to seethe a kid in its mother's milk, that their gods might be the more propitious to them. But as he names no author for his opinion, so he doth not explain the manner of it. Our most learned Dr. Cudworth was the first person who happily found this in a Karaite writer; who saith, "All the trees, and fields, and gardens, were sprinkled with this broth (of a kid seethed in its mother's milk), after a magical manner, to make them more fruitful in the following year." This Bochart also takes to be the truest interpretation, and quotes the forenamed doctor for it, not having seen the author himself: (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 52.) See Right Notion of the Lord's Supper, p. 25.

To which may be added, that a goat was anciently used in magical rites; and that demons were wont to appear in that form. But it must be noted withal, that in every one of the three places where this precept is mentioned, the LXX. translate the word we render *kid,* by ἄρνα, *a lamb;* though every where else they translate it ἔριφον. And I make no question, but we are to understand here either a lamb or kid boiled in its mother's milk; and the Hebrews say, any other clean creature. Concerning which I shall add no more, but that nothing could be more contrary to nature (and therefore agreeable to the institutions of the devil) than to boil any young creature in the milk of its mother, from whom it came. Which they first offered to their gods, and then ate some of it themselves, and the rest they sprinkled as beforesaid. Some relics of which custom we find even among the Romans themselves, who propitiated Sylvanus, with offering him milk, and Faunus with a kid: and every one knows both these were used in the worship of Bacchus.

Ver. 20. *Behold, I send an angel before thee.*] In the twenty-third verse he calls him *mine angel:* by which the Jews commonly understand Michael; there being but a very little difference between Malachi (which signifies *my angel*) and Michael. But a great many Christians think this was not a created angel, but an increated, *viz.* the eternal Son of God; who, they suppose, appeared to Moses in the bush, and conducted them all along to Mount Sinai. Which I am afraid to assert, because it seems dangerous to me (as I observed upon Gen. xlvii. 16.) to call him simply an *angel, i. e.* a minister, or messenger, without any such addition as that in Mal. iii. 3. *The angel of the covenant.* For so he was at his incarnation, of which he there speaks: before which I dare not ascribe to him such ministerial works as these, of bringing the children of Israel out of Egypt, and going before them to lead them the way to Canaan. This was properly the work of an angel, to whom Moses attributes it, when he orders his ambassadors to say to the king of Edom, (Numb. xx. 16.) "When we cried unto the Lord he heard our voice, and sent an angel, and hath brought us forth out of Egypt," &c. But this angel was a prime minister in the heavenly host, by whom he was accompanied. So he saith to Joshua, (ver. 14.) "I am come as captain of the host of the Lord:" which is the title of Michael in Dan. x. 13. 21. But though we thus understand it here, this doth not exclude the presence of God himself, but rather proves it: for this angel and his host were sent from the Schechinah, who was in the *pillar of cloud:* which was moved by this angel, and conducted them through the wilderness. (See iii. 2.)

*To keep thee in the way,* &c.] To preserve and protect them, as well as to direct and guide them, till they came to Canaan: which was the place God had prepared for them.

Ver. 21. *Beware of him.*] Or observe him.

*Obey his voice.*] Because he did but report what God himself commanded; who was there present with them, as long as they obeyed him.

*Provoke him not.*] By any disobedience.

*For he will not pardon your transgressions.*] But punish you, when you contumaciously offend me.

*For my name is in him.*] He acts by my authority and

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power, and sustains my person, who am present where he is. For the *name of God* is said to be there, where he is present after a singular and extraordinary manner, (1 Kings viii. 16. 1 Chron. vi. 5, 6.) Maimonides expounds it, *My word is in him, i. e.* saith he, God's will and pleasure was declared by the angel, (par. i. More Nevoch. cap. 64.) In which he seems to follow the Chaldee, who translates it, *for his word is in my name; i. e.* what he speaks is by my authority.

Ver. 22. *But if thou shalt indeed obey his voice, and do all that I speak.*] By this it appears that the words of the angel were the words of God; who spake by him: and both are to be understood to be present. (See Gen. xxii. 11. 15.)

*Then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies*, &c.] God and the angel seem to me to be so distinguished in this verse, that we should not look upon the angel as God, but as his minister.

Ver. 23. *For my angel shall go before thee.*] The word Malachi *(my angel)* consisting of the very same letters with Michael, the author of Baal Hatturim takes it, as if he had said, *Michael, my proper or peculiar angel*, &c.

*And bring thee unto the Amorites.*] Who were the principal people in the land of Canaan; and had made themselves masters of the first country which Joshua conquered. (See Gen. x. 16.)

*And the Hittites, and the Perizzites*, &c.] Concerning these, and the other people here mentioned, see Gen. x. 16, 17. xv. 19, &c. The reader cannot but observe that here are only six nations mentioned, whereas there were seven in all, whom God delivered up into their hands; (Josh. iii. 10.) yet in another place, where he commands them all to be utterly destroyed, Moses mentions but six, as he doth here, (Deut. xx. 17.) For, as some have conjectured, the Girgashites, who are here omitted, had been subdued by the Amorites, and were mixed with them; who were the most powerful of all the seven nations, and had spread themselves into many parts of the country; as appears from Gen. xiv. 13. Numb. xiii. 29. Deut. i. 7. 19. 44.

Ver. 24. *Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them.*] This is a caution against the idolatry of the people of Canaan: into whose country, when he had brought them, he charges them to be so far from doing any honour to their gods, either outwardly by *bowing down* to them, or inwardly *by serving them; i. e.* as some of the Hebrews interpret it, praying to them, or giving thanks, &c. (Selden, lib. iii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 3.) that he commands them to break them down and utterly destroy them.

*Nor do after their works.*] These words are so large, that they may comprehend all the abominable things which were done by the seven nations (mentioned in Lev. xviii. and other places); but here the matter seems to restrain them to their worship, which he would not have them imitate, by building temples or altars in honour of their gods, or offering such sacrifices as they did, or observing any of their religious rites.

*But thou shalt utterly overthrow them.*] This relates to the people of the land; as it is explained in Deut. xx. 17.

*And quite break down their images.*] For they were bound entirely to root idolatry out of the land of Canaan: though in other countries which they might conquer they did not think themselves bound to break their images, as Selden observes, (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2.)

Ver. 25. *And ye shall serve the Lord your God.*] Worship him, as he directs, and no other being. I observed before, that none were so senseless as to imagine a figure of any thing made of wood or stone, &c. to be the Creator of heaven and earth: but they worshipped them (as Maimonides well observes) as things intermediate between the Most High and them; which is here forbidden, (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 36.)

*And he shall bless thy bread and thy water, and I will take sickness away from thee.*] This is a promise that he would abundantly supply them with meat and drink, and also give them health; without which they could take no comfort in that plentiful provision.

Ver. 26. *There shall nothing cast their young, nor be barren in thy land.*] Abortion and barrenness hinder all propagation, both in men and beasts; and therefore, to the two foregoing blessings, of plenty and health, he adds two more in this place: a numerous increase of their cattle and of their own progeny; together with long life in the land which he gave them.

*The number of thy days I will fulfil.*] Thou shalt come to a good old age, such as healthful men (who are not cut off by any accident) are wont to attain. Procopius Gazæus gathers from hence, that there is not a fixed term set for every man's life. But it rather seems to suppose that there is a term fixed, beyond which men cannot ordinarily go (to some a longer, to some a shorter, according to their several constitutions), but may come short of it, by various accidents, and by their own ill usage of themselves, or by the judgment of God: who also, in regard to their obedience, prolongs the life of some men beyond what it would naturally reach.

Ver. 27. *I will send my fear before thee.*] Strike a terror into the inhabitants of Canaan before thou comest thither, which shall facilitate the conquest of them. (See Josh. ii. 9, 10.) With which agrees the story that is told in the Gemara Hierosol. ad Tit. Shebiith (by R. Samuel ben Nachman), that upon Joshua's denouncing war against the seven nations, the Girgashites fled into Africa. Which may be true, perhaps, of a part of them, but not of them all; for some of them were remaining, it appears from the book of Joshua, iii. 10. xxiv. 11. This is confirmed by another story in the Talmud, of the Africans suing to Alexander the Great to be restored to their ancient possessions in Canaan (which I mentioned before), and the old inscription in Procopius (lib. ii. de Rebus Vandal) not far from Tangier, which said the ancient inhabitants of that country fled from the face of Joshua, the son of Nun. (Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et Gent. cap. 13. p. 736.)

*And I will destroy all the people to whom thou shalt come.*] Make them more afraid when they come to fight; so that presently they shall run away and be easily slain: for that is the meaning of the last words, *I will make all thine enemies turn their backs to thee.*

Ver. 28. *And I will send hornets before thee.*] Either before they came thither, or when they marched against the people of that country. Both seem to be true: that many of them were forced to quit their country, when it was infested by the hornets God sent in great swarms among them; and that they who remained, when they came to fight,

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were assaulted by these hornets, which flew in their faces, and so sorely pricked their eyes (as Kimchi and R. Solomon take it) that they could not see to strike a stroke. Whence those words of Joshua, (who expressly saith this was fulfilled, xxiv. 12.) that the Amorites were not driven out by the sword and bow of the Israelites, but by the sting of these hornets. Which seem also to have pursued them when they fled away, and killed them in their lurking holes, where they hid themselves after the fight, (Deut. vii. 20.)

*Which shall drive out.*] That several nations have been driven out of their country, by contemptible creatures, such as frogs, mice, snakes, and gnats, is made good by Bochartus out of several authors. And he hath particularly shewn, that by these very creatures, wasps and bees, people have been forced to forsake their country, as Herodotus, Appianus, and Strabo testify: (see his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 13. p. 539, &c.) where he shews the sting of this sort of wasp (called a hornet) is of all other the most pernicious: for it is bigger than the ordinary wasp, and fiercer; seldom stinging, as Pliny saith, without putting men into a fever. (Ib. p. 543.) And of their flying at men's eyes, see what he alleges out of good authors, p. 535.

*The Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from before thee.*] These three nations, it seems, were principally infested by the hornets; among whom, perhaps, they were more venomous than elsewhere (for so R. Solomon saith, their poison was deadly), though the rest of the nations also felt their sting, as we read in Josh. xxiv. 11, 12.

Ver. 29. *I will not drive them out from before thee in one year.*] All the reasons of which are not here declared, (as they are elsewhere, Judg. iii. 1—3.) because he would not dishearten them.

*Lest the land become desolate,* &c.] *i. e.* Lest some part of the land should be left without inhabitants, and so be possessed by wild beasts: which might have been very dangerous to the Israelites in other parts where they were settled. For if all the people of the seven nations had been destroyed at once, the Israelites were not yet numerous enough to people the whole country; especially, when two tribes and a half were settled on the other side of Jordan.

Ver. 30. *By little and little I will drive them out before thee.*] Diminish them, by degrees, till they were wholly expelled.

*Until thou be increased and inherit the land.*] Until the Israelites were grown so numerous, that they were able to stock the whole country.

Ver. 31. *And I will set thy bounds,* &c.] This was the utmost extent of the country which he intended to bestow upon them, (see Gen. xv. 18.) but they did not enjoy it till the times of David, (2 Sam. viii. 1. 3, &c.) and Solomon, (1 Kings iv. 21. 24.) when their dominion seems to have been enlarged not only to Euphrates, but even beyond it, Ezra iv. 16. 20. (see my paraphrase upon Psal. lxxii. 8.) Before these times, it appears by the book of Joshua, and those that follow, that many of the old inhabitants remained long after his death.

*From the Red Sea to the sea of the Philistines.*] These were the bounds from east to west. For though the Red Sea was towards the south, yet the farthermost part of it lay east. And the *sea of the Philistines* is that now called the Mediterranean, which was full west.

*And from the desert.*] Of Arabia, called Shur, (xv. 22.)

*Unto the river.*] *i. e.* To Euphrates: which made the southern and northern bounds of the country God promised to them.

*For I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into thy hand.*] This seems to relate to that land which the seven nations inhabited: for as far as Euphrates they never drove out all the inhabitants, but only made them tributaries.

*And thou shalt drive them out before thee.*] In such manner as is mentioned in the foregoing verses.

Ver. 32. *Thou shalt make no covenant with them.*] *i. e.* With the people of the seven nations. But with other gentiles they might make covenants: only not suffer them to live in their land, unless they renounced all idolatry. Nay, Maimonides is of opinion, that such of the seven nations as renounced idolatry, were to be received into their friendship: for that law in Deut. xx. which requires them to send a summons to every city before they besieged it, with an offer of peace, he extends even to them; and grounds his opinion upon Josh. xi. 19, 20. As for that objection which seems to lie against this, about the Gibeonites, who needed not by craft to have obtained a league with the Israelites, if this were true doctrine: his answer is, that Joshua had sent a summons, with offers of peace to them and all the rest, which they rejected; but would afterward have gladly accepted, and then it was not to be admitted: and therefore they contrived that cunning way to be received into friendship with the Israelites. See P. Cunæus, lib. ii. de Republ. Hebr. cap. 20. And Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. cap. 13. where he quotes a passage out of the Jerusalem Gemara, which says, that Joshua sent three letters to the Gibeonites. But he shews withal, that other Jews contradict this; and expressly declare the seven nations were not to be invited to peace. What the terms were on which others were invited, see there, cap. 14.

All this considered, I am inclined to think Maimonides's opinion to be true; which that place in Joshua very much favours; and so doth the story of Rahab, and the practice of Solomon; who only put the remainders of these nations under tribute, (1 Kings ix. 20, 21.)

*Nor with their gods.*] This prohibits them to suffer any of the seven nations to exercise idolatry among them, as R. Levi of Barcelona interprets it. Or rather, he forbids them to make any vows to their gods, or oblige themselves to perform any act of worship to them.

Ver. 32. *They shall not dwell in thy land.*] If a gentile did renounce his idolatry he might dwell among them; and was called a stranger, *toshab,* dwelling, or inhabiting. But if he did not forsake it, they might not sell him a foot of land, nor let him hire a house among them: only he might come and sell commodities to them, as the same R. Levi expounds it. But Maimonides says, they might not so much as suffer them to pass through their country, when they had power to hinder it; which others think too rigid an opinion, as Mr. Selden shews, (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 3. p. 155, &c.)

*Lest they make thee sin against me.*] All society with idolaters was forbidden, lest they should infect the Israelites with their infidelity (as the same R. Levi speaks), of which there was the greater danger, because they were too prone to follow the gentile customs.

*For if thou serve their gods.*] This caution, being re-

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peated three times in this chapter, ought to have been the more diligently observed by the Jews, and made them more fearful of entering into familiarity with idolaters. Who were of various sorts; for not only every nation had its proper and peculiar gods, but every city, town, house, nay, every man made themselves gods according to their fancy.

*It will surely be a snare unto thee.*] Bring great calamities upon thee, and at last be thy ruin; as it is explained Josh. xxiii. 13. Judg. ii. 3. For instead of driving out the seven nations, they brought Israel under their yoke, and grievously oppressed them; as we read in the story of the Judges, particularly in the fourth chapter.

## CHAP. XXIV.

Ver. 1. *AND he said unto Moses.*] When God had delivered the foregoing law unto Moses in the mount, where he was with him (xx. 21.) after he had spoken the ten commandments, he bade him go down (as we read here he did, ver. 3.) and set them before the people, (xxi. 1.) And when he had engaged them in a covenant to observe these laws (ver. 7. of this chapter), then to come up to him again; and bring Aaron, and the rest that are here mentioned, with him.

*Come up.*] To receive further orders from the Divine Majesty; together with the two tables of stone.

*Unto the Lord.*] To the mount, where the glory of the Lord appeared; and from whence he had spoken the ten words.

*Thou, and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu,* &c.] But not all to the same nearness unto the Divine Majesty, as appears by the following verse.

*And seventy of the elders of Israel.*] This seems to intimate, that there were more than seventy called elders: but these were the chief, being perhaps the heads of those families which came into Egypt, which were just *seventy.* (See xviii. 12.) For he doth not direct Moses how to choose them, (as Corn. Bertram observes, lib. de Repub. Jud. cap. 5.) but speaks as if they were well known, and distinguished from other persons, by the rank they held among them. And therefore called (ver. 11.) *the nobles,* or, as the Latin speaks, *Magnates, seu optimates, the great men, of the best quality in Israel.* The reason of their being thus called up to God was, to be witnesses of Moses's ascending up to the place where the Divine Majesty appeared; and that they also might have some sight of it, (ver. 10.)

*And worship ye afar off.*] All of them, before they came to the mount, were, at a good distance from it, to fall down prostrate before God, that they might be possessed with such a holy reverence to him, as not to presume to approach nearer than they were ordered.

Ver. 2. *And Moses alone shall come near the Lord.*] Unto the very top of the mount, where the glory of the Lord abode, (ver. 16—18.) unto which none was admitted but himself. Who now came nearer than he had done before, (xx. 21.) for he went into the *midst of the cloud,* (ver. 18.)

*But they shall not come nigh.*] Unto that part of the mount whither he went; but keep in a lower station.

*Neither shall the people go up with him.*] But stay at the bottom of the mount, (as they did before the giving the ten commandments, xix. 17.) below the place where the elders were. So I think Maimonides rightly understands this place, in his More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 32. where, speaking of the several degrees of prophecy, or familiarity with God, he observes that Moses was here placed in the supreme degree (he alone being allowed to *come near the Lord);* below him was Aaron placed; and below him Nadab and Abihu; and below them the seventy elders; and beneath them the rest of the people. Which is the meaning of that saying of their wise men, "Moses is a wall by himself, and Aaron a wall by himself:" that is, they were in separate apartments at this glorious appearance of God.

Ver. 3. *And Moses came.*] From the mount, where he had received the precepts mentioned in the three foregoing chapters.

*And told the people all the words of the Lord, and all the judgments.*] Some understand here by the *words of the Lord,* the ten commandments, called the *ten words,* (xxxviii. 18.) But these words the people heard spoken by God himself, and not by the report of Moses. Therefore I take these words to signify rather what he had spoken in the latter part of the foregoing chapter, from the twentieth verse to the end. And then by *all the judgments,* he means those laws which he had received for their good government in the twenty-first, twenty-second, and the former part of the twenty-third chapters.

*And all the people answered with one voice, and said.*] In all likelihood Moses had told the elders what God had said to him; and they went and told it to the people, who gave the following answer to them. For thus it was before, (xix. 6, 7.)

*All the words that the Lord hath said will we do.*] They had consented before in *general,* to do whatsoever God required of them, having owned him for their King and Governor; (xix. 6—8.) but now they consent in *particular,* after God had declared what he would have them do (in the twentieth chapter), and Moses had also reported the rest of the judgments delivered in the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third chapters.

Ver. 4.] *And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord.*] Both the ten commandments, and all the rest of the judgments delivered in the foregoing chapters. God, indeed, wrote the ten commandments himself: but for the present Moses made a record of them, that the people might not only hear, but read what they had to do.

*And rose up early in the morning.*] The next morning, it is likely, after he had received those judgments, and delivered them to the people, and wrote them in a book; which was upon the seventh day of Sivan, as I observed, xx. 21. that is, on the sixth of our June, as Jac. Capellus reckons. Therefore on the eighth of Sivan he built the altar, &c. as it here follows.

*And builded an altar under the hill.*] At the foot of the hill where the people were allowed to stand. This altar was to represent God, to whom sacrifices were offered upon it.

*And twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel.*] This was to represent all the people. The gentiles abusing such pillars to idolatrous uses, the erecting of them is afterward forbidden in the law. But before the building of the tabernacle, Moses here erects them, as

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Jacob had piously done in former times, (Gen. xxxv. 14.) See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 6. p. 185.

Ver. 5. *And he sent young men of the children of Israel.*] These are said by the Hebrews to be the *first-born*, as Onkelos here expressly translates it, *He sent the first-born:* and the paraphrase ascribed to Uzielides follows him; adding this reason, *because the Aaronical priests were not yet consecrated.* The Arabic and Persian versions say the same, as Mr. Selden hath observed, (lib. i. de Succession. ad Pontif. cap. 1.) and most interpreters have been of the same mind. But I have often observed before (particularly xix. 22.) that I can see no proof of this, that they only officiated as priests: every man anciently, in his own family, having a right to offer sacrifice, till the law of Moses restrained it to the family of Aaron. Therefore I take these *young men* to have been the choicest persons among them, whether *first-born* or others, who had been appointed to minister unto God. For Joshua, who is called here (ver. 13.) *Moses's minister*, is, in Numb. xi. 28. called *his young man.* Such were fittest for all service; especially for that of sacrificing to God. For which they anciently chose the strongest and properest persons, as we see in the Greek story of Jason, (which our learned Dr. Spencer observes, p. 140.) whose sacrifices were led to the altar by the young men of his company, *i. e.* men of greatest strength and beauty, (lib. i. Argonaut.) And this so far remained, after the priesthood was confined to the family of Aaron, that no man was permitted to officiate at the altar after he was fifty years of age; that is, when he was past his best (as we speak), the flower and strength of his age, (Numb. viii. 25.) Fortunatus Scacchus conjectures that there were twelve of these young men, one of each tribe, who offered in the name of their brethren, (Myrothec. Sacr. Elæochr. par. ii. cap. 59.)

*Which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord.*] Though *oxen* are only mentioned, yet there were other creatures sacrificed, as appears from Hebr. xi. 19, 20. And in following times, *peace-offerings* might be either of calves, or lambs, or goats, as we find in Lev. iii. and so might *burnt-offerings* also; (see Lev. i. 2. 10.) Our learned primate Usher thinks also there were *expiatory* sacrifices offered, together with these *burnt-offerings* and *peace-offerings*, and that in the first place; (ad A. M. 2513. mens. 3.)

Ver. 6. *And Moses took half the blood, and put it in basons.*] It may be a question, whether he speaks of the blood of all the sacrifices, or only of the *expiatory* (if there were any), or of the *burnt-offerings*, or *peace-offerings*. But which way soever that be determined, this half of the blood, it is certain, was reserved to be sprinkled on the people, (ver. 8.)

Concerning the word *agganot*, which we translate *basons*, the learned reader may consult Bochartus, in his Hierozoic. par. i. p. 549.

*And half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar.*] The altar representing God, (as was said before, ver. 4.) this blood sprinkled upon it, signified that he, for his part, engaged to be faithful in the covenant he now made with them, and they with him; by performing all the promises he had newly made them by Moses in the latter end of the foregoing chapter; especially those four great promises, of *plenty, health, numerous offspring*, and *long life*, (ver. 25, 26.) together with the driving out the people of Canaan from before them, (ver. 27, &c.)

Ver. 7. *And he took the book.*] Some have made it a difficulty to find what book this was; and have been pleased to fancy, that some book which Moses wrote is lost: when this plainly refers to what is said ver. 4. where we read that "Moses wrote all the words of the Lord," that is, the commandments and judgments mentioned in the four foregoing chapters. Which though they made no great volume, yet might be called a *book* in their language: for even the bill of divorcement, which they gave their wives (and was very short), is called by this name of *sepher*, a *book*, Deut. xxiv. 1.

*Of the covenant.*] That they might remember upon what terms he would bestow upon them the forenamed blessings, he engages them in a solemn covenant to observe the commandments and judgments contained in this book.

Ver. 8. *And Moses took the blood.*] That half of it which was in the basons, (ver. 6.)

*And sprinkled it on the people.*] As he had sprinkled one half on the altar, in token God was a party in the covenant; so he sprinkled the other half on the twelve pillars, which represented the children of Israel, in token that they were the other party engaged in the same covenant. Thus our forenamed primate, and several others understand it: and it carries some show of probability in it. Yet I cannot think it unlikely, that it was sprinkled upon the seventy elders, by whom the people consented; if not upon all the people who stood next to the altar, and are here expressly mentioned. The apostle to the Hebrews (ix. 19.) saith, he sprinkled *the book*, as well as *the people*, which is not here mentioned, but supposed. For when he went to sprinkle the blood, we must conceive he laid down the book, that he might be at more liberty for this other action; and perhaps he laid it on one of the pillars, where it was sprinkled, as they were, together with the people whom they represented.

*And said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words.*] Look upon yourselves as obliged by this blood, to observe all the commands which I have delivered to you in the words you have heard. For there were two ways of making covenants anciently; both which were here used. The first was, after a sacrifice had been offered, to sprinkle the blood of it upon both parties who were to be confederates: which was done here, (ver. 6. 8.) And secondly, the confederates thereupon proceeded to eat together some part of the sacrifice; which follows, (ver. 11.) where we find the elders of Israel (who represented the people) did eat and drink in the presence of God.

Ver. 9. *Then went up Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel.*] These things being done, they went up into the mount as they were ordered, (ver. 1.) *i. e.* they went up to that part of the mount where Aaron, and his sons, and the elders, were appointed to come; but no further.

Ver. 10. *And they saw the God of Israel.*] When Moses is commanded to come near unto the Lord, (ver. 2.) Maimonides acknowledges it may be understood of his local approach to the place where the light or glory of God then appeared, (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 18.) And therefore it is something strange that he expounds the elders'



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*seeing God,* of their apprehension of him by their understanding; and not rather of their beholding some glimpse of that visible majesty which was on the top of the mount. For that, I doubt not, is the meaning, as appears by what follows. And so the Chaldee expounds it, *They saw the glory of the God of Israel;* surrounded, we may well suppose, with a heavenly host of angels, attending upon the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, as it was also called.

*And there was under his feet.*] This hath made some conceive, that this visible glory appeared in the form of a man, with his back towards them, standing upon a shining pavement. But this is contrary to Deut. iv. 15. For though that be spoken of another time and place, *viz.* the giving of the law, which all the people heard, but saw no similitude; yet, if the elders had afterward seen a similitude, it would have spoiled Moses's argument, they being the representatives of the people. This glorious light, therefore, far surpassing all other, had no form, nor could be described by any art: and consequently, by its *feet* is meant only the lower part of it; which rested, as it were, upon a most glorious pavement. And thus the Divine Majesty is said to have had a *footstool* (which was the cover of the ark), though it had no human shape.

*As it were a paved work of sapphire-stone.*] The glorious majesty of God was represented as having under it a pavement suitable to itself, very bright and shining. For there is a sort of sapphire called χρυσοστιγὴς, *spotted with little points, or pricks of gold,* which shine like stars interspersed in the body of it. (See Salmasius in Solinum, p. 131. 203.) Such was this pavement, as we may gather from the following words.

*And as it were the body of heaven in its clearness.*] As clear as the purest and serenest sky, when it is all spangled with stars. All which signifies, as I take it, that the glory of the Lord appeared far above the glory of the sun, in its greatest brightness, upon a pavement sparkling like the stars in the heaven, when it is most clear. The LXX. instead of the words *saw the God of Israel,* have, *saw τὸν τόπον the place of the God of Israel.* As if they saw a throne, upon which there was a visible majesty, beyond all description. And if this be admitted, then this throne may well be said to have *feet,* standing upon such a glorious pavement. And so they translate it in the next verse, where this is repeated.

Ver. 11. *And upon the nobles of the children of Israel.*] *i. e.* The elders beforementioned, (ver. 1. 9.) called here *atzilim,* to signify that they were the prime and choicest persons among the Israelites. For *atzal* signifies to separate; and consequently *atzilim* imports men distinguished from others, either by their birth, office, or some excellent qualities.

*He laid not his hand.*] Did not hurt them. Whereas it was the common opinion, that they who saw God (though it was by one of his angels) should presently die. The splendour of that glorious light was so dazzling, that it was a singular favour it did not put out their eyes, as the light wherein St. Paul saw our Saviour did his. We are told, (ver. 17.) "The sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire." Which might put them in fear, perhaps, they had been scorched by it, when it flashed out upon them; but they found not the least hurt by it. Thus Jonathan saith in his paraphrase upon the thirty-second chapter, that when Moses delayed to come down from the mount the people fancied him to be burnt up by the fire, which shone from the presence of God, which there appeared.

This sight of God, which he vouchsafed to the elders, was in all likelihood to convince them that he was among them, and had spoken to them, and sent them the precepts beforementioned by the hand of Moses.

*Also they saw God, and did eat and drink.*] After they had seen God, they were so far from receiving any harm, that they feasted with him upon the relics of the peace-offerings, with great joy and gladness. Or we may suppose, that the glory of the Lord shone upon them, as they sat down to eat and drink, in token of their full consent to the covenant now made, (for so the custom was of making covenants, Gen. xxiv. 30. xxxi. 54.) and that notwithstanding they continued to finish their feast, not being dispirited (as good men were sometimes afterwards with glorious visions, Dan. x. 8. 16, 17.) but rather strengthened and made more vigorous.

The word for *saw* in this verse is different from that in the former; importing, I suppose, that this appearance of God to them lasted some time.

Ver. 12. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] He called to him, perhaps with an audible voice, from the place where they saw his glory; that they might know how familiar he was with God, and might more readily receive whatsoever commands he brought from him.

*Come up to me into the mount.*] To the top of the mount, where the glory of the Lord was, (ver. 17.) For hitherto Moses had gone no further than the rest; but was with them when they did eat and drink before the Lord.

*And be there.*] Stay with me there, (ver. 18.)

*And I will give thee tables of stone.*] Not only the Jews, but Epiphanius also, fancy these tables were made of sapphire, from what was said ver. 10. But the words signify plainly enough that they were of stone.

*And a law and commandments which I have written.*] From this place the Jews endeavour to establish their unwritten or oral law, *i. e.* their traditions; which, they say, were now delivered, together with the tables of stone. So Maimonides, in his preface to Jad Chazeka; "All the precepts which were given to Moses on Mount Sinai were given with their explications; according to what is said, *I will give thee tables of stone, and a law and commandments:* where by the *law* is meant the written law, and the *commandments* denote the explication of it, which we call the oral law." Thus he, and others of them, directly against the text itself, which saith expressly, both of the *law and the commandments* here mentioned, that they were *written.* (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 16.) Therefore, by *law* and *commandments,* we are to understand nothing else but *the law contained in the ten commandments.*

*That thou mayest teach them.*] Instruct the people to observe them as the most sacred of all other precepts; being written, as well as spoken, by God himself, who taught men by this example, how to preserve their laws. For Aristotle saith in his Problems, that in old time men being ignorant how to write, ᾖδον τοὺς νόμους, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται, *were wont to sing their laws, that they might not be forgotten.* It being the invention of the Corybantes, ἱστάναι λίθους (as Theopompus speaks), *to set up pillars,* and engrave their laws upon them. Which Solon at last wrote on wooden tables, called Ἄξονες and Κύρβεις, which were laid

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up in the temple of the mother of the gods, (vid. Sam. Petitum Præfat. in Leg. Atticas.)

Ver. 13. *And Moses rose up.*] From among the elders; with whom he was before.

*And his minister Joshua.*] Who attended him further than the elders; but not into the place where he went. For God intending him to be Moses's successor, seems to admit him unto a nearer familiarity than any one else besides Moses.

*And Moses went up into the mount of God.*] The place where the Divine glory appeared. But Joshua stayed for him in some lower part of the mountain, expecting his return. For he did not go up to the top of the mount, as appears from the thirty-second chapter; where Moses's descent from thence being mentioned, Joshua is not named till it be said that Moses was come down from the mount, (ver. 15. 17.) He went with them therefore till he entered into the cloud, and then he stayed as it were at the door waiting for his return.

Ver. 14. *And he said unto the elders.*] Before he left them, he gave them this order.

*Tarry ye here for us.*] Not in the place where they had seen God, and did eat and drink with him; whither the people might not come: but rather in the camp, or some place near it, whither the people might upon occasion resort to them. Unto which place Moses seems to have walked with them from the mount, before he returned to go up into it; or, at least pointed them unto it with his finger, that they might there wait for him.

*Until we come again to you.*] He could not tell how long God would detain him; and therefore commands them to govern the people till his return to them.

*And behold, Aaron and Hur are with you.*] Who seem to have been of greatest authority next to himself; and were with him in the mount when the Israelites fought with Amalek, (chap. xvii.)

*If any man have any matters to do, let him come unto them.*] In all causes, which were too hard for the elders to determine, he directs them to go to Aaron and Hur, as they were wont to do to him. By this it appears, that these seventy elders were some of the judges appointed by the advice of Jethro, (xviii. 22.) which he continued to follow, and orders them to observe in his absence.

Ver. 15. *And Moses went up into the mount.*] Having said this, he and Joshua left them; and he went into the higher part of the mount.

*And a cloud covered the mount.*] That part of it where he was: so that the people, and Joshua also, lost the sight of him.

Ver. 16. *And the glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai.*] That visible majesty which shone in extraordinary splendour, was settled for the present upon the top of this mount.

*And the cloud covered it.*] *i. e.* Covered the glory of the Lord, not the mount, as Aben Ezra observes. For the cloud was not the glory of the Lord, but encompassed and covered it: so that for six days nothing but the cloud appeared to the Israelites: till on the seventh day the cloud was rent (as I take it) or opened; and the glory of the Lord appeared like flaming fire.

*Six days.*] Thus long it was hidden in a cloud, so that Moses himself could not see it, but remained wrapped up in darkness; which might have astonished him, if he had not been supported by the Divine power, and a comfortable sense of God, who had often appeared to him and conversed familiarly with him.

*And the seventh day he called unto Moses.*] The second time (for he had called to him before to come up to him, ver. 12.) commanding him to approach into his glorious presence.

*Out of the midst of the cloud.*] Where the Divine glory was, and now broke out and appeared, I suppose, unto Moses. Some think the seventh day might be the sabbath, upon which God chose to appear to him.

Ver. 17. *And the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire, on the top of the mount, in the eyes of the children of Israel.*] It broke out of the cloud, after six days, so that the people saw it like flaming fire. To which the Psalmist seems to allude, (Psal. xcvii. 2, 3.) "Clouds and darkness are round about him, and fire goeth before him," &c. Thus the glory of the Lord is described in other places, as within a cloud, and sometimes breaking out of it, (Exod. xl. 35.) where the cloud is said to be upon the tabernacle, and the glory of the Lord to fill it with; which (ver. 38.) is described like fire. (See also Numb. xvi. 42.) And thus, at its first appearing, there was a pillar of a cloud and of fire led them, (xiii. 21.) And it sometimes appearing in an amazing brightness, beyond that of the sun; and sometimes being wrapped up in as thick a cloud: God is likewise said both to *dwell in light* and in *thick darkness*, (1 Kings viii. 12.)

Ver. 18. *And Moses went into the midst of the cloud.*] From whence the Lord had called to him, (ver. 16.) Therefore he broke through the thick cloud into the very presence of God, which was in a secret part of the cloud, called the *midst of it*.

*And gat him up into the mount.*] To the top of it, where the glory of the Lord appeared to him in the midst of the cloud; the external parts of which and the fire only being seen by the people.

*And Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.*] That he might receive the two tables of stone, and the gift of prophecy (as Elmacinus, an Arabian Christian, adds), with directions for the making the tabernacle, and all things belonging to it, and the service to be performed there by the priest, apparelled according to Divine prescription, &c. which follow in the ensuing chapters: where Moses relates what orders God gave him about every thing relating to his Divine service. And it need not seem strange, as Clemens Alexandrinus excellently speaks, (lib. i. Stromat. p. 351.) that Moses received his laws from God; when the Greeks pretend the same of their Minos: only they say he went into Jupiter's cave, and was nine years there in learning the laws which he gave him; when Moses was but forty days in the mount, where God visibly appeared. They believed also that Lycurgus received his laws from Apollo; and Zaleucus (as Plato, Aristotle, and divers others whom he mentions, say) received his from Minerva. All this was firmly believed among them, who, in not acknowledging the divinity of Moses's ministration, were very ungrateful; for his was the *archetype*, as he speaks, or pattern, of what was pretended in their stories.

*Forty days and forty nights.*] It may be a question, whether the six days that he remained in the cloud, before the



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Lord called him higher, be included in these forty days; or were only preparatory to his nearer access to God. They may well be both: for it is not said he was in the *midst of the cloud* forty days and forty nights; but that he was so long *in the mount*. Part of which time was spent in the dark cloud, and the rest in the bright presence of God, in the midst of the cloud: and in all that space he did neither eat nor drink, (xxxiv. 28. Deut. ix. 9.)

God could, if he had pleased, have revealed to him all his mind in a less time: but the method of the Divine wisdom is to do all things gradually. For instance, the substance of a child in the womb (saith the author of Schalsch. Hakkabalah) is not perfected in less time than forty weeks, in all which time it receives no meat nor drink (at the mouth we must understand him), and so many days did the Divine power work in Moses to form him into a new essence (as his words are), and give him a full comprehension of all that God communicated to him. And all this time he neither did eat nor drink; for these actions (says that Jew) prejudice the understanding; which God intended to exalt, by depressing the bodily faculties and powers: which for want of meat and drink were brought down very low, that the understanding might be raised and lifted up. And thus we find, in aftertimes, that Daniel chastened his body for three whole weeks together, the better to dispose him for heavenly vision, (x. 2, 3. 12.)

This ascent of Moses from the cloudy part of the mount to the fiery top of it was upon the fourteenth of Sivan: and we may suppose, as Jacobus Capellus doth, that the cloud accompanied him, as he went up, to defend him from the circumambient flame.

## CHAP. XXV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses.*] Out of that glorious and flaming light where he appeared to him.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] When he went down from the mount.

*That they bring me.*] In the Hebrew, *take for me*, out of their goods.

*An offering.*] The Hebrew word *terumah* (or, as some pronounce it, *trumah*) is commonly translated a *heave-offering*, or offering lifted up. Which the Chaldee translates, *that which is separated* from common use: and in the separation, perhaps, was lifted up towards heaven, in token that they desired God to accept it.

*Of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart, ye shall take my offering.*] They were only to be moved to it, but not importuned; much less told what quantity they should give: but every man was left to his own good inclination. And accordingly Moses delivered the mind of God unto them, when he came down from the mount; and they made a free oblation, (xxxv. 5. 21. 29.) Besides which, there was also a tribute laid upon them for the ransom of their souls, (xxx. 12—14.) which amounted to a great sum of money, as we find in xxxviii. 24, &c.

Ver. 3. *And this is the offering which ye shall take of them.*] The things which ye shall accept as an offering to me.

*Gold, and silver, and brass.*] Unto what uses these were to be employed we are told afterwards.

Ver. 4. *And blue, and purple, and scarlet.*] Wool, or yarn, or stuff (or, as Abarbinel will have it, silk), of these colours. About which there is much dispute; but no translation hath better described them than our English. For *thecelet*, which we translate *blue*, and Abarbinel will have it to be a *sea-green*, is certainly a *sky-colour*. So Maimonides expresses it, the *colour of the firmament:* and Kimchi calls it *ultramarine*. This hath been demonstrated by Braunius, who shews how it was died, (lib. i. de Vest. Sacer. Hebr. cap. 13.)

*Argaman*, also, he hath demonstrated, (cap. 14.) signifies *purple*, as we translate it. For both Josephus and Philo say so; and he brings many proofs that they say true. And there being several sorts of purple, he shews this had in it the *brightest and most florid redness;* the manner of dying, which he also there demonstrates. See also Bochartus, concerning these two words *thecelet* and *argaman*, in his Hierozoic. (par. ii. lib. v. cap. 10, 11.)

*Tholaat-shani* we also rightly translate *scarlet*, as the same Braunius shews, (cap. 15. of the forenamed book.) And very probably makes the word *scarlet* signify as much as the *colour of Tyre:* for *Sar*, or *Sarra*, is *Tyre;* and *lacca* is a *red colour*.

Abarbinel most assuredly makes this to be the native colour of silk, without any die. (See Bochart. Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 27. p. 624.)

*And fine linen.*] The Hebrew word *schesch* signifies that pure linen called *byssus:* so the Chaldee calls it *butz*. Which was peculiar to Egypt, as some fancy, where their priests were clothed with it; and thence called *linigeri*. But Philostratus saith there was a *byssus* among the Indians with which the better sort of people were clothed. And Pausanias saith it grew in Elis, and in no other part of Greece. (See Salmasius, Plin. Exercit. p. 998. and what I have noted on Gen. xli. 42.)

*And goats' hair.*] In the Hebrew there is only the word *izim*, which signifies *goats:* but all interpreters, by a common ellipsis, understand it of their hair. And Jarchi saith it signifies the *flower* of goats' hair; or, as we speak, *the down;* the very softest part of it. And no other wool (as they call it) was accepted for the use of the sanctuary (if we may credit Abarbinel) but only this. For the wool of lambs and sheep was vile in comparison with this, which was precious in the eastern countries; where excellent cloth was made of it, not inferior to silk in softness and brightness; as the same Braunius observes, (lib. i. de Vestitu Sacer. Hebr. cap. 9.)

Ver. 5. *And rams' skins died red.*] Or, *red rams' skins;* for such there were in the eastern countries, which were naturally of that colour.

*And badgers' skins.*] The Hebrew word *thecasim*, which we translate *badgers* (following those who think *thacas* to be the same with the Latin word *tazus*), the ancient interpreters take for *a colour*. And Bochartus hath at large endeavoured to prove that it signifies a kind of *violet* or *purple* colour. So that God commands them to offer *red and violet rams' skins*. (See Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 30.)

*And shittim-wood.*] Kimchi saith this was the best kind of cedar: but Aben Ezra takes it for the wood of a tree which grew in the wilderness, not far from Mount Sinai, in that place where the Israelites sometimes encamped. (Numb. xxv. 1.) called Shittim from this wood: unless the wood were so called from the place where it grew. And thus St. Jerome seems to have understood it. For he saith

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upon Joel iii. that they were great trees, which were not to be found in the Roman countries, or in cultivated places; but in the desert of Arabia only: out of which very broad boards might be cut, exceeding strong, and of incredible smoothness and beauty. And upon Isa. xli. he calls it *lignum imputribile, an incorruptible wood* (as the LXX. also here translate it, ξύλα ἄσηπτα), very smooth, excelling all wood in firmness and brightness, &c. (See Menochius, lib. v. de Repub. Hebr. cap. 2.)

Ver. 6. *Oil for the light.*] For that lamp that was to burn continually in the sanctuary.

*Spices for anointing oil, and for sweet incense.*] See xxx. 23, &c. and ver. 34, 35, &c.

Ver. 7. *Onyx-stones.*] Or sardonyxes. (See Gen. 11, 12.)

*And stones to be set in the ephod, and in the breast-plate.*] There were two *onyx-stones* to be set in the *ephod*, (xxviii. 9, 10, &c.) and the other stones (whose names are there mentioned, ver. 17, 18, &c.) were to be set in the *breast-plate*.

These five verses contain all the materials which were to be used about the sanctuary, and the garments of the priests who were to attend there. The only question is, How they got such things in the wilderness? Some think they brought them with them out of Egypt, as it is evident they did gold, silver, and jewels. And Abarbinel thinks they also trafficked with the neighbouring people while they remained here, of whom they bought oil, and spices, and shittim-wood, &c. which is probable enough, every thing being to be had for money, of which they brought good store from Egypt.

Ver. 8. *And let them make me a sanctuary.*] Now follow directions for the making a house for God, and every thing belonging to it. For so this place is sometimes called, God's *house*, or *habitation*, because there, as Abarbinel observes, the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, had its residence. And it is called a *sanctuary*, or holy place, because no uncircumcised or unclean person might enter into it. For under the name of *sanctuary* is comprehended, as the Jews rightly understand it, all the courts belonging to it, as well as the very house itself; with all the utensils, or sacred vessels, which are afterward prescribed for the service of it.

*That I may dwell among them.*] God resolving to manifest himself, as, in a peculiar manner, constantly present among them, was pleased to order a tent or tabernacle to be built for him; wherein, while they sojourned in tents in the wilderness, he dwelt among them in a visible manner, by the Schechinah, or *habitation of the Divinity*, which was fixed here; and was a special type of God's future dwelling in human nature. In short, this *sanctuary* was his *palace*, saith Moses Nachmanides, wherein he dwelt as their king. And accordingly, Schem Tob, upon Maimonides's More Nevoch. par iii. cap. 40. pertinently observes, that God ordered all manner of things belonging to a palace to be in this house; particularly, ministers that constantly attend on him; a table with daily provision; all manner of utensils, such as pots, spoons, forks, &c. a closet proper to himself alone; that the most vulgar understanding might conceive their king, the Lord of Hosts, continually resided there. And, indeed, the Hebrew word *mikdash*, which we render *sanctuary*, sometimes signifies a *palace*, (Ezek. xxviii. 18.) and so Kimchi interprets it upon Isa. viii. 14.

*Among them.*] In the Hebrew, *in the midst of them.* For the tabernacle, when it was erected, was placed in the midst of their camps, (Numb. ii. 17.) Which was the reason that all unclean persons were to be removed out of their camp, lest God, who dwelt in it, should be offended by the pollution, (Numb. v. 3.) And this is the reason why God is said to *walk among them*, (Lev. xxvi. 12. Deut. xxii. 14.) because he dwelt in that tent, which moved up and down, as they did while they dwelt in the wilderness.

Ver. 9. *According to all that I shew thee, the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, so shalt thou make it.*] This signifies that God shewed him a *model* (as we now speak) of the house he was to make, and of all the things belonging to it: and, accordingly, he bid him rear it up (xxvi. 30.) according to the *mischpat*, the *scheme* or *draught* he shewed him in the mount: which represented every thing so lively and distinctly, and in their just proportions to him, that he was the better able to make them. For things seen, and seen in all their dimensions, as Abarbinel observes, are more easily retained, as well as conceived, than things that are only heard. And Greg. Nyssen had reason when he said, (de Vita Mosis, p. 181.) that God did not represent the sanctuary to Moses merely in a picture, much less give him an idea of it only in his mind; but set before him a *structure* which he should imitate. For so the Hebrew word *tabnit* (which we translate *pattern*) signifies a *structure*, or building; which cannot be better expressed than by the word *model*, which he now saw of the house he was to erect. Thus Maimonides explains this word, in distinction from *temunah*, which signifies only the *resemblance* of a thing; whereas *tabnit* signifies the *structure*, or disposition of it, *i. e.* saith he, its form; whether it be in a square, or circle, or triangle, or any other figure; and he quotes this place for it, and ver. 40. (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 3.)

Which confutes the fancy of those who will have Moses to have framed this house, and all belonging to it, according to the fashion of such things which he had seen in Egypt, and were in use among other nations: unto whose religion he designed to make himself as conformable as might be safely allowed. And particularly made this tabernacle to be carried on the priests' shoulders, as the tabernacle of Moloch was, &c. Nothing seems to me to be further from the intention of Moses, or rather from the directions which God here gives him, than this conceit. He had a more Divine guide than the Egyptians, and made things by a heavenly *pattern*, and not according to their *modes*. The Jews were so possessed with this opinion, that when the temple came to be built instead of this tabernacle, they say it was done by consulting the oracle, and by the solemn decree of the king, and of the great Sanhedrin, and of the prophets. For which they allege this very place, as Mr. Selden observes out of the Misna, and Maimonides, &c. (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 2.)

Ver. 10. *And they shall make an ark.*] Or *little chest*, or rather *coffer*: which was to be placed in the very inmost and most secret part of God's house (in his *cabinet*, as we now speak, into which none entered but himself), the better to *represent his dwelling among them.* And therefore was called *the ark of the Lord*, (Josh. iv. 5. 11.) and *the ark of God*, (1 Sam. iii. 3.) For herein was put his most precious treasure, those Divine records, the two tables of stone, wrote with his own finger, called *the tables of testimony*,

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(xxxi. 18.) because they were the testimony of the covenant between God and the Israelites; whereby he testified his will, and they their obedience to it. Whence the ark itself is called *the ark of the testimony*, (xxx. 6. from whence also the whole tabernacle had its name, Numb. ix. 11.) and *the ark of the covenant of the Lord*, (Numb. x. 33.)

*Of shittim-wood.*] See ver. 5.

*Two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof.*] In this shape, and in these dimensions, it was set before Moses in the mount, that he might direct it to be made exactly of such an oblong square (as we speak), as is here described, in its *length, breadth,* and *height*. There are great disputes among the Jews about a *cubit*, which is commonly thought to be half a yard of our measure, that is, eighteen inches. But one that hath taken a great deal of pains to examine such things (Dr. Cumberland, now bishop of Peterborough), hath, in a very learned discourse about the Scripture Measures, given strong reasons to incline us to think that the Egyptian and the Jewish cubit was about twenty-one inches. And if they had not been so, the table (which is described ver. 23.) would have been inconvenient, being but three quarters of a yard high, *i. e.* twenty-seven inches (according to the common notion of a *cubit*), which is too low for a table. Whereas, according to his account, it was about *thirty-two inches*, which is a very convenient height for a table. (See chap. ii.)

Ver. 11. *And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold.*] Not merely gild it, but lay it over with thin plates of gold; for if they had been thick, it would, as Abarbinel notes, have been too heavy to carry. Thus we see chests now sometimes plated with iron in some parts of them.

*Within and without.*] So that nothing but gold could be seen, whether it were shut or open.

*And shalt make upon it a crown of gold round about.*] A border or list of gold went round at the top of it; which was called a crown, because it compassed every part of it: but was of another figure, not round but square, as the ark was. It was of great use, as well as ornament, for the better settling the propitiatory upon the ark, that it might not slip off, but be kept up firmly by this border going round about the top of the ark. And it might the better be called a *crown*, because it was of some height, for the surer supporting of the propitiatory.

It may not be improper here to observe, that, as the ancient crowns were only a plain circle of gold, or other thing, so they were set upon the heads of none but their gods, as Pliny tells us, (lib. xvi. cap. 4.) who says there, that Bacchus was the first that put a crown upon his head, which was made of *ivy*. Certain it is, that God requires those things which were peculiarly sacred to him and his service to be crowned, as a mark of their excellency: which were four only; this crown upon the ark, and that upon the golden table, (ver. 24. of this chapter), and upon the altar of incense, (xxx. 3.) and on the head of the high-priest, (xxix. 6.)

Ver. 12. *And thou shalt cast four rings of gold for it.*] Which were of massy gold, we must suppose, because the ark was carried by staves put into these rings.

*And put them in the four corners thereof.*] The Hebrew word *paamoth* comes from *paam*, which never signifies a *corner* in the Holy Scripture; but always a *foot*, or *basis*, or *step*, as Aben Ezra notes. Which hath made some think the ark had feet to stand upon (such round *knobs* as now our chests and boxes many times have), though the Scripture doth not mention them. But we are not to make conjectures out of our own heads; which some have carried so far as to fancy there were wheels in these feet, for the ark to run upon, which made it God's *chariot*, wherein he rode. But whoever heard of a chariot carried on men's shoulders? Therefore Nachmanides more reasonably conceives, that these rings were indeed in the corners of the ark, but not in the higher (as R. Solomon would have them), but in the lower; and therefore said here to be in *the feet*. For the Scripture calling the top of every thing *the head* of it: the bottom is commonly there called *the feet:* and so the ark (by placing the rings and staves in the bottom) was carried on high upon the priests' shoulders, representing God, *who is highly exalted.*

*And two rings shall be on the one side of it, and two rings on the other side of it.*] That is, in the length of it (as Josephus expressly testifies) and not in the breadth.

Ver. 13. *And thou shalt make staves of shittim-wood.*] Of such a length that the ark might be at a decent distance from those that carried it.

*And overlay them with gold.*] With plates of gold, as the ark itself was, (ver. 11.)

Ver. 14. *And thou shalt put the staves into the rings, by the sides of the ark.*] The Hebrews say these staves were ten cubits long.

*That the ark may be borne with them.*] Upon the shoulders of the Levites, particularly the sons of Korah. (See Numb. iv. 4—6, &c. vii. 9.) For it was a crime to carry it any other way, either in their hands, or drawn in a cart. (Compare 1 Chron. xiii. 7. with xv. 15.)

Ver. 15. *And the staves shall be in the rings of the ark.*] Continue and remain in the rings, when they were once put therein.

*They shall not be taken from it.*] When they set down the ark they were not to take out the *staves*, and put them in again when it was to be carried; but let them, as we said, continue in the rings: that there might be no danger of letting them fall (which had been a great irreverence), and because they would be best preserved, and take less harm there than any where else; and if they had occasion to remove the ark suddenly all would be ready; and the Levites were hereby kept from touching the ark, or coming nearer to it than the ends of the staves.

Ver. 16. *And thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I will give thee.*] The two tables of stone, containing the ten commandments, which are called *the testimony*, and the *two tables of testimony*, (xxxi. 18.) because they testified what the will of God was, which they had consented to observe; and were therefore public, authentic instruments, attesting the covenant between God and them. Whence the ark which contained these is called *the ark of the testimony*, (as I observed above, ver. 10.) ver. 22. and in a great many other places of the fortieth chapter. And in one place it is called *the testimony*, (xxx. 36.) and *the ark of the covenant of the Lord*, (Deut. x. 8.) because the *ten words* were the principal part of the covenant, to which they stood obliged. And perhaps the book of the covenant which Moses made with them (xxiv. 7.) is comprehended under the name of *the testimony*. For though

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we read in 1 Kings viii. 9. there was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone, &c. yet the apostle mentions some other things that were not *in*, yet *by* or *before* the ark, (Hebr. ix. 4.) But I assert nothing in this matter. And shall only further observe, that this direction, for putting the testimony (or tables of stone) into the ark, is given before any order is taken for making a covering to it, which follows after. And therefore he was to put in the law before the cover was set on. For though (ver. 21.) this be mentioned again, and put after the cover is named, yet the meaning is, that he should set on the cover, having put in the law. And it is repeated, that he should be very careful of this, because the cherubims were to protect and defend it.

Ver. 17. *And thou shalt make a mercy-seat.*] The Hebrew word *capporet* literally signifies *a covering* of any thing: and that is the proper signification of this *mercy-seat* (as we translate it), which was the covering of the ark. For it had no door, but was open at the top, so that they might put the tables of the covenant into it, and then it was to be fastened above by this cover, which any one may discern by its dimensions was exactly fit for it.

Others will have it called *capporet*, not from *capar*, to *cover*, but from *cipper*, to *excipiate*, and render propitious. And so, indeed, the apostle calls it ἱλαστήριον, *the propitiatory;* because God here shewed himself to be propitious, and appeased by the blood of the sacrifices, which was sprinkled before this place. But the reason of this translation may be, because when sins are pardoned they are said in Scripture *to be covered.* The LXX. put both these together in their translation, which is ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα.

*Of pure gold.*] Not of wood crusted over with gold, but all (as Abarbinel speaks) of solid gold; because it was the cover of the ark, in which were the tables of the covenant written with God's finger, than which nothing was more precious.

*Two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof,* &c.] Which was the length of the ark, (ver. 10.) as *the breadth was a cubit and a half,* both of that and this: which shews this was the cover of the ark, being most exactly adapted to it.

Ver. 18. *And thou shalt make two cherubims of gold.*] We read of *cherubims* in the beginning of the world; and have good reason to believe thereby is meant angels. (See Gen. iii. 24.) But in what shape they appeared we are not told; nor is there the least signification of it here in this place, but what we can gather from ver. 20: so that I can only say this, they were of such a shape as the angelical ministers appeared in, which attended upon the Divine Majesty in the mount; or rather, such as God shewed Moses *a pattern of,* whereby to represent these heavenly ministers. For both the ark and all belonging to it were made according to the *model* God gave him; not from any Egyptian pattern, as some imagine. Bochart seems to me to speak judiciously, when he saith there were not *figures* of angels, but rather *emblems,* whereby the angelical nature was in some sort expressed, (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 25.) and were therefore ordered to be made, as Maimonides conjectures, that the Jews might be confirmed in the belief of the existence of angels, which is the *second article* of their faith, next to the belief of God. And he commanded *two* to be made; because, if there had been but one, it might have led them into a dangerous error, that this was the figure of God, whereby they might have been inclined to worship it. But there being *two* of them ordered, with this declaration, *the Lord our God is one God,* it led them into right thoughts, that God had many of these angelical ministers. Thus he: More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45.

*Of beaten work shalt thou make them.*] The Hebrew word *miksheh,* which we translate *beaten work,* signifies that both of them should be made out of the same piece of gold that made the cover of the ark; so as to be one continued work with that, not separate from it. This appears to be true from the next verse, *min hacapporet; out of the mercy-seat shall ye make the cherubims,* &c. or, *from the mercy-seat* shall they proceed, on the two ends of it.

Ver. 19. *And make one cherub on the one end, and the other cherub on the other end.*] This looks like tautology (saith Abarbinel) it being said in the foregoing words, *in the two ends of the mercy-seat:* but it is far from it; being a declaration (as he takes it) that the *cherubims* should not be placed both on one side of the ark; nor so as not to be opposite one to the other: but one on one side, and the other on the other side.

*Even of the mercy-seat shall ye make the cherubims, on the two ends thereof.*] They were not to be made separate from the mercy-seat, and afterwards joined to it, but to be made *out of it,* so as to be one piece with it, (as was said, ver. 18.) which in the execution of this command appears very plainly, (xxxvii. 8.)

Ver. 20. *And the cherubims shall stretch forth their wings on high.*] This shews they were made like flying creatures; but had not the resemblance of any fowl that we know. So Josephus, Ζῶα πετεινὰ, μορφῇ οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἑωραμένων παραπλήσια, &c. *flying animals, like to none of those which are seen by men;* but such as Moses saw figured in the throne of God; when he beheld, he means, his Majesty in the mount, attended by the heavenly host, (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 8.) and again, (lib. viii. cap. 2.) *As for the cherubims, nobody can tell or conceive what they were like;* οὐδεὶς ὁποῖαί τινες εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ εἰκάσαι δύναται. Some, indeed, think that we may understand from what Ezekiel saith of them their true figure; and that they had the face of *oxen.* For that face which in Ezek. i. 10. is called *the face of an ox,* is afterward called, (x. 14.) *the face of a cherub.* But it is to be considered, that there is no proof the *cherubims* here spoken of by Moses had the same face with those mentioned by Ezekiel, but were rather a quite different representation. For here God was represented as *dwelling,* nay *sitting,* and abiding among the Israelites; but there as *removing* and departing quite away from his dwelling-place: and consequently, I conceive, his minister and attendants appeared then in quite different shapes from what they had now.

*Stretch forth their wings on high.*] As being upon the wing (to use our language), that is, ready to fly, whither they were ordered by the Divine Majesty.

*Covering the mercy-seat with their wings.*] Their wings were not to lie close to their bodies, but to be raised up (as was said before) and spread: so that meeting together, they made, as it were, a seat over the ark, called *the throne of God.*

*Their faces shall look one to another.*] To signify, saith Abarbinel, their mutual consent and concord.

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*Towards the mercy-seat shall the faces of the cherubims be.*] They were so contrived that they looked downward, when they looked one to the other; to shew (saith he) that they were keepers of the law, which was under the mercy-seat.

Ver. 21. *And thou shalt put the mercy-seat above upon the ark.*] Having first put in the testimony which he gave him (as it here follows), then he was to set the mercy-seat upon the ark (within the crown which encompassed it) as a cover to it. (See ver. 16.)

Ver. 22. *And there will I meet with thee.*] When thou hast occasion to consult me, I will there be present to communicate my mind to thee: so Abarbinel. After the ark is made, and the law put into it, and the cover laid upon it, I will speak with thee from the midst of the mercy-seat, between the cherubims: so that thou shalt not need to come up hither any more into the mount to fetch down prophecy (as his phrase is), but I will give it thee from thence, and tell thee all that is to be taught Israel. (See xxx. 6.)

*And I will commune with thee from above the mercy-seat, from between the two cherubims,* &c.] Here the *glory of the Lord* resided, between the cherubims; whose wings were the seat of the Divine Majesty; as the cover of the ark beforementioned was his footstool. For he is said to *sit between the cherubims,* (Psalm lxxx. 2.) and the ark is called *his footstool,* (Psalm xcix. 8. cxxxii. 7.) This, therefore, being that part of the sanctuary which was the place of his peculiar abode, where he is said to dwell, 1 Sam. iv. 4. (see de Dieu there), when Moses had any occasion to consult him he was to resort hither; where God promises to meet him, and confer with him from hence, as we read he did, Numb. vii. 89.

*Of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel.*] This shews that he resided here as their Lord and Governor; the wings of the cherubims composing his throne, whereon he sat as their King, to give orders for their government: which *more imperatorio de tribunali loquebatur, he delivered from this supreme tribunal, after the manner of emperors* (as Fortunatus Scacchus expresses it), or great princes, who were wont in all countries to have such magnificent thrones erected, from whence to speak to their subjects, (Myrothec. Sacrorum Elæochrysm. ii. cap. 36.)

Thus far he hath named only the furniture of the inward house and cabinet of the Divine Majesty, called *the holy of holies.* Now follows the principal furniture of the outward house, called *the holy place.*

Ver. 23. *Thou shalt also make a table.*] Which is a necessary part of the furniture of a house, and therefore here ordered to be made in token of God's dwelling among them, (ver. 8.)

*Of shittim-wood.*] Of the same materials with the ark, (ver. 10.)

*Two cubits shall be the length thereof,* &c.] It was neither so long nor so broad as the ark, but of the very same height, (ver. 10.) Josephus, to make the Greeks apprehend its fashion, saith, it was like the famous table at Delphi, (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 9.) which, if it be true, was made, it seems, in imitation of the table of Moses.

Ver. 24. *And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold.*] Just as the ark was; (see ver. 10.) and therefore it is probable that the lower parts of it, as well as the upper, and the feet also, were plated with gold, so that it might be called a golden table.

*And make thereto a crown of gold round about.*] See ver. 10. where the same is directed for the ark: and this had the same use, to keep what was set upon the table from slipping off and falling on the ground.

Ver. 25. *And thou shalt make unto it.*] That is, to the crown of gold, as Fortunatus Scacchus understands it, though others refer it to the table.

*A border of a hand-breadth round about.*] Which came down below the *crown* or *cornice,* as they now speak. Though some think this border was towards the bottom, to join the feet more firmly together.

*And thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about.*] Wheresoever this *border* was (which I suppose was plated with gold), like the table, it had a crown, or a *cornice,* as an ornament to it. For this crown was different from that mentioned in the foregoing verse; and was under the *border* (as the other crown was above it), as Fortunatus Scacchus apprehends it, (Myrothec. ii. cap. 38.)

Ver. 26. *And thou shalt make for it four rings of gold.*] As there were for the ark, (ver. 12.) only they were to be *cast,* these to be *made:* but how we are not told.

*And put the rings in the four corners that are on the four feet thereof.*] The Hebrew word here for *corners* always hath that signification; being quite different from that word which is used ver. 12. when he speaks of the ark: which may well incline us to Josephus's opinion, that these rings were not below, as they were in the ark, but on the upper part of the feet of the table; so that it was not carried up on high, as the ark was, but hung down between the priests, on whose shoulders the staves rested.

Ver. 27. *Over against the border shall the rings be,* &c.] Just below the *border* and the *cornice* beforementioned (ver. 25.) were these rings to be placed; as the border and its *cornice* were placed below the upper *crown* (or cornice) which compassed the top of the table, (ver. 24.)

*For places of the staves to bear the table.*] This expresses the use of the rings.

Ver. 28. *And thou shalt make the staves of shittim-wood, and overlay them with gold.*] Such as were made for the carriage of the ark, (ver. 13.)

*That the table may be borne with them.*] By the priests upon their shoulders. For the tabernacle being a moveable house, there were frequent occasions, as they journeyed from one place to another, to carry this table along with them, as they did all other things belonging to the house of God.

It is not ordered that the staves should remain in the rings, as they did in those belonging to the ark, (ver. 15.) because they might have been a hinderance to the priests in their ministration at this table every day. Therefore it is likely, they were laid up in some place near it, and put in when they travelled, as they were ordered to be, (Numb. iv. 6.)

Ver. 29. *And thou shalt make the dishes thereof.*] It is not easy to give an account either of the form or of the use of these *keharoth,* which we translate *dishes,* i. e. *patins,* whereon to put the bread, which were twelve loaves, (Lev. xxiv. 6.) and the frankincense which was to be set upon each row of loaves, (ver. 7.) This is a plain sense, if the loaves stood upon dishes, and not immediately upon

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the table, as Fortunatus Scacchus thinks they did: and therefore imagines they were full of fine flour, of which the bread was made; or with oil which was to be mingled and used in their sacrifices. But this is more unlikely than the other, the flour not being kept here in the holy place, but in the outward court; and his reason for it is not solid; which is, that the heads of their tribes offered every one of them a silver *charger*, (so we render the same word we here translate a *dish*, Numb. vii.) full of fine flour mingled with oil. But those were not for the use of this table, on which such large dishes or chargers could not stand, there being no room for them. Therefore at last he fancies them to have been salt-sellers, which were set upon the table together with the bread, being used at all meals. And Philo, as he observes, seems to be of this opinion, who, speaking of this table (in his third book of the Life of Moses), saith, ἐφ' ἧς ἄρτοι καὶ ἅλες, *upon it were loaves and salts:* from whence he conjectures there were two salt-dishes at least. (See his Myrothecium Sacror. Elæochrysm. lib. ii. cap. 41.)

*And spoons thereof.*] If this be a true interpretation of the Hebrew word *cappoth*, their use was to put incense into the dishes, and to take it out: for that they contained incense is evident from Numb. vii. 14. 20. 26. &c. Which makes the forenamed author think this word should rather be rendered *vials*, which Pollux numbers among the sacred vessels; and it is plain were used in offering incense in the temple: for St. John saw the twenty-four elders, having *every one of them golden vials full of odours*, or incense, (Rev. v. 8.) whence it is the LXX. translate this word Θυίσκαι. The form of which Fort. Scacchus, in the place forementioned, hath adventured to describe.

*And covers thereof.*] Wherewith both the loaves and the incense were covered. So it is commonly understood. But Fortunatus Scacchus endeavours at large to prove that the Hebrew word *kesoth* is rightly translated by the LXX. σπονδεῖα, which were vessels used in their *libamina*, when they poured wine upon the sacrifice, or upon the altar, when they sacrificed. For authors do not agree when this was done; some saying the wine was poured out after the sacrifice was slain, and laid on the altar; others, that it was most commonly done before. The manner being, first to throw frankincense into the fire on the altar, then to pour out the wine, and then the sacrifice was slain. In which order Homer and Ovid report it, as Cuperus observes in his Apotheosis Homeri, p. 71. However this be, it is certain, from Hesychius, Pollux, and Suidas, that σπονδεῖον signifies such a vessel: and Josephus saith, that when Pompey went into the holy place, he saw there such vessels as these, together with the table and candlestick, λυχνίαν τε, καὶ λύχνους, καὶ τράπεζαν, καὶ σπονδεῖα, καὶ θυμιατήρια, &c. (lib. i. de Bello Jud. cap. 5.) The only objection against this is, that there was no use for such vessels in that place. To which I think it may be truly answered, that it was fit notwithstanding God's house should be furnished with all kinds of utensils.

*And bowls thereof.*] So St. Jerome understands the Hebrew word *menakioth*, which, following the LXX. he translates *cyathos:* the form of which Fortunatus Scacchus (in his forenamed book, cap. 44.) hath endeavoured to make out, and establish this as the certain meaning of the word. But it is very hard to tell of what use they were here, where no drink was used: and yet our marginal translation of the next word seems to favour it, making these *to pour out withal.* And, indeed, the Hebrew word signifies both to *cover* and to *pour out.* But the former seems most proper here, unless we take these to have been *bowls* (or such-like vessels) set here merely to signify more completely, that God kept house among them (as we speak) they being part of the furniture of a table.

Others think they were stands, upon which the dishes of bread were set.

*To cover withal.*] If we allow of this translation, and it relate to the word *bowls* immediately preceding, then it signifies these vessels were a larger sort of covers. Or it may refer to the whole; that all the forenamed vessels were made to cover the table entirely. But the marginal translation being also agreeable to the Hebrew text, it may possibly declare the use of the forenamed vessels, which was *to pour out withal.* For in their *libamina* there were several sorts of these vessels used among the gentiles; one only to taste the wine before the sacrifice, which Scacchus thinks was that the Romans called *simpulum:* another to pour it upon the sacrifice when it was offered, which they called *guttus*, because it had a narrow mouth, out of which the wine came out by little and little.

*Out of pure gold shalt thou make them.*] All things in this part of the house were of gold, that the royal palace of their King might be most sumptuously furnished, suitable to the greatness of his majesty.

Ver. 30. *And thou shalt set upon the table shew-bread.*] In the Hebrew, *bread of the face*, or *presence;* because it was set before the ark of the covenant where God was present. The forementioned Fort. Scacchus thinks the heathen from hence borrowed their custom of setting sacred loaves before Ceres, in her feast called *Thesmophoria*, as he observes out of Athenæus, lib. iii. Deipnosoph. cap. 25. and other places. (Vid. Myrothec. ii. Sacr. Elæochrysm. cap. 39.)

*Before me alway.*] These loaves constantly stood upon the table (new ones being brought, when the old ones were removed, every sabbath-day) before the Divine Majesty; a cloth being spread upon it, whereon these and all the forenamed things were set, (Numb. iv. 7.) And they were twelve of them in all, representing the twelve tribes of Israel, whose offering these were to God, whose ministers ate them in the holy place, (Lev. xxiv. 5. 7—9.) They were set in two rows, one piled upon another, as Josephus represents them.

When Maimonides wrote his More Nevochim, he confesses (part iii. cap. 5.) to that day he was ignorant of the reason of this table, and the bread continually upon it. Which is very strange, when at the beginning of these directions God had declared he would have a house built that he might dwell among them, (ver. 8.) which dwelling among them was admirably represented, by its having in it all things belonging to a dwelling-house, particularly a table and bread (signifying all provision), whereby they were made to understand that God, as was said before, kept house among them. Which nobody hath explained so well as an incomparable writer of our own, Dr. Cudworth, in a discourse put out long ago, concerning the Right Notion of the Lord's Supper, cap. vi. where he observes, out of Nachman, that there was a table and candlestick ordered for this house, because they were the



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ordinary furniture of a room. For which reason the table had its dishes, spoons, bowls, and covers (though they were never used), and was always furnished with bread upon it; as the candlestick also had lamps continually burning. From hence it was, likewise, that there was a continual fire in this dwelling of God upon his altar. And, to carry on the notion thoroughly, constant meat and provision brought to it, by the sacrifices there offered. Which were partly consumed by fire upon God's own altar; and partly eaten by the priests, who were God's domestic servants, and therefore to be maintained by him. And besides the flesh of the beast offered up in sacrifice, there was a *mincha*, or *meat-offering*, made of flour and oil; together with a drink-offering, which were ever joined with the daily burnt-sacrifice, being the bread and the drink which were to go along with God's meat. So the sacrifices are called in the first of Malachi. It was also strictly commanded, as we read in Leviticus, that salt should accompany every sacrifice and oblation; because it was not fit, as the same Nachman observes, that God's meat should be unsavoury. And all these were to be consumed on the altar only, by the holy fire which came down from heaven, because they were God's portion, and therefore to be consumed by himself in an extraordinary manner.

There are those of the Jews who look upon this bread set on God's table as an acknowledgment that they received their food from God. And we may add, that this bread being made of the same corn, which they ate of themselves, is still farther represented to them, that they were God's *convivæ:* who continually entertained them with that provision which was made for him.

Ver. 31. *And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold.*] Another necessary piece of furniture for a house; especially when there were no windows in it.

*Of beaten gold shall it be made.*] Not hollow, but of solid gold.

*His shaft.*] The main body or trunk of it.

*And his branches.*] Which shot as it were out of the trunk.

*His bowls.*] Or cups: for so the word *gebieha* is translated, Gen. xlv. 1. 5. and they were in the fashion of an almond, as it is ordered, (ver. 33.)

*His knops.*] Round like an apple or pomegranate; as the word *caphtoreha* signifies.

*And his flowers.*] The Vulgar translates it *lilies:* but the word properly signifies the blossoms of trees.

*Shall be of the same.*] All of gold, though not all of one piece: for, as Fort. Scacchus not unreasonably conjectures, these several parts of the candlestick were separable one from another, when there was occasion to remove it from one place to another. (See his Myrothec. Sacr. Elæochrysm, cap. 46.)

Ver. 32. *And six branches shall come out of the sides of it,* &c.] In this and the following verses he describes how all the abovenamed parts should be disposed so as to make the candlestick appear glorious. And first he here directs that *three branches* should come out of each side of the main trunk or shaft.

Ver. 33. *Three bowls made like unto almonds, with a knop and a flower in one branch,* &c.] Next he orders that every branch of the six should have *three bowls* (or cups, as I said before), into which, perhaps, the snuff was to fall: and between every one of them a *knop* and a *flower*. And the *cups* were to be of the figure of an almond.

*So in the six branches.*] Which were to be all alike.

*That come out of the candlestick.*] *i. e.* Out of the trunk; which is here and in the next verse called *the candlestick:* because it was the main part of it, which supported all the branches.

Ver. 34. *And in the candlestick.*] *i. e.* In the main trunk or shaft, out of which the branches proceeded.

*Shall be four bowls like to almonds, with their knops and their flowers.*] The branches were to have but *three bowls* and as many *knops* and *flowers;* but the shaft or trunk was to have four of each: it being longer than the branches that came out of it.

Ver. 35. *And there shall be a knop under two branches of the same,* &c.] This being repeated twice, signifies that the *knops* should be so contrived, that out of three of them should arise two branches, one on the one side, and one on the other. So that out of the fourth knop, which I suppose was the lowermost, there was no branch at all; but that, with the cup and flower, were the ornament of that part of the shaft which was under the branches.

*That proceeded out of the candlestick.*] *i. e.* Out of the shaft or main trunk, (ver. 34.)

Ver. 36. *Their knops and their branches shall be of the same,* &c.] No difference between them; but all solid, not hollow work, of pure gold.

Here is nothing said of the *foot* of it; which was no question proportionable to the rest. Nor doth he mention the length of the start or trunk: but Fortunatus Scacchus adventures to guess that it was near double the height of the table, and of the altar of incense, which made it look majestically; and yet did not raise it so much as to damnify the roof of the tabernacle, (Myrothec. ii. cap. 45. p. 439.)

Ver. 37. *And thou shalt make the seven lamps thereof.*] *i. e.* Cause them to be made. But of what metal it is not said; most likely of gold, as well as the *tongs*, and the other things mentioned, ver. 38. The form is not here prescribed, which the forenamed Scacchus (Myrothec. i. cap. 7.) thinks was like an almond.

*And they shall light the lamps thereof.*] They whose work it is, *viz.* the priests, (xxx. 7, 8. Lev. xxiv. 3, 4.)

*That they may give light over against it.*] That is, over against the candlestick (as some will have it), the six branches all inclining to the trunk in the middle. But here he speaks of the seven lamps, not of six only, which gave light over against some other thing, which I take to be the table. For it is plain, by xxvi. 35. and xl. 24. that the candlestick was placed over against the table, being on the south side of the house, as the table was on the north. (See Numb. viii. 2.)

Ver. 38. *And the tongs thereof.*] Or snuffers, belonging to it: which Scacchus (both in his first and second Myrothecium) probably proves were not of such a form as are now in use; but were only little *tongs* or *scissars*, whereby the lamps were clipped to make them shine more brightly, (Myrothec. i. cap. 10. and ii. cap. 46. p. 455.)

*And snuff-dishes.*] In which the snuffers and the snuffings of the lamps were put; and for the latter use he thinks they had water in them.

*Shall be of pure gold.*] It was most for the magnificence

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of this house, and becoming the Divine Majesty who dwelt there, that the meanest thing therein should be made of pure gold.

Ver. 39. *Of a talent of pure gold shall he make it, with all these vessels.*] A talent was three thousand shekels, as will appear afterward: which how much it makes of our money, see xxxviii. 25.

Ver. 40. *And look that thou make all after their pattern.*] Take care to observe that precept which I have already given, (ver. 9.) and now repeat again; that every one of these things be made according to that model which I set before thee. For God would have nothing left to the fancy of the people, whom he knew were too much inclined to the gentile superstition. And if Moses had not been determined by Divine prescription, they would have been apt in all these things to have interposed their own inventions.

*Which was shewed thee in the mount.*] By this it still plainly appears, that Moses saw not only the house, but all the furniture belonging to it, set up in the mount before him, just as he afterward set it up below among the people.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Ver. 1. *MOREOVER.*] From the furniture he proceeds to the house; and first orders him how to make the inward part of it.

*Thou shalt make me a tabernacle.*] The Hebrew word *mischcan* properly signifies a place to dwell in; a habitation, (according to what was said xxv. 8.) For this was the place of the Schechinah (which comes from the same root with *mischcan*), which dwelt here as in its house. But it is commonly translated a *tabernacle*, only to signify what kind of *dwelling* it was, *viz. a portable house*, as Philo calls it, φορητὸν ἱερόν: which might be taken down, and removed from one place to another, and set up again, without any damage to it.

*With ten curtains.*] These were so many pieces of tapestry (as we now call them), with which this tent was hung on the sides, and covered at the top.

*Of fine twined linen.*] Concerning *fine linen*, see xxv. 4. and concerning *twined linen*, see xxviii. 6.

*Blue, purple, and scarlet.*] *i. e.* Yarn died of these colours. (See xxv. 4.)

*With cherubims.*] It is uncertain what figure these were of. (See xxv. 18.)

*Of cunning work shalt thou make them.*] There were two sorts of work more artificial than ordinary: the one called *choscheb* (which is that here mentioned), the other *rokem*, which we translate *needle-work*. The former was the most excellent; for it was done by weaving, and had figures on both sides: whereas that by needle-work had only on one side, as Jarchi here notes. Who says there was, suppose the figure of a lion on one side, and of an eagle on the other: or rather, he should have said, the same figure appeared on both sides, as Maimonides seems to take it, in his Kele Hammikdah, cap. 8. "Wheresoever any work is called *rokem* in Scripture, it is to be understood of figures which are made only on one side of the web: but the work called *choscheb* had figures on both sides, before and behind." (See xxviii. 39.)

Ver. 2. *The length of one curtain shall be eight-and-twenty cubits*, &c.] Every one of these curtains were fourteen yards long, and two yards broad: for a cubit was half a yard of our measure, according to common estimation. It was some inches more, as I have observed on xxv. 10. But to make the reader more easily comprehend it, I shall not exactly compute the length and breadth of these curtains, but follow the vulgar opinion. And with these, it will appear afterward, both the roof of the tabernacle was covered, and the sides of it likewise, almost down to the ground, that is, within a cubit of it, as Josephus saith, and as may be made out from the text: the tabernacle (according to the common notion of a cubit) being fifteen yards long, five yards broad, and as many yards high.

*Every one of the curtains shall have one measure.*] Be exactly of the same length and breadth.

Ver. 3. *The five curtains shall be coupled together, one to another: and other five curtains, one to another.*] Being thus sewed together, of ten curtains (each of which, as was said before, was fourteen yards long, and two yards broad) was made two large pieces of tapestry; each of them fourteen yards long, and ten yards broad. With one of these pieces of tapestry the holy place was covered, it being just so many yards broad as that place was long; so that it did not come down before at the east end, which was the entrance of the sanctuary. The other piece of tapestry covered the holy of holies: which being but five yards long, one half of this piece hung down behind it at the west end and touched the silver bases.

Ver. 4. *And thou shalt make loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain*, &c.] These two great curtains being made by sewing five lesser together, the loops were not woven with the curtains, but tacked to the selvage of the outermost of them; and were made of blue tape.

*In the coupling.*] In that part of the great curtains where they were to be coupled together.

Ver. 5. *Fifty loops shalt thou make in the one curtain*, &c.] Each of those great pieces of tapestry had fifty loops, answering one to another so exactly, that they might take hold one of another.

Ver. 6. *And thou shalt make fifty taches of gold*, &c.] By these golden clasps the loops were so linked together, that the two great pieces of tapestry made but one covering. Which is the meaning of the following words.

*And it shall be one tabernacle.*] By this union the covering of the tabernacle shall be as if it were one entire piece.

Ver. 7. *And thou shalt make.*] Now he gives directions about the outward part of the house.

*Curtains of goats' hair.*] Though a soft kind of cloth was made of goats' hair, yet, in comparison with the other, it was a coarser sort of covering, to be laid over the finer beforementioned, for their preservation and sheltering from the weather. The old Arabians, called *Scenitæ*, made their tents of goats' hair; for Solinus calls them *Cilicina*, which he interprets *caprarum pilis texta*. Concerning the word we translate *goats' hair*, see xxv. 4.

*To be a covering upon the tabernacle.*] By *tabernacle* in the foregoing words, (ver. 6.) seems to be meant the covering of the tabernacle, which was of one entire piece. And so it is to be understood here, where a second covering is ordered to be thrown over the first.



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*Eleven curtains shalt thou make.*] There was one more of these camlet curtains (as I may call them) than of the tapestry, which were but ten.

Ver. 8. *And the length of one curtain shall be thirty cubits.*] As there was one curtain more of these, so they were one yard longer than the former.

*And the breadth of one curtain four cubits.*] This was the breadth of the former, ver. 2. (where see what a cubit was) but there being one curtain more of these than of the other, they were two yards broader than them when they were all joined together. Insomuch, that they both came down lower than the other, on either side, half-a-yard; and also hung down a yard before the entrance of the tabernacle, which the former did not cover at all.

Ver. 9. *And thou shalt couple five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves.*] They were to be coupled together after the same manner as the former, that they might make two large pieces: but there being eleven curtains in all, there were but five in one piece, and six in the other.

*And shalt double the sixth curtain in the fore-front of the tabernacle.*] The meaning seems to be, that he should turn up that part of the curtain which hung down at the entrance of the tabernacle.

Ver. 10. *And thou shalt make fifty loops,* &c.] This may be sufficiently understood by what was said concerning the loops of the other covering, ver. 4, 5.

Ver. 11. *And thou shalt make fifty taches of brass,* &c.] The two great pieces of the inner hangings, being the richer, were coupled together with clasps of gold, (ver. 6.) but these, being coarser, only with clasps of brass. Which did not lie directly over the golden, but, as Dr. Lightfoot observes, were three-quarters of a yard more westward; these two large pieces not being of an equal bigness.

*And couple the tent together.*] *i. e.* These outward hangings or *coverings* (as we translate the word *ohel*, ver. 7.) of the tent.

*That it may be one.*] That the two pieces may be knit together, by the loops and clasps, into one. See ver. 6. where this place is there called *mischcan (dwelling)*, which is here called *ohel;* to shew more clearly what kind of dwelling it was; an ambulatory house, such as shepherds have, which they remove from place to place, (Gen. iv. 20.)

Ver. 12. *And the remnant that remaineth of the curtains of the tent, the half curtain that remaineth, shall hang over the back-side of the tabernacle.*] These outward curtains being four cubits, that is, two yards and more broader than the inward, they hung down above a yard lower than the other on the *back-side* (or west-part) of the tabernacle, as they did on the front or entrance, (I observed before, ver. 8.) which was on the east.

Ver. 13. *And a cubit on the one side, and a cubit on the other side, of that which remaineth in the length of the curtains of the tent, it shall hang over the sides of the tabernacle,* &c.] These outward curtains being a yard (as two cubits are commonly esteemed) longer than the inward, as appears from ver. 8. they hung down, therefore, on either side a cubit, that is, half a yard lower than the inward did. And yet they did not come quite to the ground, but the foundation of the tabernacle, which was of silver, might be seen round about, save only at the west end.

Ver. 14. *And thou shalt make a covering for the tent of rams' skins died red.*] This was a third covering to be laid over the other two, to keep them from wet. It is not said of what dimensions it was, which hath made some fancy it covered only the roof. But it is far more reasonable to think that it was as large as the foregoing covering of goats' hair; which might have been spoiled by rain and dust, if the sides had not been defended as well as the roof. Concerning these *rams' skins,* see xxv. 5.

*And a covering above.*] That is, a *fourth* covering above that of rams' skins, for the greater security of the two inmost hangings; which had need of all this defence, especially on the roof; because it was flat, and consequently the rain was more likely to soak into it.

*Of badgers' skins.*] I observed on xxv. 5. that all the ancient interpreters take *thachas* for a *colour,* and not for a badger, or any other animal. For which there is this considerable argument, which I did not there mention; that when God sets forth his extraordinary kindness to Israel, as his beloved spouse, and shews in many magnificent expressions how richly he adorned her, he saith, among other things, that he shod her with *thachas,* which we translate *badgers' skins;* of which the meanest people never made any use for shoes: and therefore Bochartus rightly concludes it signifies something of greater value, *viz.* rams' skins died of a kind of purple colour.

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt make boards for the tabernacle.*] Or *planks,* which were the walls of the house.

*Of shittim-wood.*] See xxv. 5.

*Standing up.*] Erect upon one end, and not lying sideways.

Ver. 16. *Ten cubits shall be the length of a board.*] By this it appears the house (according to the vulgar opinion of a *cubit*) was but five yards in height. (See ver. 18.)

*And a cubit and a half shall be the breadth of one board.*] Three quarters broad; by which (compared with ver. 18.) it will appear how long the house was.

Ver. 17. *Two tenons shall there be on one board,* &c.] The Hebrews call them *hands;* because they were so made as to take fast hold of the sockets mentioned, ver. 19.

*Set in order one against another.*] They were in each corner of every plank, at the bottom of it.

Ver. 18. *And thou shalt make,* &c. *twenty boards on the south side southward.*] By this it appears the tabernacle was *thirty* cubits, that is (according to common estimation) fifteen yards long; each of these twenty boards being three quarters of a yard broad. But this seems not to be magnificent enough; and therefore it is more reasonable to follow their computation, who think the Jewish cubit was *three inches* and more longer than our *half yard.* Which makes the tabernacle near half as big again, both in length and height, than it is commonly described. (See xxv. 10.)

Ver. 19. *And thou shalt make forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards,* &c.] There were two silver sockets for each plank, whose tenons sinking into these mortises, the middle of the planks settled upon these *bases,* as the foundation of the house. For so the Hebrew word *adon* imports; signifying that which supports another thing which stands upon it. And these seem to have been so large, that two *sockets* were as long as each plank was broad, that is, three quarters of a yard; and being joined close together, they made one entire foundation, though consisting of several pieces.

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Ver. 20. *And for the second side of the tabernacle, on the north side, there shall be twenty boards.*] This verse, and the next, only direct that the north side of the tabernacle should be answerable to the south.

Ver. 22. *And for the sides of the tabernacle westward.*] The Hebrew word we translate *sides*, should rather be translated *ends*. For יָרֵךְ, when it is applied to an inanimate thing, signifies *the end, the term*, or *extremity of it*. As Gen. xlix. 13. we translate it, *a border*, and the LXX. in Isa. xxxvii. 24. translate it, τὰ ἔσχατα, *the extreme parts of Lebanon*. And so both the Chaldee paraphrasts in this place explain it, *by the ends of the tabernacle westward;* for the entrance was on the east, and the end of it on the west.

*Thou shalt make six boards.*] Of the same breadth with the other, which made them four yards and a half, according to the vulgar notion of a cubit.

Hitherto there is no direction about the entrance, or east end; which is reserved till the last.

Ver. 23. *And two boards shalt thou make for the corners of the tabernacle on the two sides.*] Besides the six planks beforementioned, there was a plank at each corner, which joined the end of the tabernacle and the two sides together; and made the whole building stronger and more steadfast. How broad they were he doth not tell us; but I suppose only large enough to make the west end five yards broad, that is, each of them half a cubit.

Ver. 24. *And they shall be coupled together beneath, and they shall be coupled together above the head of it, unto one ring*, &c.] To make all more firm, these two corner planks (for of them he seems here to speak) were to be knit to the other planks, both at the top and at the bottom, with a golden link. Some think every plank was thus linked to the next (whence they are here called twins), for the strengthening the whole fabric: but if this be true it is not clearly expressed.

Ver. 25. *And they shall be eight boards, and their sockets of silver*, &c.] Thus there were eight planks in all at the west end, (ver. 22, 23.) whose tenons struck into the mortises of sixteen silver bases. (See ver. 19.)

Ver. 26. *And thou shalt make bars of shittim-wood.*] Besides the links of gold which held the boards together, at the top and at the bottom, there were also wooden bars, which run into staples of gold, which were fastened in every plank, as it follows, (ver. 29.)

*Five for the boards of the one side of the tabernacle.*] There were five of these bars on each side, (ver. 27.) whereby the planks were held tight together. Of what length they were, is not here said; but Josephus tells us, they were each five cubits.

Ver. 27. *And five bars for the boards of the tabernacle for the two sides westward.*] Besides those on the north and south sides (mentioned in the latter end of ver. 26. and the beginning of this), there were five at the west end. For so it should be translated, not the *two sides* (for there was but one) but the *two ends;* that is, the two corners at the west part of the tabernacle, which was much strengthened by these bars. Or the plural number (as is usual) is put for the singular; this being the end wherein two sides terminated.

Ver. 28. *And the middle bar.*] This seems to intimate that the other four were at the top and at the bottom; and this in the midst of the planks.

*In the midst of the boards shall reach from end to end.*] The Hebrew doctors, whom Dr. Lightfoot follows, take this as if it signified that this bar went through the very planks which were bored in the midst. But then the planks must have been of such a thickness, as would have made them less portable than this tabernacle seems to have been; for they would have been timber rather than planks. I take it therefore that this was a long bar, which *reached from end to end*, and went through staples, which were in the middle of the planks, as the other did above and below. The only question is, whether these bars were in the inside of the tabernacle, or the outside? It seems most probable they were without, under the coverings; for they had not been so sightly within.

Ver. 29. *And thou shalt overlay the boards with gold.*] If they were overlaid with plates of gold, it made them very heavy; unless we suppose the plates to have been very thin. Others, therefore, take it, that they were only gilded.

*And make their rings of gold, for places for the bars*, &c.] The staples were of massy gold into which the bars went; which were also either overlaid with plates of gold, or gilded.

Ver. 30. *And thou shalt rear up the tabernacle, according to the fashion thereof, which was shewed thee in the mount.*] When all these materials were prepared, then he is here commanded to set it up, according to the model which was shewn him now in the mount. (See xxv. 40.)

Ver. 31. *And thou shalt make a veil of blue*, &c.] Concerning these colours, see xxv. 5. and of *fine linen*, xxv. 4. of *twined linen*, xxviii. 6.

*Cunning work.*] R. Solomon here repeats what he said before on ver. 1. that the work called *choscheb* was so artificial, that it had not only figures on both sides, but those different one from the other: for example, on one side a lion, on the other an eagle. Josephus saith, all sorts of flowers, and other ornaments, were wrought in this veil, except only the figures of animals.

*With cherubims shalt thou make them.*] See xxv. 18. This veil seems to have been of the same work with the rest of the inward hangings of the tabernacle, mentioned ver. 1. unless we suppose that in them the *cherubims* only were of *cunning work*. But I take the whole work of this veil to have been of that sort; the *cherubims* being in the midst of all sorts of flowers and other pictures.

The Hebrew word *paroketh*, which we translate *veil*, coming from *perek*, which signifies *hardness* and *rigour*, (Exod. i. 13, 14.) it hath made some conclude, that this *veil* was of a great thickness (the Hebrews say four fingers), which makes it the more wonderful that it was torn in sunder at our Saviour's passion. Certain it is, that it was so thick that none could look through it into the holy of holies.

Ver. 32. *And thou shalt hang it upon four pillars of shittim-wood, overlaid with gold.*] This is a sign that it was thick and heavy, there being four pillars to support it, which stood at an equal distance one from another. Of *shittim-wood*, see xxv. 5. It is uncertain whether the pillars were plated over with gold, or only gilt.

*Their hooks shall be of gold.*] Some will have the word *vavehim* to signify the *heads* of the pillars; for so the LXX. call them κεφαλίδες. But it literally signifies *hooks* (as we translate it), in the form of the letter *vau*, which

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were on the top of the pillars, upon which the *veil* was hung; as appears from the next verse.

*Upon four sockets of silver.*] As the tops of the pillars were of gold, so they stood upon pedestals of silver.

Ver. 33. *And thou shalt hang up the veil under the taches.*] The golden clasps that knit together the two great pieces of hangings, (ver. 6.) were just between the *holy* and the *most holy place*: so that the veil, which separated these two, hung exactly under these clasps.

*That thou mayest bring in thither, within the veil, the ark of the testimony.*] A separate place being made by this veil, the ark was to be brought into it, (see xxv. 16. 22.) and set at the west end of it.

*And the veil shall divide unto you between the holy place and the most holy.*] It made a partition of the tabernacle into two parts; one of which was the *holy place*, into which none but the priests might enter; and the other *the most holy*, into which none but the high-priest might enter, and that but once in the year. The most holy place was but a *third* part of the tabernacle; being a perfect square, *five* yards high, and as many long and broad; according to the common opinion concerning a *cubit*.

Ver. 34. *And thou shalt put the mercy-seat.*] See xxv. 17.

*Upon the ark of the testimony, in the most holy place.*] This being the most precious testimonial of God's presence with them was put in the most secret place of God's house. Just as the *palladium*, or whatsoever other sacred thing it was of which the Vestal virgins were the conservators (for Diodorus Siculus saith he could not certainly tell, nor did he think it became a religious man to inquire into that which was intended to be a secret), was kept in the inmost part of the temple of Vesta, which was called *Penus*, as we are told by Festus; who saith, "Penus vocabatur, locus ultimus in æde Vestæ, tegetibus septus," &c. Into this place none but the Vestal virgins and the Pontifex Maximus might go; as Lipsius observes in his Syntagma de Vesta et Vestalibus, cap. 4.

Ver. 35. *And thou shalt set the table without the veil,* &c.] This verse only directs how the table and the candlestick (which were ordered to be made, xxv. 23. 31.) should be set in *the holy place*, which was without the veil; one of them on the south side, and the other on the north side over against it. But whether in the middle of the *holy place*, or more towards the upper end, is not said.

Ver. 36. *And thou shalt make a hanging for the door of the tent.*] Now directions are given about the entrance of the tabernacle; before which he orders a curtain to be hung. Which may be called the *first veil*, with respect to that beforementioned, (ver. 31.) which the apostle calls the *second*, (Heb. ix. 3.)

*Of blue and purple,* &c.] Concerning these colours, see xxv. 5. and concerning *fine twined linen*, xxviii. 6.

*Wrought with needle-work.*] This was not such curious work as that which we translate *cunning work*, (ver. 31.) which was in the other veil, before the most holy place. (See xxxviii. 39.)

Besides this, Josephus saith there was another veil of linen to defend it from the injury of the weather; which was wont to be drawn aside upon festivals, that the people might see the beauty of this first veil. And indeed it is very probable, that some curtain or other was, in bad weather at least, hung before it, to secure it; as the covering of skins was over the hangings of the tabernacle.

Ver. 37. *And thou shalt make for the hanging five pillars of shittim-wood.*] These pillars seem to have been disposed in this manner: two of them were placed at each corner, which, if they took up a cubit, then the other three being placed at an equal distance, made four spaces, each of two cubits (*i. e.* a yard) wide: at which the priests entered, when they went to minister in the sanctuary.

*And overlay them with gold.*] It is not certain whether with plates of gold, or only gilded. But it appears from the thirty-sixth chap. *ult.* (where we read of the execution of this command) that by *pillars* are here to be understood only the *chapiters* of them, which were all gilded; and the pillars themselves had only *fillets* or hoops of gold about them, in several parts of them.

*And their hooks shall be of gold.*] As those for the other veil were. (See ver. 32.)

*And thou shalt cast five sockets of brass for them.*] Their bases on which they stood were meaner than those for the pillars on which the second veil hung; for they were of silver, as the foundation of the whole house was, (ver. 25. 32.)

## CHAP. XXVII.

Ver. 1. *AND thou shalt make an altar.*] Of burnt-offering, as it is explained xxxviii. 1. And the Hebrew word *mizbeach*, properly signifies that upon which sacrifices were slain and offered.

*Of shittim-wood.*] What sort of wood this was, see xxv. 5.

*Five cubits long, and five cubits broad,* &c.] It was two yards and a half square (according to the common notion of a cubit) at the top and bottom of it.

*And the height thereof shall be three cubits.*] Being a yard and a half in height from the ground, the priest (as Fortunatus Scacchus observes) who ministered at it was half a yard above it; the common stature of a man being four cubits, *i. e.* two yards, (Sacr. Elæo. Myroth. ii. cap. 65.) It is not said how thick the wood was of which this frame (as I may call it) was made; but it is certain that it was hollow within, that the grate mentioned ver. 4. might hang in the midst of it.

Ver. 2. *And thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four corners thereof.*] The Hebrew word *kerem*, which properly signifies a *horn*, signifies also an eminent or high place; as in Isa. v. 1. God saith he had planted a vineyard *in a fruitful hill;* where the words in the Hebrew are, *in a horn of the son of oil.* From whence it signifies a *pinnacle*, or *spire* rising up from any building, as these horns did from the altar, for the ornament of it. Some will have it that they were useful also to tie the sacrifices to it, (which they gather from Psalm cxviii. 27.) and that they were of the fashion of oxen or rams' horns. Fortunatus Scacchus contends earnestly for this, in his Myrothec. ii. Sacr. Elæochrysm, cap. 65. such horns being much in use in the ancient religion, as appears (he observes) from the altars of the gentiles. And yet he confesses in the sixty-ninth chapter of the same book, that such kind of straight pinnacles as I mentioned before, after the manner of obelisks (as his words are), were more convenient for the putting of the blood of the sacrifices round about them, as is required Lev. xvi. 18.

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*His horns shall be of the same.*] These spires seem to have been wrought out of the same piece of wood with the corners of the altar.

*And thou shalt overlay it with brass.*] Some think it was overlaid with brass, not only without but within; that the fire which burnt in the grate might not take hold of the wood. To prevent which, others fancied it was lined within with unhewn stone: but there is no mention of any such thing; and it was unnecessary, if the brass be supposed to have been of such a thickness as to secure the wooden frame of the altar.

Ver. 3. *And thou shalt make his pans.*] The Hebrew word *siroth* signifies *pots* as well as *pans;* but here is determined to the latter sense, by the use of them, which here follows.

*To receive his ashes.*] Or rather, to carry out the ashes which fell from the altar upon the earth; and being taken up, were put into these pans to be carried into a clean place, (Lev. iv. 12.) Fortunatus Scacchus hath adventured to delineate the form of them in the book beforementioned, cap. 73.

*And his shovels.*] The Hebrew word *hajahim* properly signifies *beesoms* or *brooms;* but here is rightly translated *shovels,* by which, being made of brass, the ashes under the altar were scraped together on a heap, and then thrown into the pans.

*And his basons.*] The principal use of these vessels was to receive the blood of the sacrifices, which was to be sprinkled as the law directed: for the Hebrew word *mizrakoth* carries this signification in it. Besides which, Fort. Scacchus thinks they served for the mixture of the oil with fine flour and frankincense, which were to be burnt on the altar. For when any man offered a meat-offering, the priest was to take a handful of the flour and of the oil, with all the frankincense, as God's part, to be consumed on the altar; and therefore we must suppose some vessel wherein these were brought to the priest, as the law requires, (Lev. ii. 1, 2.)

*And his flesh-hooks.*] Or *forks,* as the word *mizlegoth* may be translated; which Fort. Scacchus thinks were in the form of a *trident.* With which they stirred up the fire; and also ordered the pieces of the sacrifice, if any chanced to lie out of it, and put them into it, that every bit might be surely consumed.

*And his fire-pans.*] These are commonly taken for dishes or censers, in which the priest carried burning coals from the altar into the sanctuary, to offer incense upon the golden altar. But the abovenamed Fort. Scacchus thinks they did not minister in the holy place with brazen censers; and therefore takes these *fire-pans* for a larger sort of vessel, wherein the sacred fire which came down from heaven was kept burning, whilst they cleansed the altar and the grate from the coals and ashes, and when this altar was to be carried from one place to another, as it was often in the wilderness, (Myrothec. ii. Sacr. Elæochrysm, cap. 73.)

Ver. 4. *And thou shalt make for it a grate.*] This was the principal part of the altar; the wood being laid here, and the sacrifices burnt in it. Whence the Greeks call it ἐσχάρα; which was the name the heathen gave to the fire-place upon their altars, as we learn from Jul. Pollux. The figure of it was round, (as Fort. Scacchus gathers from the very name in Hebrew; for *michbar* signifies a *sieve*), but grew less and less, till at the bottom it ended, like a top, in a point. So he describes it in the forenamed book, (cap. 71.)

*Of net-work.*] It was made full of holes, like a *sieve,* or *net* (and thence called simply *the net,* in the latter end of this verse and in the next), that the ashes might fall through them to the bottom of the altar; where there was a door, on the east side, to open and take out the ashes.

*Of brass.*] The metal of which all the forenamed things were made, and the altar itself was overlaid.

*And upon the net.*] *i. e.* The grate full of holes, as was said before.

*Thou shalt make four brazen rings.*] The use of which was double; first, that by them it might be hung upon the altar: and then, when it was to be cleansed, or removed in their travels, it might by them be taken off.

*In the four corners thereof.*] This seems to overthrow what I now said of its circular figure: but it is to be observed, that Moses doth not use the same word here, which he doth when he speaks of the four corners of the altar, which he calls *pinoth,* (ver. 2.) but calls these only *ketzoth,* which may be better translated the *extremities* of it, as the said Fort. Scacchus hath noted.

Ver. 5. *And thou shalt put it under the compass of the altar beneath.*] Some have fancied that this grate was placed only at the top of the altar: but that doth not agree with these directions, which only place it beneath, in the hollow part of the altar (called in the Hebrew *carcob,* which signifies, as R. Solomon saith, any thing that is round, and is by us translated *the compass*), but so much lower than the top of the altar, that it was *even to the midst of it,* as it here follows.

*That the net may be even to the midst of the altar.*] This shews the depth of the grate to have been a cubit and a half: for the altar being three cubits high, (ver. 1.) and the bottom of this being even to the *middle of the altar,* it must hang down half way to the ground, and consequently be a cubit and a half from the top of it to the bottom. So that this grate seems to have been made like to a furnace, full of holes round about, as well as below; and perhaps was hung by chains, in the rings beforementioned, to the horns of the altar.

Ver. 6. *And thou shalt make staves for the altar,* &c.] Of such a length, that they might be laid upon the shoulders of the priests; and the altar, when they carried it, hang between them.

Ver. 7. *And the staves shall be put into the rings.*] Besides the rings for the *grate,* there were others (it appears by this) in the altar itself, into which the staves were to be put when it was to be removed.

*And the staves shall be upon the two sides of the altar to bear it.*] It is plain by this, that the staves were not put into the rings of the *grate* (which was within the hollow part of the altar), unless we imagine, as Dr. Lightfoot doth, that the rings of the *grate* came through the frame of the altar, and hung out on the sides of it; so that the frame and the grate were carried together. But, besides other objections against this, from the different form of the grate and the altar, it may be doubted whether they were carried together, and not separate one from another; especially if we conceive the grate to have been carried with the fire still burning on it; which would have immediately consumed the purple cloth, wherewith the altar was to be co-

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vered, when they removed it, (Numb. iv. 13.) But the *fire-pans* beforementioned, (ver. 3.) it is probable, as I noted there, received the fire out of the *grate:* and then, it being cleansed from the ashes, was carried together with the altar, to which it was fastened by its rings; a purple cloth being spread over both.

Ver. 8. *Hollow with boards shalt thou make it.*] Otherwise the grate could not have been in the midst of it, as is before ordered, (ver. 5.)

*And it was shewed thee in the mount.*] Of this also he had a model set before him, as he had of other things. (See xxv. 9. 40.)

*So shall they make it.*] By that pattern he was to direct the workmen to make it.

Ver. 9. *And thou shalt make the court of the tabernacle.*] The Hebrew word *chatzar* properly signifies a *green field* or *close.* Such was this place, uncovered in the open air, but enclosed with pillars and hangings; which made it such a place as we call a court-yard before a house. In this court stood the tabernacle, or dwelling-house of God: not just in the midst of it, but towards the upper end. And here the altar of burnt-offering stood, between the tabernacle and the lower end of the court: and the laver, wherein they washed, stood on the side of the altar. David speaks of more courts than one, (Psal. lxv. 5. lxxxiv. 3.) but Moses made only one, into which the priests came to offer sacrifice. Whether the people were admitted into it is not certain: if they were, it could contain no great number; and they stood at a great distance from the priests, in the lower part of the court; and were separated by some bounds or other, as they were in aftertimes when they came into Canaan. Where being settled, and the tabernacle fixed in Shiloh, the Hebrews say it was enclosed with a wall, as well as with hangings: and then, it is likely, a distinct court was made for the people; at least it was so in David's time, as the places abovementioned prove. And in the temple of Solomon we read plainly of more courts than one, (1 Kings vi. 36. vii. 12. 2 Chron. iv. 9. xxxiii. 5.) *viz.* the *court of the priests,* and the *court of the people.* Unto which, in the temple of Herod, after the captivity, was added a third, the *court of the women.*

*For the south side southward.*] It was to have two large sides, as the tabernacle had; whose south side being first ordered to be made, (xxvi. 18.) so is the same side of the court.

*There shall be hangings for the court of fine twined linen.*] What *fine linen* and *twined* were, see xxv. 5. xxviii. 6. These hangings were not curiously embroidered with flowers, as those of the tabernacle were, (xxvi. 1.) but were made of simple fine six-threaded linen.

*Of a hundred cubits long, for one side.*] By this it appears that the length of the court was a hundred cubits, or fifty yards, though of yards longer than ours, as I have said before, xxv. 10. (See ver. 18.)

Ver. 10. *And the twenty pillars thereof.*] These are thought by most to be made of shittim-wood.

*And their twenty sockets shall be of brass.*] The pillars were placed five cubits distant from each other, upon bases of brass, which were more firm and lasting than wood.

*The hooks of the pillars.*] These were, like our tenters, to hang the curtains of the court upon. See xxvi. 32. concerning the word *vave,*

*And their fillets shall be of silver.*] The Hebrew word *chuschuk* properly signifies a *circle:* but whether these were thin *hoops* of silver, or only *fillets* (as we translate it), or *silver twist,* is uncertain. Yet it seems to be plain from the thirty-eighth chapter, that the heads of the pillars, into which the hooks were fastened, were silvered over.

Ver. 11. *And likewise for the north side,* &c.] Here are the very same directions given for the hangings, pillars, bases, &c. of this side of the court, which are nothing different from the former.

Ver. 12. *And for the breadth of the court, on the west side, shall be hangings of fifty cubits,* &c.] By this it appears that the court was as long again as it was wide, there being hangings but of half the length for the west end, and only half so many pillars and sockets.

Ver. 13. *The breadth of the court on the east side,* &c.] This end was of the same dimensions with the west end.

Ver. 14. *The hangings of one side of the gate shall be fifteen cubits,* &c.] The hangings of this end of the court were divided, because there was to be a gate; the entrance into the court being at the east end. Each side of the gate consisted of fifteen cubits; and accordingly the hangings were of that length, upon three pillars on each side, as this verse and the next direct.

Ver. 16. *And for the gate of the court shall be a hanging of twenty cubits.*] The entrance being twenty cubits wide, if we add to them the fifteen cubits which were on each side of the entrance, they make in all fifty cubits; which was the breadth of the east end of the court, as well as of the west, (ver. 12, 13.)

*Of blue, and purple, and scarlet,* &c.] Concerning all this, see xxv. 5. And here only observe, that the hangings of the gate were far richer than of the rest of the court: which were merely of fine twined *linen,* (ver. 9.) but these of several other beautiful colours, and adorned with that work they called *rokem,* which we translate *needle-work.* What that was, see xxxviii. 39.

*And their pillars shall be four, and their sockets four.*] Proportionable to those on each side of the gate; which were *three* for hangings of *fifteen* cubits, (ver. 14, 15.) as these were *four* for hangings of twenty.

Ver. 17. *All the pillars round about the court shall be filleted with silver.*] Those at the east and west ends, as well as those on the south and north sides.

*Their hooks shall be of silver, and their sockets of brass.*] As was before directed, (ver. 10, 11.)

Ver. 18. *The length of the court,* &c.] Here all the dimensions of the court are put together: the *length* and *breadth* of which might be inferred from the hangings, (ver. 9. 12, &c.) but here are expressly determined; together with the *height,* which was not at all intimated before; and now appointed to be *five cubits, i. e.* two yards and a half, of larger measure than ours. So that the tabernacle might be plainly seen by the people; for it was as high again as the walls (if I may so call them) that encompassed it.

*Of twined linen, and their sockets of brass.*] This seems to be a brief repetition of what was said before concerning the hangings, and the pillars which stood on bases of brass.

Ver. 19. *All the vessels of the tabernacle in all the service thereof.*] This is also a repetition in general of what was

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said before, particularly ver. 3. for all the vessels belonging to the tabernacle itself were of gold, as we read in the twenty-fifth chapter.

*And all the pins thereof.*] The tabernacle had nothing of brass in the fabric of it, but the bases of the pillars at the entrance, (xxvi. 37) and therefore these *pins*, I suppose, belong to them, whereby the pillars were fastened in their sockets.

*And all the pins of the court shall be of brass.*] These brazen pins were struck into the ground (as Dr. Lightfoot understands it), that the hangings, which were tied to them by cords, might be kept from flying up at the bottom.

Ver. 20. *And thou shalt command the children of Israel that they bring thee pure oil-olive beaten.*] Not squeezed out by a press, or by a mill (for such was full of sediment and dregs), but which run freely from the olives, being bruised with a pestle.

*For the light.*] In the golden candlestick, (xxv. 37.)

*To cause the lamp to burn always.*] Sufficient to keep the lamp always burning. Some imagine that it did not burn day and night, but, being lighted every evening, went out in the morning. And there are some places which seem to favour this opinion, particularly 1 Sam. iii. 3. where mention is made of the lamp going out, *viz.* in the morning. See also 2 Chron. xiii. 11. where we read of *setting the lamps to burn every evening:* which seems to signify that they did not burn in the day. But Josephus, who was a priest and could not but know, and had no reason to tell a lie, saith they burnt day and night. And indeed it was but necessary; for otherwise the priest must have ministered in the dark, at the altar of incense, before the Divine Majesty, who kept a table in the sanctuary, which required light; for nobody feasts in darkness. And therefore R. Levi, of Barcelona, (Præcept. xcviii.) saith, God commanded a lamp should always burn in the sanctuary for the honour and majesty of it; there being no light conveyed to it otherways. But it is highly probable, there were not so many of the lamps burning in the day as in the night, when all the seven lamps were lighted: some of which were put out in the morning, and lighted again in the evening. So Josephus saith expressly, (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 9.) "Three burnt all day before the Lord, and the rest were lighted in the evening."

Ver. 21. *In the tabernacle of the congregation without the veil.*] That is, the second veil, which was before the most holy place.

*Which is before the testimony.*] That is, the ark of the testimony. (See xxv. 21, 22.)

*Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the Lord.*] As direction is more fully given, xxx. 7, 8.

*It shall be a statute for ever,* &c.] See xxxviii. 43.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Ver. 1. *AND take thou Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel.*] Here Aaron and his sons are designed to the priest's office: and afterward (xxxii. 19.) the whole tribe of Levi were consecrated to the Lord by a noble act of zeal which they performed. And at last (Numb. i. 51. and many other places) it was made capital for any one else to officiate at the tabernacle, but they only.

*That he may minister unto me.*] Attend on me as my servant in my court. For *cohen* signifies one that serves *in ministerio honorabili, in an honourable office,* as appears from Job xii. 19. Therefore David's sons are called by this name, (2 Sam. viii. 18.) and it was given to the priests: "quatenus fuerunt primarii Dei ministri," *as they were the principal ministers of God;* as Junius observes upon Gen. xli. 45.

*In the priest's office.*] Wheresoever there hath been any religion there have been priests; whose office it peculiarly was, to minister unto God in the service belonging to him. But this is the first time we read of any constituted in Israel by a Divine appointment; at least, the priesthood was not confined to the particular family of Aaron, who was made high-priest, and his sons priests of a lower order. Some heathens imitated this, by continuing the priesthood in a certain family. For Plato says, there were in some places πάτριαι ἱεροσύναι, both of men and women; which in the founding of a city he would not have a lawgiver alter; but where there was no such constitution he would have annual priests, and none but grave men of sixty years of age put into the office, (lib. vi. de Leg. p. 759.)

*Even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons.*] These were all the males in this family at present, whose descendants in future ages were all priests.

Ver. 2. *And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother.*] If very good authors did not affirm it, we should scarce think it credible, that the priests among some of the ancient heathens offered sacrifices to their gods naked. Particularly the old Arabians, as Hottinger observes in his Histor. Orientalis, lib. i. cap. 7. But such filthiness was abhorred by most people, whose priests were not only clothed, but performed their service at the altar in a peculiar habit. So that there is scarce any author, who treats of the sacrifices and the priests of the heathen, that doth not speak of their garments also. As Moses here in the first institution of the priesthood among the Jews, to offer peculiar sacrifices at God's house, takes a special care, by the Divine direction, about their vestments. Which the Hebrew doctors think so inseparable from the priesthood, that they fancy Adam, Abel, and Cain, did not sacrifice without them. (See Gen. iii. 22.)

They are called *holy*, because they might be worn by none but them, and by them only when they ministered unto God.

*For Aaron thy brother.*] The high-priest had some garments peculiar to himself, which none of the other priests might wear. They were four; the breast-plate, the robe, the ephod, and the plate of gold. There were four more he also wore, but they were common to him with the other priests, *viz.* the coat, the drawers, the girdle, and the bonnet. Their bonnets, indeed, and his mitre, were of a different form; yet they are not considered by the Jews as distinct vestments, being both coverings of the head. And they make account the high-priest never wore at any one time above eight sorts of garments; nor the lower above four. This is the universal sense of the Hebrew writers; and I cannot give any account why Grotius mentions only seven garments of the high-priest (reckoning the golden plate for one), which he will have to answer unto the seven lamps



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in the candlestick. For it is evident by this very chapter he wore eight, *viz.* the *ephod,* (ver. 8.) the *breast-plate,* (ver. 15.) the *robe,* (ver. 31.) the *plate of gold,* (ver. 36.) the *embroidered coat,* the *girdle,* and the *mitre,* (ver. 39.) which are all ordered for Aaron the high-priest: and afterward (ver. 42, 43.) *breeches* are ordered for him as well as his sons, which make up the number of eight.

*For glory and for beauty.*] To make their office more respected, and strike men with an awful sense of the Divine Majesty, whose ministers they saw appear in such grandeur. For this and the foregoing precepts (as Maimonides observes) were given to render the sanctuary of God more august and magnificent: for which end he magnified the dignity of those who ministered there; and not only separated them from other men, but ordered them to be clothed in beautiful and precious garments, that they might appear there like men of honour, (More Nevoch. lib. iii. cap. 45.) unto which R. Levi of Barcelona well adds, (Præcept. xcix.) that by these glorious garments the priests were put in mind of their dignity, and admonished to perform the Divine service with a spirit suitable to the greatness of Him unto whom they were consecrated. It may be fit for me also to add, that there being two sorts of garments which the high-priest wore (those they called *white,* and those they called *golden),* both of them were very rich, and made him look gloriously; whether the materials, or the colours, or the art wherewith they were made, be regarded; as will appear in the particular account which is given of them in this chapter. (See ver. 40.)

Ver. 3. *And thou shalt speak unto all that are wise-hearted.*] So the Hebrews call those who had extraordinary skill in any art: according to the ancient opinion, which made the heart the seat of the mind.

*Whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom.*] Endued with singular skill. For the word *ruach,* in Scripture, signifies *a gift of God;* whereby they who had it performed what they undertook excellently. And mechanical arts are called *wisdom,* as well as higher sciences: so St. Paul calls himself *a wise master-builder.* Which was the ancient language of the world before the time of Pythagoras, as Cuperus observes, (in his Apotheosis Homeri, p. 119.) out of Georgius Diaconus's preface to Aristotle's Logic, and out of Nichomachus Gerasinus, whose words are very remarkable: "When all before Pythagoras were called by the common name of Σοφοὶ, even *builders of houses,* and *curriers of leather,* and *pilots,* καὶ ἁπλῶς ὁ τέχνης τινὸς καὶ δημιουργίας ἔμπειρος, *and, in general, every one that was skilful in any art or public work,* that philosopher denied this name to them." Notwithstanding which, some authors, in aftertimes, still observed the ancient use: insomuch that Ælian calls fishermen, who understood their art well, σοφοὶ τῶν ἁλιέων, (lib. i. de Animal. cap. 2.) and Lucius calls Perilaus, σοφὸν χαλκέα, *a wise brazier;* and Aristotle himself observes that Phidias was called λιθουργὸν σοφὸν, *a wise stone-cutter,* (lib. v. Moral. ad Eudemum.) Nor were the Latins strangers to this language (as Cuperus shews in the same place), which is here used by Moses; whose entire sense in these words is this: that the men here spoken of, "being very skilful of themselves in their several arts, their skill was so increased by God's special gift, that they became marvellous artists."

*That they make Aaron's garments.*] They were first employed in making garments for Aaron; which were the most costly, and required most care in the work about them. The principal of these excellent artists were Bezaleel and Aholiab, (xxxi. 1, 2, &c.)

*To consecrate him.*] To be put on at his consecration, (xxix. 5, 6, &c.)

*That he may minister to me in the priest's office.*] For without these garments he might not minister. Whence that common saying in the Talmud, concerning the priests, "While they are clothed in their garments they are priests; when they want them, they are not priests." Which Maimonides expresses thus: When they are clothed in their garments their priesthood is upon them; when they are not clothed with them, their priesthood is not upon them. That is, they might no more perform Divine service than mere laymen. Whence it was, that under the second temple (when they wanted the holy oil to anoint him), the high-priest was made merely by clothing him with the forenamed eight garments. And as they might not minister without these, so they might not add any other to them: if they did, their ministry was unlawful. For which reason they might not wear gloves on their hands, or shoes on their feet: for from their knees (to which their breeches reached) to their feet, they were naked; only their coats in some sort covered their legs. But they stood barefoot in the sanctuary while they ministered. We do not find, indeed, that God any where forbade them to minister in shoes; but they being not commanded, when God orders them other vestments, particularly bonnets for their heads, and saith here expressly, these are the garments thou shalt make, that Aaron *may minister to me in the priest's office;* the Jews thence concluded, that God intended they should use no other, and not so much as any thing on their feet in the sanctuary. And this out of reverence to that holy place; as Moses was commanded to put off his shoes, because of the presence of God in that ground where he stood.

Which to me is an argument, that Moses did not intend to come as near to the Egyptian rites as he might with safety, but rather to oppose them. For their priests had ὑποδήματα βύβλινα on their feet, as Herodotus tells us, (lib. ii. cap. 7.) And so the priests of several other nations ministered in shoes of several kinds: though others, it is certain, ministered barefoot; particularly the priests of Diana at Castobala, as Strabo tells us, lib. xii. And nothing is more known than that saying of Pythagoras, ἀνυπόδητος σὺν καὶ προσκύνει, *sacrifice and worship unshod:* the people, as well as the priests, putting off their shoes when they came to the temple, as the Jews did.

Ver. 4. *And these are the garments which thou shalt make,* &c.] These which follow were the principal garments wherewith the high-priest was clothed: besides which there was a plate of gold; and also breeches, common to him and all the rest of the priests.

*And they shall make.*] The skilful men beforementioned were to make them by his order and direction.

*Holy garments.*] Which none should wear but they. (See ver. 2.)

*For Aaron thy brother, and his sons.*] Some of these were peculiar to Aaron; others of them common to him and to his sons; as will appear in the particular account which is given of them afterward.

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*That they may minister unto me in the priest's office.*] See ver. 3. These garments were only to be used in the time of their ministration: at other times they never wore them, but were then habited like other men; as Mr. Selden proves, (lib. ii. de Succession. cap. 7.) and at large confirms, (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 11. n. 3, &c.)

Ver. 5. *And they.*] *i. e.* The skilful workmen beforementioned.

*Shall take gold,* &c.] This verse directs to the materials of which the priests' garments were to be made. For though these five words denote so many colours; yet the first word and the last (*viz. gold* and *fine linen*) shew the matter also is included; from which colour cannot be separated. And as for the matter of their garments, they were made either of woollen or linen; nothing of hair or silk being used in their contexture: for as to *gold* and *jewels*, they were rather for ornament, than for the making the substance of the garments. So all the Hebrew doctors, whose maxim is this, "the priests are not clothed in their ministry at the temple, but in woollen and linen." The matter of them, indeed, is not here expressed in this chapter, save only of their breeches, which are ordered to be made of linen, (ver. 42.) But in xxxix. 27, &c. all the garments of Aaron's sons are expressly said to be made of fine linen; except the girdle, which was partly of linen, partly of woollen. The garments of the high-priest, which the Jews called white garments, were certainly made of linen; and his girdle also was of the same, without any mixture of woollen, when he wore those garments on the great day of expiation, as Braunius shews, (lib. i. de Vestitu Sac. Hebr. cap. 7.)

*Gold.*] The Hebrews say there were seven sorts of gold, which was diversified either by its colour, or the place from which it came, or its goodness. But that which was used about these garments, they conclude was the gold they called *tahor*, which we translate *pure gold*, (ver. 22. 36.) *i. e.* the finest, and of the brightest colour; between a yellow and red.

*And blue, and purple, and scarlet.*] Of these colours, see xxv. 4.

*And fine linen.*] The Hebrew word *schesch* signifies a pure kind of *fine linen*, not silk (as some have imagined), for there was no such thing known in Moses's days. It was of a shining white colour; and therefore all the inferior priests were clothed in white, their garments being made of this. And such were all the garments wherewith the high-priest entered into the most holy place, on the great day of expiation. And wheresoever the Scripture speaks of *fine linen*, and mentions no colour, we are to understand white.

Ver. 6. *And they shall make the ephod.*] We retain the Hebrew word, which doth not express the form of this garment; but the next verse teaches us something of it; that it was a short garment, which hung behind upon the shoulders down to the buttocks, and came down before upon the breast and the belly. It consisted of three parts: that which covered the breast and the back (which the Hebrews take to be properly called the *ephod*), then the two shoulder-pieces, which came up from the arm-holes to the shoulders (mentioned in the next verse), and then the girdle belonging to it, (ver. 8.)

*Of gold, of blue, and of purple.*] See the foregoing verse.

*And fine twined linen.*] Here is another word added to *schesch* (or *fine linen*), which is *maschzar*. Which is never joined with any thing but *schesch* in all the Scripture; and only once found without *schesch*, which is to be understood, xxxix. 24. It is thought by Maimonides, and other Hebrew doctors, to signify *linen of six threads:* some will have it, that where it is mentioned alone it signifies *eight-threaded linen.*

*With cunning work.*] The Hebrew word *choscheb*, which we translate *cunning*, signifies the most artificial, or ingenious sort of work; which consisted in the great variety of figures and colours that were in it; like that which is sometimes made of divers birds' feathers; as J. Braunius shews, (lib. i. de Vest. Sacr. Hebr. cap. 17.)

Ver. 7. *It shall have the two shoulder-pieces thereof.*] They are so called, because they covered the shoulders; from whence the LXX. call the whole ephod by the name of ἐπωμίς. The Jews think they were woven by themselves, and then sewed to the back and breast-pieces with a needle. So the next words seem to them to signify.

*Joined at the two edges thereof.*] Which Abarbinel interprets in this manner: the ephod shall have two shoulder-pieces, which, being made by themselves separate from it, were afterwards sewed to the two extremities of the ephod. But the Hebrew words, if they be examined, import no such thing; but run thus, *it shall have two shoulder-pieces, joined at the two ends of it.* Now they might be joined in the very weaving of it, and not by a needle afterward: and so they were in all probability, as Braunius hath endeavoured to demonstrate.

*And so it shall be joined together.*] In the Hebrew the words are no more but these, *and it shall be joined together:* which may be understood of the coherence of the fore-part and hinder-part, by the two golden buttons, set with onyx-stones, which joined them together on the shoulders.

Ver. 8. *And the curious girdle of the ephod.*] The word *choscheb*, which we translate *curious girdle*, signifies it was of such artificial work as the ephod itself was. And it seems to have been two strings (as we may call them) which went out of each side of it, and tied it to their bodies, under their arm-holes, about the heart. So the high-priest had two girdles; that belt (as we may call it) which tied his coat to him; and this girdle, which tied the fore-part and hinder-part of the ephod together. It is called the *girdle of the ephod*, because it was annexed to those two cloths, and not to the shoulder-pieces.

*Shall be of the same.*] Or, *out of it:* to signify that the girdle was woven together with the ephod, and went out of it. So Jarchi and Abarbinel.

*According to the work thereof.*] This signifies it was to be made of the same matter, and woven after the same manner, with all the ornaments of the ephod itself; having all those five colours in it, mentioned ver. 4. and here repeated again.

Ver. 9. *And thou shalt take two onyx-stones.*] Concerning the onyx-stones, see Gen. ii. 12.

*And grave on them the names of the children of Israel.*] The princes (as Abarbinel observes) presented Moses with these stones; on which he himself did not engrave the names of the children of Israel, but some person skilful in that art. For it is expressly called, (ver. 11.) *the work of an engraver in stone,*



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Ver. 10. *Six of their names on one stone, and the other six names of the rest on the other stone, according to their birth.*] The six eldest on that stone which was upon the right shoulder; and the six younger on the other upon the left: as several of the Hebrew doctors expound it: particularly Jarchi, with whom Josephus agrees, (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 8.) The Talmudists, indeed, dispose them otherwise; but this is most suitable to the word *toledoth*, according to their *generations*, or their *birth*, as we render the latter end of the verse.

Ver. 11. *With the work of an engraver in stone.*] Done with such art as such workmen use.

*Like the engravings of a signet.*] The same words are used again, (ver. 36.) where he speaks of the engravings upon the *plate of gold*. On which Abarbinel saith the letters were protuberant, as they are upon coins, or upon wax impressed with a seal: but here on the ephod and the breast-plate, he thinks the names were cut deep in the stones, as letters are in a seal. For which I can see no reason, the words being the very same; and therefore, if the letters were protuberant in the one, they were so in the other.

*Thou shalt make them to be set in ouches of gold.*] The Hebrew word *mischbetsoth*, which we translate *ouches*, signifies as much as the Latin word *funda;* the *socket*, as I may say, wherein the stones were set. Both which made a button; not of a round figure, but something like a *lozenge*, or, as Maimonides expresses it, like the figure of those holes that are in the stomach of such animals as chew the cud, called *reticulum*. (See Jo. Braunius de Vest. Sacr. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 17. n. 8.) By these buttons the hinder-part of the ephod was fastened to the fore-part upon the shoulders; and the breast-plate also hung upon them by golden chains.

Ver. 12. *And thou shalt put the two stones upon the shoulders of the ephod, for stones of memorial unto the children of Israel.*] This is explained in the following words, that *Aaron might bear their names before the Lord upon his shoulders for a memorial*. That is, might remember to recommend the twelve tribes of Israel unto God, when he offered incense, and made his prayers before him. Or, for a token, that he appeared before God in the name of the whole people of Israel.

Others will have this memorial refer to God, before whom he presented himself, that he might be gracious unto his people, when the high-priest came thus attired, according to his own order, to pray for them; with assurance that he would be mindful of them all. And to this the twenty-ninth verse seems to incline; where the same is said to be the intention of engraving their names upon the twelve stones on the breast-plate. (See xxxix. 7.)

Ver. 13. *And thou shalt make ouches of gold.*] See ver. 11. where the word *mischbetsoth* is explained.

Ver. 14. *And two chains of pure gold at the ends*, &c.] These chains did not consist of many little rings, but of many threads or wires of gold twisted together like a rope. For which reason Moses adds, *of wreathen work shalt thou make them*. This Bartenora takes to be the meaning of the word *migbaloth* (which we translate *at the ends*), which he expounds *cords* or *cables*. They were not, saith he, like to those iron chains wherewith prisoners are bound, consisting of several joints; but twisted of golden threads, till they were as thick as cords. Others think *migbaloth* signifies *equal;* because they were of an equal thickness, or of an equal length. But our translation also may be defended; for the ends of them were annexed to the rings of the breast-plate, (ver. 24.) But as these chains were annexed at one end to the rings of the breast-plate, so at the other end they were annexed to the golden buttons upon the shoulders; so that the breast-plate hung upon the golden buttons by the chains.

*And fasten the wreathen chains to the ouches.*] Moses only briefly mentions the two chains in this place, to signify that the *ouches* in the ephod served for the support of the breast-plate, by these two chains; which properly belonged to that, and not to the ephod, as Jarchi observes. And therefore, after directions for the breast-plate (which here follow), they are again spoken of in their proper place, (ver. 22.) As ver. 27. there are two golden rings spoken of, which belong to the ephod; but not mentioned till then, because by these rings the breast-plate and ephod were knit together.

Ver. 15. *And thou shalt make the breast-plate.*] Next, after the ephod, directions are given for the *choschen*, which we translate *breast-plate;* taking it, I suppose, to come from the Hebrew word *chazeh*, which signifies the *breast*. For by the change of a letter (which is not unusual) *choschen* may well be thought to come from thence, because it lay upon the breast and covered it.

*Of judgment.*] For the priest wore it, when he went to consult the Divine Majesty about the great concerns of their religion or government; and received such answers, as directed them what to determine in dubious cases, either in war or peace. (See ver. 29.)

*With cunning work.*] See ver. 6.

*After the work of the ephod thou shalt make it*, &c.] It was to be made of the same materials with the ephod; and with the same artifice, as it here follows.

Ver. 16. *Four-square shall it be, being doubled.*] The words are in the Hebrew, *four-square shall it be doubled*. Which are to be thus understood, that the whole piece was not square till it was doubled. So Maimonides. It was a cubit long (*i. e.* two spans) and its breadth a span, but being doubled it was a square of a span, both in length and in breadth. From whence it follows, that it was hollow; so that it may be compared to one of our purses: only it doth not appear whether it were sewed together at the sides, or on one side, or open on both sides; though it is commonly said so to be. But it is possible that it was doubled, merely that it might be stronger to bear the weight of so many precious stones, and of the rings and chains; not that it might have any thing put between it.

*A span shall be the length thereof*, &c.] This is just the measure of a man's breast.

Ver. 17. *And thou shalt set it in settings of stones.*] Or, as it is in the Hebrew, *fill it with fillings of stones*. Which plainly signifies that these stones were set, as precious stones are now in our rings, in a *funda*, or *hollow*, which was filled up with the stone. In the twentieth verse we translate it *enclosings*. So Jarchi, because the stone filled up the hollowness of the *ouches* to which they were fitted, and therefore Moses uses the word *fillings*. Abarbinel here observes, that Moses saith *fillings of stone*, in the singular number, not the plural (and so in the next words, four rows

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of *stone*, or *stones*, as we translate it), to signify that all the stones were so set in the breast-plate, as if they were but one stone. For all the *fundæ*, in which they were set, consisted of one mass of gold, wherein were twelve *ouches*, in which every single stone was set, as we see it now in our present lockets.

*Even four rows of stones.*] With a square of precious stones.

*The first row shall be a sardius*, &c.] There is so little certainty what these stones were, that nothing can be affirmed about them; as appears by the vast variety of interpretations that have been made of them, by writers both old and new. The first of them is called *odem* in the Hebrew, which some take to be a *ruby*; but have no other reason for it than only because אדם signifies *red*. Others take it for an adamant; which may seem to be derived from *odem*, as a jasper is from *jasphe*. And there are several other conjectures, but none so probable as that of our translators; who call it a *sardius*, (or *sardine* stone, as they render it, Rev. iv. 3.) which is of a red flaming colour, (as Braunius hath demonstrated from several authors, lib. ii. de Vest. Sacr. Hebr. cap. 8. n. 8.) but, as some describe it, with a cast of yellow in it, like that of fresh oil. And it is not improbable that this stone had the name of *sardius* from the Hebrew word *sered*, which signifies red, Isa. xliv. 13. as Kimchi there interprets it. And thence the Divine Majesty is said to look like a sardine stone (in the place abovenamed) because he appeared in great anger. So an ancient writer, διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, πυροειδὴς λᾶς τὸ Σάρδιον.

*A topaz.*] The second stone in this row is, in Hebrew, called *pitdah*, which we truly translate a *topaz*: which was a stone of a green colour, not a yellow, as we now commonly understand it. So Pliny and others, as the same Braunius shews, (lib. ii. cap. 9.) where he fancies that the word *topasion*, by an easy change of letters, was made out of *pitdah*: for the Syriac interpreter, (Rev. xxi. 20.) calls this stone *topadion*; in which there are the same letters that are in *pitdah*. But however this be, it appears from Job xxviii. 19. that this is the right translation of the word; for there it is *Pitdah Cush*, the most excellent *topaz* stones being found in an island belonging to Arabia, called thence by the name of *Topazion*.

*And a carbuncle.*] So we translate the third stone of the first row (which in Hebrew is called *bareketh*), following perhaps Abarbinel. But the greatest part of interpreters take it for the *smaragdus*; which good authors describe as the most radiant of all other stones; and therefore called, perhaps, *bareketh*, from its extraordinary splendour; for *barak*, every body knows, signifies to *glitter*, (Ezek. xxi. 10.) The best authors say, the colour of it is a *grass green*; wonderfully refreshing (as Pliny describes it) to the eyes, when one looks upon it.

Ver. 18. *And the second row shall be an emerald.*] The Hebrew word *nophech*, which we translate *emerald*, is by most interpreters taken to signify a *carbuncle*. Some of which stones are white; but the most excellent of all other are red, shining like fire, or a burning coal: whence the name of *carbuncle*, from *carbo*, a hot coal. And to this the Hebrew word *nophech* agrees; which Braunius ingeniously conjectures comes from *phuch*, which signifies that red wherewith women painted their faces, (2 Kings ix. 30.) And, in short, he takes it for that stone which we now call a ruby. And so Abarbinel translates it, and Luther also; (vide lib. ii. cap. 11.)

*A sapphire.*] This stone is mentioned before, xxiv. 9. and it retains its name to this day, almost among all people. So that there is no question, but only what kind of stone it was, about which authors differ. For some say it was a white stone (and there are some so pale, that they incline to that rather than any other colour), but it is plain that stone was called anciently a *sapphire*, which is now so called; being of the colour of the heavens, or the veins, that is, a sky-colour. (See xxiv. 10. Cantic. v. 14. Lament. iv. 7.)

*And a diamond.*] So we rightly translate the Hebrew word *jahalom*: which is thought to come from *halam*, which signifies to *break*. Whence *halmuth* is a *hammer*, or a *maul*, (Judg. v. 26.) For the adamant or diamond is the hardest of all stones; which breaks them all, but is broken by none, as Abarbinel speaks. It was anciently accounted the most precious of all gems, as Pliny acknowledges, (lib. xxxvii. cap. 4.)

Ver. 19. *In the third row, a ligure.*] So we translate the Hebrew word *leschem*, which being no where else found, the meaning of it is uncertain. But a great many, both of the ancients and moderns, translate it as we do: though what a *ligure* is cannot easily be resolved. Some think λιγύριον, or λυγγούριον, to be nothing but the best *amber*. But that is no precious stone, as all here mentioned are; and therefore (to mention no other conjectures) Braunius thinks we are to understand by this word a kind of *jacinth*: of which there being divers sorts, he judges it likely to be that which nearest approaches to the colour of amber; which hath made authors take them for the same. The ancients, indeed, commonly by a jacinth understand a stone of a violet colour, but more pale and dilute than in the amethyst: and the stone now called an *amethyst*, was anciently called a *jacinth*. Yet they mention jacinths of divers other colours, and some shining like fire; (vide lib. ii. de Vestit. Sacr. Hebr. cap. 14. n. 11, 12.)

*An agate.*] So the Hebrew word *schebo* (which is no where else mentioned in Scripture) is translated by the greatest part of interpreters; who take this for that stone the Greeks call *achates*. Which is so well known that it needs no description; being that beautiful stone which nature hath painted with great variety: from whence it hath got several names, as the same Braunius observes in the same book, cap. 15. n. 4, &c. And the very name of *achates*, seems to be derived from its various colours: *akud* in Hebrew signifying that which is spotted, as Jacob's cattle were, (Gen. xxx. 35.) Though now, because they are common, they are of no great value; yet anciently, it appears from Theophrastus and Pliny, they were more precious. (See there, n. 9.)

*And an amethyst.*] The Hebrew word *achlam* is no more to be found in Scripture elsewhere, than the two former. But the best and most ancient authors take it as we do, for that stone which other writers call an *amethyst*: which is of a bright violet colour, or like red wine, from whence it has its name in the Greek. The nearer these stones came to a purple, and the more they had of the flame of a carbuncle, the more precious they were esteemed, as the forenamed Braunius shews, (lib. ii. cap. 16. n. 56.)

Ver. 20. *In the fourth row, a beryl.*] The Hebrew word

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*tharschisch* is very variously interpreted: but the LXX., Josephus, and a great many others, take it for that which the ancients call a *chrysolite;* that is, a stone of a golden colour, which others call a *topaz.* This Braunius endeavours to prove was the colour of *tharschisch,* out of Dan. x. 5, 6. Cant. v. 14, &c. (See cap. 17. n. 12, 13, &c.)

*An onyx.*] The Hebrew word *schoham* we meet withal in the beginning of the Bible, (Gen. ii. 12.) and translate it as we do here, an *onyx.* But Josephus, St. Jerome, and the Vulgar, translate it *sardonyx;* which was of a mixed colour, of white and red. For the most precious Indian sardonyx had a radix (as they call it) white, like the nail of one's finger; and the superficies red like blood; and both of them transparent: from whence it had its name; the *sardius* stone (as was said before) being red, and the *onyx* signifying the nail of one's finger. (See the forenamed Braunius, cap. 18.)

*A jasper.*] Though the Hebrew name, which is *jaspeth,* be retained among all people to this day, yet all interpreters have not translated it as ours do, who, no doubt, are in the right. For why should we not think *jaspeth* is certainly that stone which the Greeks and Latins call *jaspis?* as we doubt not the *sapphire* beforementioned (ver. 18.) is the stone they call *saphirus.* The best of these stones are of a green colour, like a *smaragdus;* but sometimes they have little spots or points in them, of various colours; which hath made some authors call this stone *panthera.* (See Braunius, cap. 19.)

*They shall be set in gold in their enclosings.*] Or, more literally, *they shall be golden ouches in which they are set.* (See ver. 17. and ver. 11.)

Ver. 21. *And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel,* &c.] Upon each stone was to be engraven the name of one of the sons of Jacob. And, in all probability, in the same order wherein they were engraven upon the two stones of the ephod; where it is ordered they should be engraven *according to their birth,* (ver. 10.) And so Josephus saith it was here, κατὰ τάξιν ἣν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι συμβέβηκεν: which is but the translation of Moses's words now named, *according to their generations.* And so Maimonides understands it, though here it be only said, *according to the twelve tribes;* as if he had said, upon the first stone in the first row (*viz.* the sardius) shall be the name of *Reuben;* upon the second, the name of *Simeon;* upon the third, the name of *Levi;* and so of the rest.

*Like the engraving of a signet.*] See ver. 11.

Ver. 22. *And thou shalt make upon the breast-plate chains.*] These chains are not different from those mentioned ver. 14. as some imagine: who think there he speaks of the chains of the *ephod,* and here of those of the *breast-plate.* For the *ephod* had no *chains* belonging to it, nor needed any: and the *breast-plate* had only these two; which, though mentioned before, are now more exactly described in their proper place, and the use of them directed.

*At the ends.*] Concerning the word *gabluth,* see ver. 14. where I observed, some think it signifies *cords,* from *gabal,* which, as well as *chabal,* signifies a *rope* or *cord;* from whence some fancy comes our English word *cable.*

*Of wreathen work.*] So many wires of gold were wreathed together, as to make a chain of some thickness, like a cord. So Bartenora interprets it. Abarbinel saith they were weaved; but he must mean such a weaving as we make with our fingers, when we twist several threads together, which the LXX. call ἔργον πλοκῆς, *twisted work.*

Ver. 23. *And thou shalt make upon the breast-plate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two rings on the two ends of the breast-plate.*] The breast-plate had four rings in all; one at each corner of the square. And here he gives direction for the making those two, which were at the two upper corners of it: the other two are ordered, ver. 26.

Ver. 24. *And thou shalt put the two wreathen chains of gold in the two rings, which are on the ends of the breast-plate.*] This verse and the next shew how these chains were to be disposed, and for what end they served. Below they were fastened to the two rings, in the upper part of the breast-plate, as is here directed: and above they were fastened to the two buttons, upon the shoulder-pieces of the ephod, as is directed in the next verse. So the breast-plate was supported by these two *chains,* which hung upon the buttons, as the *breast-plate* did upon them.

Ver. 26. *And thou shalt make two rings of gold.*] That is, two other besides those mentioned ver. 23.

*And thou shalt put them upon the two ends of the breast-plate.*] This is to be understood of the lower corners of the breast-plate, as ver. 23. of the higher.

*In the border thereof.*] In the lower border of it.

*Which is in the side.*] Or, over against.

*The ephod inward.*] So that these two lowermost rings were not seen, being inward; lying, as it were, between the *ephod* and the *breast-plate.*

Ver. 27. *And two other rings of gold thou shalt make.*] These, though belonging to the *ephod,* are not mentioned till now; because the use of them would more plainly appear in this place.

*And shalt put them on the two sides of the ephod.*] Or rather, *shoulder-pieces of the ephod:* for so we translate it more plainly, ver. 7.

*Underneath.*] Below, at the lower end of the shoulder-pieces.

*Towards the fore-part thereof.*] Or, in its fore-part.

*Over against the coupling thereof.*] Opposite to the rings of the breast-plate; being to be coupled to it by these rings.

*Above the curious girdle of the ephod.*] All this is said only to mark out the place exactly, where these two rings were to be fastened to the *ephod;* that the breast-plate might be inseparable from it.

Ver. 28. *And they shall bind the breast-plate by the rings thereof, unto the rings of the ephod, with a lace of blue, that it may be above the curious girdle of the ephod.*] A blue lace, or ribbon, being put through the two lower rings of the *breast-plate,* and then through the rings of the *ephod:* they by it were tied together, a little above the girdle of the *ephod.*

*And that the breast-plate be not loosed from the ephod.*] And thus being joined, they were not to be separated one from another; no, not out of the time of ministration: but always continued so fast together, that the *ephod* could not be put on without the *breast-plate.* Thus Maimonides, and the Gemara, (cap. 7. of Joma,) *If any one remove the breast-plate from the ephod, or the staves from the ark, he shall receive forty stripes.*

Ver. 29. *And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breast-plate of judgment upon his heart.*] Appear in the name of the whole people of Israel, to beg direction of God in all difficult cases.

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*When he goeth in unto the holy place.*] Where with his face towards the ark (where the Divine Glory sat) he prayed to God for them.

*For a memorial before the Lord continually.*] That God might remember them, when he remembered him daily of the promises made to them, and to their forefathers. Which, in Scripture phrase, denotes God's gracious hearing his prayers, when he addressed himself unto him, in the manner he required. For then he is said to remember his people, when he granted their desires: and they remembered him, when they did as he bade them.

Ver. 30. *And thou shalt put in the breast-plate of judgment.*] It is called both here and in the foregoing verse *the breast-plate of judgment*, not only for the reason there named, but because the high-priest (nay, the whole body of the priests, but he especially) sat as a judge to determine several controversies, as appears from many places, (Lev. x. 11. Deut. xvii. 8, 9. xix. 7. xxxiii. 8. 2 Chron. xv. 3, &c.)

*The urim and the thummim.*] There is not the least intimation any where what these were, nor any direction given to Moses for the making of them, as there is for the rest of the priestly attire. Which may incline one to conclude one of these two things: either that they were things delivered to Moses by God himself, as the two tables of stone were; or that they are not things different from the precious stones beforementioned. But if the former of these were true, I should think it would have been as plainly mentioned that God delivered these unknown things to him, as that he did the two tables of stone. The other hath something in the Scripture to countenance it. For in the thirty-ninth chapter of this book, where Moses sets down the making of all those things which are here ordered, he mentions only the four rows of stones, in the same manner as he doth here; but saith not a word of putting the *urim* and *thummim* in the breast-plate: though he spake particularly of other things, even of the rings, and the chains, and the lace, whereby it was tied to the ephod. And, on the other side, when he speaks of habiting Aaron with all these vestments, in order to his consecration, he only saith, (Lev. viii. 8.) that *he put the breast-plate upon him, also he put in the breast-plate the urim and the thummim;* but saith not a word of the four rows of stones. For which it is hard to give a reason; unless it be, because the *urim* and the *thummim* were one and the same thing with the twelve precious stones: so that it was indifferent, whether he said *urim* and *thummim* were put into the breast-plate, or the twelve precious stones; which are the only things in all this description of the holy vestments that can be thought to be *urim* and *thummim*. And, indeed, there being such a particular direction for every thing else, and also a description of their form and fashion (as, that the chains should be of *wreathen work*), one cannot but think there would have been something said of these, if they had been distinct from what was mentioned before. Mr. Mede, indeed, thinks that nothing is said concerning them, because they were things well known to the patriarchs. But this is well confuted lately by another great man, Dr. Pocock, in his late learned commentary upon the prophet Hosea, (p. 149.) unto which I refer the reader, because I have other things to note, and would not willingly enlarge too much on this subject.

As for that which some have said concerning two little images, or representations of angels, which were put in the hollow of the breast-plate, I see no foundation for such a conceit. One may better say, that these two words *urim* and *thummim* were written or wrought on the breast-plate; signifying that from hence they should receive the clearest and most perfect resolution of all their doubts. And of this opinion was R. Asaria in his Meor Enajim, cap. 46.

But if we take the former to be the truer account, that he only repeats what he said before, (as he doth what he had said of the rings belonging to the breast-plate, ver. 14. 22.) then the meaning is, that the twelve stones should be the most sparkling, and most perfect in their kind, that could be got (for *urim*, all acknowledge, signifies *fires* or *illuminations;* and *thummim*, the greatest *perfection*), and that all belonging to the breast-plate (the *square stuff*, the *stones* engraved, the *rings*, the *chains* and *lace*) should be prepared and made ready before they were set in the breast-plate.

And of this opinion (that the precious stones were the *urim* and the *thummim*) were Josephus and the Talmudic doctors, who therein, I take it, were in the right; though they do not give a likely account how the mind of God was declared by them.

*And they shall be upon Aaron's heart.*] So it is said concerning the names of the children of Israel, (ver. 29.) which were engraven on the twelve stones; and seems to confirm the foregoing interpretation.

*When he goeth in before the Lord.*] To minister unto the Divine Majesty, and to enquire of him: which he did in the holy place, standing with his face towards the ark in the holy of holies. Into which he went only once a year, upon a particular business, to expiate the sins of the people; and had not on these glorious robes here mentioned; but was only clothed in fine linen, as we read, Lev. xvi. And therefore it is strange that Buxtorf should say he went into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, with the *urim* and *thummim*, to inquire of God. See his history of them, cap. i. (where he alleges this verse for it) and cap. iii.

*And Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel.*] By *judgment* is here meant the *breast-plate of judgment*, as it is called, when he begins to speak of it, (ver. 15.) and in the foregoing verse; just as the *ark of the testimony* is sometimes called *the testimony*. Or else the meaning is, that he should carry the great concerns of the children of Israel (their weighty causes and doubts) before God; and desire his direction for the king, for the great council, and for the people, in all difficult matters, both in war and in peace, whether belonging to religion or to civil government.

*Upon his heart before the Lord.*] He was never to appear in the holy place without this breast-plate, with the names of all the children of Israel upon it. Many learned men have taken notice of that passage in Ælian, (lib. xiv. Var. Hist. cap. 34.) where he relates how the Egyptian priests had an image made of sapphire stone about their neck (which was called Ἀλήθεια, *i. e. truth*), when they sat in judgment. And Diodorus Siculus saith, (lib. i. cap. 75.) that it consisted of more precious stones than one; from whence some have imagined that Moses took his pattern of this breast-plate. But as they did not wear this badge of authority, when they ministered about sacred things, but in their civil courts where they sat as judges; so there is no reason to think this ornament of theirs was so old as the time of Moses (there being no mention of it in Hero-

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dotus), but was rather a later invention, unto which other countries were not strangers. For the vestal virgins among the Romans, at least she that was called Maxima, wore an ornament upon her breast made of precious stones, as a statue digged up at Rome, in the beginning of the last century, seems to represent it, (see Lipsius, cap. ult. de Vesta et Vestal.) And Gutherius hath proved that these vestal virgins sat in judgment, and tried causes, as the Pontifex Maximus did; and then, it is likely, and not at other times, wore this *antepectorale*. There is more ground also to say, that the Egyptians took their pattern from the Jews, than that these took it from the Egyptians; there being in the time of Solomon a great correspondence between them, by his marriage with Pharaoh's daughter.

*Continually.*] Whensoever he appeared before the Lord to inquire of him. The greatest difficulty is, how the Lord answered by *urim* and *thummim?* Which the Jews generally think was by the shining of the stones, and the prominence of such letters in them, as made the answer. If they had left out the latter part of this resolution (about the prominence of the letters) what they say would have been more likely: especially since Josephus only mentions their extraordinary splendour; telling us, for instance, that when the high-priest inquired, whether they should go to war or not? if God approved of it, there was such a refulgent brightness in the stones, ὡς τῷ πλήθει παντὶ γνώριμον εἶναι, τὸ παρεῖναι τὸν Θεὸν εἰς ἐπικουρίαν, *that made all the people know God would be present for their help and succour*. And when God did not approve of their undertaking, he saith there was a cloudiness upon the stones, as there had been for two hundred years (he confesses) before he wrote his history, τοῦ Θεοῦ δυσχεραίνοντος ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τῶν νόμων, *God being angry with them, for the transgression of his laws,* (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 9.) But this alone could not resolve such questions as that Judg. i. 1. "Who shall go up first to fight against the Canaanites?" to which the Lord answered, (ver. 2.) "Judah shall go up." For if this answer was given in the way now mentioned, that stone alone, which had the name of Judah engraven on it, must have had a splendour in it above all the rest. Which if we should suppose, yet an answer could not have been given to all their questions, merely by the refulgency of all, or of any one stone; as if they asked, *Which way they should go against an enemy?* therefore it is more likely, that there was a voice which spake to the high-priest, from the Divine Glory, on the mercy-seat; as we read there was to Moses, when he went into the most holy place to speak with God, (Numb. vii. 89.) Against which I do not see what can be objected; and it seems far more probable than their opinion, who think God inspired the high-priest at that time, when he consulted him, as he did the prophets. For this makes no difference between inquiring by *urim* and *thummim*, and by the prophets, but only this; that God (they say) constantly answered when the high-priest consulted him, which favour he did not always grant the prophets. If there be any truth also in what the Jews say concerning the *bath-col* under the second temple, it seems to me to tell us, that God then directed them, without the *urim* and *thummim*, in the same way as he had formerly done with it. Certain it is, that such a voice often spake to our Saviour, in the audience of his apostles, out of the high and holy place in the heavens; to shew that he was the *prophet like unto Moses*, whom he promised to raise up unto them, (Deut. xviii. 15.)

There are those who have adventured to affirm, that others besides the high-priest might wear the *urim* and *thummim*, to consult the Divine Majesty, particularly their kings. But how weak the grounds of this assertion are, will appear when I come to those places which they allege to justify it. I shall conclude what I have to note about this matter, with one observation more; that this is one of the principal reasons, why the government of this people before they had kings was (as Josephus calls it) *theocracy*, that is, *the empire of God*, because he, by this oracle of *urim* and *thummim*, prescribed how they should proceed in all their public affairs of great moment. And another reason was, because he stirred up judges when he thought it necessary; who, being of his immediate appointment, are so far acknowledged by him, that when they were weary of Samuel's government (who was a judge) and desired a king, God declared it was not Samuel whom they rejected, but himself.

Ver. 31. *And thou shalt make the robe.*] The Hebrew word *mehil*, which we translate *robe*, is by the Latins called *pallium*, and by the LXX. ποδήρη, *a garment coming down to the ancles*. The form of it is intimated in the next verse; and the matter of it is here ordered to be *all of blue*, i. e. *of blue cloth*. Some, indeed, say of silk: but it is certain *thechelet* signifies *wool died of a sky-colour*. (See Braunius, lib. i. de Vest. Sacr. Hebr. cap. 9. n. 1.)

*Robe of the ephod.*] So called, because the *ephod* was put upon it.

Ver. 32. *And there shall be a hole in the top of it.*] From hence the form of it may be gathered, that it was like one of our surplices, or shirts without sleeves: but with two holes on the sides to let their hands through. And it was put on over their heads, it appears by this hole at the top; and so covered their whole body.

*In the midst thereof.*] Not cross-wise, from shoulder to shoulder: but long-wise, from the back to the middle of the breast, as Abarbinel expounds it. Wherein it differed from a surplice, and from the *tunic*, or *coat:* the hole of which at the top was round; whereas this was oblong, as they speak.

*It shall have a binding.*] This was both for handsomeness, and for strength, that it might not be further slit. Josephus mentions the former as a reason for this *binding* or *border*, that there might appear no δυσπρέπεια (as his word is), *no deformity about the priest:* and the text itself in the end of the verse mentions the latter, *that it be not rent*. This binding Abarbinel thinks, on the former account, was on the inside, for decorum's sake, that nothing might be seen but the robe.

*Of woven work.*] It was not to be sewed to it, but woven with it of one entire piece; which could not be done without a great deal of art. So Abarbinel; the opening or hole was not to be cut with scissars, and then sewed with a needle; but it was woven with the very garment.

*As it were the hole of an habergeon.*] The ancient *habergeons*, or *corselets*, being made of leather and linen, needed a *limbus* about the neck to keep the part firm and tight. But whether the binding had hooks and eyes (as we call them) like those which are in *corslets*, to fasten the parts together, is uncertain. Abarbinel affirms it, but without any authority.

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*That it be not rent.*] That is, the robe be not rent in putting it on; or by the ephod and breast-plate that were upon it; for that had rendered it contemptible; a rent among us (saith L. Levi Barzelonita) being dishonourable, (Præcept. ciii.)

Ver. 33. *And beneath upon the hem of it.*] Or, upon its skirts. Κατὰ πέζαν, saith Josephus, *towards the bottom, where it touched the feet.*

*Thou shalt make pomegranates.*] So the Hebrew word *rimmonim* undoubtedly signifies, as Maimonides and other learned Jews affirm. Jarchi saith, they were to be of the bigness of a hen's egg.

*Of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the hem thereof.*] Though the robe itself was of one simple colour, yet the skirts of it were very much adorned by variety of colours in the pomegranates; which were made of yarn died *blue, purple,* and *scarlet,* (of these see xxv. 4.) and the LXX. add, of *fine linen.* For so we read they were made, xxxix. 24.

*And bells of gold between them round about.*] The Targum upon Esth. vi. 10. makes the kings of Persia to have worn such kind of garments. For he represents Ahasuerus as saying to Haman, "Go to my wardrobe, and take one of my best purple cloaks, and of the best silk vests, with gems at the four corners of it, and golden bells and pomegranates hanging round about." And no doubt they were intended partly as an ornament to the high-priest, their matter being of gold; but what their form was we are not told. There were round bells in use amongst them, like those which we commonly see upon the collars of our horses' necks: but Maimonides saith, these were of a pyramidal figure, open at the bottom, with clappers in them, like our little hand-bells.

Ver. 34. *A golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the bottom,* &c.] So there was a bell (as the Jews explain it) between every two pomegranates; and a pomegranate between every two bells. But how many of each there were is uncertain; though the Jews commonly say there were seventy-two. Which if it was true, and the pomegranates were of such a bigness as was said before, this robe would have been so wide at the bottom, as to have been cumbersome, especially with so many pomegranates and bells hanging upon it.

Ver. 35. *And it shall be unto Aaron to minister.*] He was never to appear before God without this garment; nor to wear it but when he ministered. The same is said of all the priestly garments, both of his and of his sons', (ver. 3, 4.)

*And his sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the Lord.*] That the people, upon this notice, might fall to their prayers, while he was offering incense; which represented their going up to heaven.

*And when he cometh out.*] That they might then dispose themselves to be dismissed with his blessing.

*That he die not.*] For neglecting to appear before God, in this solemn manner, as he required. For it is the common maxim among the Jews, that when the priests were clothed with their garments, they were held to be priests: when they were not so clothed, they were not priests. That is, if they presumed to minister without this attire, it was an illegal act, and unacceptable to God. (See ver. *ult.*)

Ver. 36. *And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold.*] The Hebrew word *zitz* is translated πέταλον by the LXX. which signifies *a leaf expanded.* And such was this *plate* (as we render it), a thin piece of gold, two fingers broad (as Jarchi tells us), and so long as to reach from one ear to the other; being bound to the forehead with a string, which was tied behind the head; and thence is called a *crown,* (xxxix. 30.) as all things are which compass the forehead. And crowns being anciently made of flowers or leaves, which we call garlands, Josephus saith this crown was adorned with the figures of that flower which the Greeks call κνανὸς, of which there were three rows, (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 8.) And indeed the Hebrew word *zitz* signifies a *flower;* which hath made some think this plate had its name from the flowers which were wrought in it, to make it look more beautiful. (See xxix. 6.)

*And grave upon it like the engravings of a signet.*] Not by cutting the letters deep in the plate, but by making them protuberant, like those which are made by a seal upon wax. (See ver. 22.)

HOLINESS TO THE LORD.] The ancient crowns perhaps had some image or other in them (for in later times Domitian had a golden crown with the effigies of Jupiter and Minerva, as Suetonius tells us), instead of which, God commands his own great name to be engraven on Aaron's crown in these words; which signify, that he was *separated to the service of the Most High.* It is but a frivolous question which the Jews make, whether these words were engraven in one line, or in two, one above another? for there is no reason to make us think they were not in one line as they are here written.

Ver. 37. *And thou shalt put it on a blue lace.*] It hung on a ribbon of blue, by which it was fastened upon the mitre, as it follows in the next words. The Talmudists fancy there were *three* ribbons, one at each ear, and one in the middle, which is this here mentioned. But this one was sufficient for the purpose, as will appear when the next words are rightly understood.

*That it may be upon the mitre.*] There was an order before for making a *mitre,* among other vestments: but we have not been told hitherto of what it was made, (which is mentioned below, ver. 39.) nor what was the form of it. The Latins anciently called it *stroppus,* which is the same with the Greek στρόφιον; being a fillet wound about the head of their priests, as Festus tells us. Prudentius calls it *tortam infulam,* because it was made sometimes of three or four ribbons or laces wreathed together, (vid. Cuperus in his Apotheosis Homeri, p. 138.) The ancient Greeks call it *tiara,* and *cidaris,* and sometimes *diadema,* which was commonly made of *byssus,* or fine linen, as appears even from the story of Alexander the Great, who (as Justin tells us) took his diadem from his head to bind up the wounds of Lysimachus; (lib. xv.) which shews that it was made of fine linen, which was proper for that purpose.

They were of divers colours, but commonly white: and such were the diadems of kings, which Ammianus calls *fasciolam candidam, regiæ majestatis insigne,* (lib. xii.) Such was the mitre of the high-priest (ver. 39.) and the bonnets of the lower priests. The former of which they called *mitznephet,* and the other *migbaoth.* They did not differ at all in their matter, but only in their form. Both consisted of sixteen ells of fine linen, as the Hebrew doctors agree;



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but do not tell us of what breadth: which might be wrapped round several times about, into what form they pleased. And the *migbaoth*, or *bonnets*, they all say came lower down upon the forehead than the mitre, and rose up higher, like a hillock. But the *mitznephet* did not cover the forehead at all, and was flatter than the bonnets, but much broader, consisting of more folds round, like the turbans which are now worn in the east, or like a half sphere.

Now some understand these words, *that it may be upon the mitre*, as if the golden plate was bound upon the mitre, which is contrary to what follows, (ver. 38.) *it shall be upon Aaron's forehead.* This therefore must be understood of the lace or ribbon, which was to come down over the mitre, to fasten the golden plate which depended upon it. For being put through a little hole in the middle of the plate, it went over the mitre; and each end of it being put into the holes of the plate which were at each ear, it was brought up again and tied over the mitre. Thus we must interpret it, if there was but one string to fasten it. It cannot be denied, indeed, that sometimes more than one thing of a kind is intended where the Scripture speaks in the singular number, (as in viii. 21. x. 4, &c.) and therefore we may conceive, as I said before, that there were three ribbons, one at each end, and another in the middle, by which it hung upon the forehead; whereby they might more easily be fastened at the top of the mitre.

*Upon the fore-front of the mitre it shall be.*] That is, the golden plate shall be in the fore-front of it. By which it appears that the Hebrew doctors rightly described it, as reaching before from ear to ear; but no part of it behind. That is, it was a half-circle, not a whole, encompassing only the fore-part of the head, not like other crowns that encompass it round.

Ver. 38. *And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead.*] The mitre, as I said before, did not come down low (as the bonnets did), but only covered the crown and the upper part of the head, the whole forehead being left bare, that there might be space enough for this plate of gold to lie upon it, and for his phylacteries, as the Jews will have it, which were next to the mitre, and then the crown, a little above the eyes. But some of them think the high-priest wore no phylacteries, having no need of them, when he was clothed with so many holy garments. But, not to trouble ourselves with that, it appears by these words that the plate did not lie upon the mitre, but upon the high-priest's forehead.

*That Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things, which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their gifts.*] These words suppose there might be some defects in their sacrifices and gifts, which they consecrated and presented unto God (though they were ignorant of it), which were all pardoned (for that is meant by *bearing*, that is, taking away iniquity) by the intercession of their high-priest, when he appeared before God with this crown upon his head, that is, thus perfectly and completely attired. Wherein he represented our great high-priest, Christ Jesus; by whose perfect sanctity and satisfaction all the defects of our sincere services are supplied.

*And it shall be always upon his forehead.*] That is, whensoever he went in to minister in the holy place.

*That he may be accepted before the Lord.*] That the children of Israel and their sacrifices and gifts might be accepted when they presented them to God; which they were not, if the high-priest did not appear before him in this manner on their behalf. The heathens themselves (as Athenæus informs us, lib. xv. cap. 5.) thought prayers and sacrifices then acceptable to their gods, when they offered them with crowns on their heads. And therefore a great many authors tell us, the priests in all countries were crowned when they ministered; nay, the sacrifices themselves, and their altars, and their holy utensils, were crowned; as if all their services had been ineffectual if made without a crown. For they that prepared the beasts for sacrifice, and the musicians, and all that were present, were crowned, as appears out of ancient coins and innumerable ancient writers. (See Cuperus, Apotheos. Hom. p. 70.)

Ver. 39. *And thou shalt embroider the coat of fine linen.*] This co*at* is one of the garments ordered to be made ver. 4. in Hebrew called *ketonah:* from whence both the Greek word χιτὼν, and the Latin *tunica*, seem to be derived. The matter of it was *fine linen*, and therefore it was white. The form of it was not much unlike one of our shirts, with sleeves coming down to the wrists; but made pretty close to the body, and so long as to reach down to the heels. It was the most inward of all the priestly garments, being next to their body. And though it be not mentioned in the description of it, there is no doubt that it had a slit in the neck of it, by which it was put over their head, and then tied to the neck with strings.

*Embroidered.*] The Hebrew word *taschbetz* all agree signifies a work with certain figures woven in it, either of gold or other materials. But what sort of figures is not certain. The famous Salmasius thinks they were round, like to our eyes. Others take them to have been square or cubical. R. Sol. Jarchi saith in general, that it was a work like the *ouches* (as we translate *mischbetzoth)*, in which the precious stones were set. But none, I think, hath made such likely guesses at the figure of them as Jo. Braunius, who takes them to have been nothing else, but *lacus aut fossulas angulares*, &c. such little deep holes, as resemble those that are in one of the stomachs of those animals that chew the cud, called *reticulum*. (See lib. i. de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebræorum, cap. 17.)

*And thou shalt make the mitre of linen.*] See ver. 37. where the mitre is mentioned.

*And thou shalt make the girdle of needle-work.*] It is mentioned before (ver. 4.) under the name of *abanet*, or *abnet*, which, no doubt, signifies a *girdle* or *belt;* yet not like our common girdles, but like that which we call a *sash*, being made of twined linen and worsted of divers colours, as we find xxxix. 29. where blue, and purple, and scarlet, signifies wool, or worsted-yarn of these colours. Such were the girdles of all the priests, which they wore all the year, the high-priest as well as the rest, except upon one day (that of *expiation)*, when he had on a girdle of fine linen only, not mixed with woollen. These girdles were of such a length, that they might go round the body more than once, as Josephus tells us, lib. iii. cap. 8. For, if we may believe him, they were two-and-thirty ells long, and four fingers broad, being hollow within. When they were not in the act of ministration, both ends of them hung down to their very feet, πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν, &c. (as the same Josephus speaks) *for comeliness' sake, that they might ap-*

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*pear more goodly to the beholders:* which agrees to what Moses saith in the next verse, that they (as all the priestly garments, ver. 2.) were made *for glory and beauty.* But when they went about any holy work belonging to their office, they threw them over their left shoulder, that they might not be a hindrance to them. The use of this *girdle* was to gird their *coat* close to them, which they tucked up also in the girdle (when they went about their ministry) to the middle of their legs, that it might not encumber them in their service.

*Of needle-work.*] This was a different sort of word from *taschbetz,* (which we translate *broidered,* ver. 4.) and from *choscheb,* (which we translate *cunning,* ver. 6. 15.) and is here called *rokem;* which signifies the same with *choscheb,* as to the variety of colours and figures in the work: but *choscheb,* as the Hebrew doctors tell us, was done by weaving, and *rokem* with a needle, as we rightly take it. Of the two, *choscheb* was the most artificial, as the word seems to intimate; being wrought on both sides with the same figures, whereas *rokem* was only on one side. This they gather from xxvi. 31. where the veil is ordered to be made of the work called *choscheb,* which it is probable was glorious on both sides, both within and without the most holy place. Josephus saith, this girdle was wrought with flowers of the several colours mentioned xxxix. 29.

Ver. 40. *And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats.*] The coats of all the priests, as well as of the high-priest, were embroidered, as Maimonides expressly affirms. And it seems to be the sense of ver. 4. where he is commanded to make garments not only for Aaron, but for his sons (*i. e.* all the rest of the priests), among which the *broidered coat* may well be thought to belong to them. (See xxxix. 27.)

*And thou shalt make for them girdles.*] The girdles of the inferior priests were the very same with that of the high-priest (as well as their tunics or coats), being to bind their coats to their body.

*And bonnets.*] How these differed from the *mitre* of the high-priest, in their form not in their matter, see ver. 37.

*For glory and for beauty.*] The garments of all the priests were contrived to make them appear in a splendid and comely manner, when they ministered to the glorious majesty of God, being of fine linen, which was worn by the greatest persons, made with great art, especially their coats and girdles, which were finely adorned (as I have shewn in the verses foregoing) with elegant figures and rich colours: for blue, or sky-colour, purple and scarlet, belonged to kings and persons of honour. But the garments of the high-priest were above all the rest most glorious, and designed so to be, (ver. 2.) For besides those common to him with all the priests, which were very costly, he had others far more precious: particularly the ephod and its girdle, the breast-plate set with stones of great value, the robe, and the crown of gold. The two stones also on the shoulders of the ephod, were not only precious in their kind, but for their bigness; being so large, that twelve names were engraven in them, containing six-and-thirty letters. All which considered, Philo had reason to say (L. de Sacerd. Hon.) *it is manifest the law dressed up their priest,* Βασιλέως εἰς σεμνότητα καὶ τιμὴν, *to the venerableness and honour of a king.* For the priesthood in old time was so honourable, that kings themselves discharged it: which is the reason that in Scripture princes and priests have the same name of *cohenim.*

To all which I may add, that they took such care all their garments should be *for glory and beauty,* that when they were foul, they did not wash them, nor repair them when they had any breach in them: but new ones were bought, and the old employed about the lamps in the feast of tabernacles. (See Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 11. p. 142.)

Ver. 41. *And thou shalt put them upon Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him.*] As we read he did, Lev. viii. 6, 7, &c. 13.; and this was part of Aaron's consecration, ver. 3. of this chapter.

*And shalt anoint them.*] He anointed Aaron by pouring the holy oil upon his head; (Lev. viii. 12.) but he anointed his sons only by sprinkling some of it upon their garments (as he did upon his also) with the blood of the sacrifice, (xxix. 21. Lev. viii. 30.)

*And consecrate them.*] By the sacrifice of a ram, called the *ram of consecration,* the blood of which he put *upon the tip of their right ear,* &c. (xxix. 20. Lev. viii. 22, 23, &c.) and by the wave-offering which he put into their hands, that they might wave them before the Lord, xxix. 24. Lev. viii. 27. from whence the phrase for *consecrate* here in this place is in Hebrew *fill their hand.*

*And sanctify them.*] By the foregoing ceremonies. For they were set apart to the Divine service, by putting on their garments, anointing them, and offering the sacrifice of consecration, and by washing them with water, as appears from Lev. viii. 6, 7. 12. where it is said, he anointed Aaron to *sanctify him;* and ver. 30. having sprinkled their garments, it is said *he sanctified Aaron, and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him.*

Ver. 42. *And thou shalt make them linen breeches.*] Though these are mentioned in the last place, yet they were put on the first of all the priest's garments; after them the *coat,* which being girt about with the *girdle,* the *bonnet* was put upon the priest's head. The high-priest, in like manner, having put on his breeches, coat, and girdle (which were common to all priests), was clothed with his *robe,* and next with the *ephod* and *breast-plate,* which were inseparable; and last of all with his *mitre* and the *golden crown.* To which order nature itself directed them; the inward garments being always put on before the outward.

Now as to these *miknese,* which we truly render *breeches,* the matter of them was linen, as we are here informed: and not ordinary *linen,* but that which the Hebrews call *schesch,* which was *fine linen;* and more than that, they were of *twined* (or six-threaded) *linen,* as we read xxxix. 28. They were made with great art, being woven of one piece, and not sewed together, as Maimonides tells us. The form of them was like our *breeches* or *drawers,* which may be the reason why Moses here uses a word of the dual number, because they had two parts, which covered each thigh distinctly.

*To cover their nakedness.*] This was opposed, as Maimonides thinks, to the idolatrous worship of Peor; which, if we may believe him, was so beastly, that it was performed by discovery of their nakedness, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45.)

*From the loins even to the thighs they shall reach.*] They were bound about the loins with strings, which run through



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the top of them, that they might be drawn straiter or looser, as they pleased; and came down the thighs as far as to their knees. There were some breeches anciently which covered the legs also, and came down to the feet, such as sailors use in cold countries: but these did not come down so low, the intention of them being only to cover those parts (as it goes before) which ought not to be exposed. For though they had a coat over their whole body, yet that being loose and wide below, by some accident or other, those parts might have been seen which ought to be secret, if that had not been prevented by these drawers, which so covered the lower parts, that nothing could possibly be seen. For in this they differed from our drawers, that they had no opening, either behind or before. Some think before this time there were no such thing as breeches in use among the Hebrews; nor after this, among any other men but the priests in their ministration. But in latter ages they came in use, as appears from Dan. iii. 21.

Ver. 43. *And they shall be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they come in unto the tabernacle, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place.*] They could not be permitted so much as to appear in the tabernacle, much less to *minister*, especially in the *holy place*, without their *holy vestments*. Which they wore there only, but in no other place: for at home, or abroad, or in the Sanhedrin, and all other places out of the temple, they wore common garments, such as other men did. Insomuch that St. Paul could not distinguish the high-priest, when he sat in the court, by his habit, from other judges, (Acts xxiii. 5.) And accordingly as we read, Ezek. xlii. 14. xliv. 17—19. an express precept for putting off the priests' garments, and laying them up in the chambers appointed for that purpose, when they went out of the court where they ministered. The high-priest, as Maimonides informs us, had a chamber, or vestry, peculiar to himself, where his garments were laid up, when he put them off, as the robes of kings are in their wardrobe. Of this one cannot reasonably doubt, that they, being not only precious, but sacred things, were kept safe in the temple, which was a holy place. And so were the garments of the inferior priests, as we may learn from Ezra and Nehemiah: who, among other things put into the treasury, mention a certain number of priests' garments, (Ezra ii. 69. Nehem. vii. 70.) In their vestries also there were peculiar chests, where every sort of vestment was kept by itself. All the breeches, for instance, which had this inscription, *Miknese*, i. e. *breeches*. In like manner, all the coats and the bonnets had two distinct chests, with this inscription, *Ketonoth* and *Migbaoth:* and so had the rest, as we are told in the Misna Tamid, cap. 5.

But while they were in the temple, they might keep on their holy garments (only not sleep in them there) even at those hours when they did not minister. Which this text seems to suppose, when it saith, they shall be upon them, *when they come into the tabernacle*, as well as *when they come near unto the altar to minister*. Thus the Talmudists: in the temple they might keep on their garments, *whether in the time of their ministration, or out of it*. But this they understand only of their breeches, their coat, and bonnet: for their girdle they were bound to lay aside as soon as they had done ministering.

*That they bear not iniquity and die.*] That God do not punish them with death, for being so profane as to appear before him without their holy garments, which he appointed to preserve his service from contempt.

*It shall be a statute for ever unto him, and his seed after him.*] That is, as long as there shall be any priest of the order of Aaron, they shall appear before God in these garments. But that priesthood being abolished by the true eternal priesthood of Christ, there is no longer any use of them; no more than of the sacrifices those priests offered, which are completed in the sacrifice of Christ. As for the Jewish sense of these words, it is manifest that it hath been long confuted; there having been no priesthood, nor holy garments, nor sacrifices, no, nor temple among them, for above sixteen hundred years. Nay, before the coming of our Saviour, some of the priestly ornaments, and those the chief of all, were gone, *viz.* the *urim* and the *thummim* in the breast-plate; which they generally confess were not in the second temple: and it may be a question, whether they continued to the end of the first. But the truth is, there was the breast-plate and the ephod, and consequently the *urim* and *thummim*, as to its matter and form (though it had lost its use, there being no answers from God given by it), and accordingly all the rest of the priestly garments remained as long as there was any priesthood; which is the full sense of these words, *a statute for ever to him, and his seed after him.*

## CHAP. XXIX.

Ver. 1. *AND this is the thing that thou shalt do unto them to hallow them.*] Having ordered Aaron and his sons to be set apart to attend upon him in his house as his ministers; he now directs how they should be *hallowed* (or made holy), that is, separated to his service in the priest's office.

*To minister unto me in the priest's office.*] This was the design of their separation from other men, as was often said before, (xxviii. 1. 3, 4. 41. 43.)

*Take one young bullock and two rams without blemish.*] There were several things to be done before this, though this was the chief. For they were to be *washed*, and *robed* with their priestly garments, and *anointed;* and then they were completed by peculiar sacrifices, which are directed and described, ver. 10, 11, &c. and put in execution, Lev. viii. 1, 2, &c.

Ver. 2. *And unleavened bread*, &c.] Together with the foregoing sacrifices (which it will appear hereafter were of several sorts), there was a *mincha* to be offered; bread being necessary at a table together with flesh. And this consisted of three parts; *unleavened bread, unleavened cakes tempered with oil*, and *unleavened wafers* (or thin cakes, like to our *pancakes*) *anointed with oil*, before they were put into the pan to be fried. All these were to be made of *wheaten flour:* and the two last were accounted a delicious bread among the Greeks, as Athenæus tells us, lib. iii. Deipnosoph.

Ver. 3. *And thou shalt put them into one basket*, &c.] All these, making but one *meat-offering*, were to be put into one basket, and so brought to the door of the tabernacle, to be presented there to God, together with the bullock and rams, (ver. 23.)

Ver. 4. *And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto*

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*the door of the tabernacle.*] To be presented unto God, together with their sacrifice.

*And shalt wash them with water.*] This was the first thing that was done for *the hallowing* them, (ver. 1.) as we read Lev. viii. 6. and was performed, some think, at the laver, which is directed to be made in the next chapter, (xxx. 18, 19.) where they were to repeat this washing every time they went in to minister unto God. But now, I take it to be more likely, at their first consecration, water was brought from thence to wash them at the door of the tabernacle, before they were permitted to enter into it. Whether their whole bodies were now washed, is not said; but we may probably gather that they were; for they were now looked on as wholly unclean (being *unhallowed*), and therefore were to be washed all over: though, being once cleansed, they needed not do more, when they went to minister, but only wash their hands and their feet; which agrees with our Saviour's words, John xiii. 10. Such washings, every body knows, were in use among the gentiles before they offered sacrifice.

Ver. 5. *And thou shalt take the garments.*] Their bodies being washed, they were, next of all, *robed* with those garments prescribed in the foregoing chapter.

*And put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the ephod, and the ephod,* &c.] The order wherein these garments were put on, according to the Talmudists, was this: first the *breeches* were put on by the priest himself, and that privately; which is the reason, perhaps, they are not here mentioned. They being tied about his loins, Moses put upon him the close *coat,* which came down to his ankles. Then this being bound to him by the *girdle* (which went round several times about him under the arm-holes), he put upon him his *bonnet.* This was the manner of habiting an ordinary priest. But when the high-priest was consecrated, after the *girdle,* beforenamed, was put on the *robe,* with the *ephod* and *breast-plate,* and then his *mitre;* to which was added the *golden-plate,* tied with a blue riband upon his forehead. (See Selden de Succession. ad Pontif. lib. ii. cap. 8.)

Ver. 6. *And put the holy crown upon his head.*] By this *crown* is meant nothing else but the golden-plate, on which was written *holiness to the Lord;* (xxviii. 36.) which is expressly called by the name of a *crown,* xxxix. 30. Lev. viii. 9. being bound upon the forehead with a blue riband like a *diadem.* Josephus seems to call the mitre by the name of a crown, (lib. vi. Halos. cap. 15.) but then he immediately adds, περὶ ἣν χρυσοῦς ἄλλος ἦν στέφανος, &c. *about which there was another golden crown, having holy letters written in it,* &c. (Vide Selden, lib. ii. de Succession. cap. 7.)

Ver. 7. *And thou shalt take the anointing oil.*] The next thing that was done for the consecration of Aaron, was anointing him with that oil which God ordered to be made, xxx. 31, 32, &c.

*And pour it upon his head, and anoint him.*] The Jews seem to think these two distinct things, *pouring oil on his head,* and then *anointing him.* The manner of which they say was thus: the oil being poured upon his head, which ran down to his face, he that anointed him drew with his finger the figure of the Greek letter *chi* (or St. Andrew's cross) upon his forehead between his eyebrows. This was done, Aben Ezra thinks, before his mitre was put upon his head. But that is contrary to the order here set down, which prescribes the putting on all his priestly garments (of which this was one) before the anointing. And he was therefore to be anointed in all his habiliments, because he was anointed to minister unto God; which he could not do without all the holy garments, (xxviii. 43.) particularly this, it being unlawful to appear before God with the head uncovered; as it was also among the gentiles. Other of the Jewish doctors therefore think, that when his head was wrapped about with the mitre, a place was left bare upon his crown for the pouring the oil upon it. Certain it is, that it was so poured on his head, as to run down upon his beard, (Psal. cxxxiii. 2.) And the Jews say, the form of the letter *chi* was drawn upon his forehead to distinguish his anointing from that of their kings; who were anointed in the form of a circle, or crown. (See Selden de Succession. lib. ii. cap. 9.) Where he observes also, that there being no holy oil all the time of the second temple after the captivity, they made high-priests only by putting on their holy garments. Which that they might have complete, they made an imitation of *urim* and *thummim* (though they had not the oracle itself), that none of the eight garments might be wanting. So Maimonides.

The only remaining difficulty is, whether all Aaron's sons were anointed as well as himself. And Mr. Selden, in the place beforenamed, thinks they were at the first, but not in future times: though all Aaron's successors in the high priesthood were consecrated by anointing, as long as the holy oil lasted; that is, to the captivity of Babylon, or, as some say, fifty years before, when it was hid, and no more found. And there is a place in the next chapter which seems to favour this opinion, (xxx. 30.) But as we read of no command for their anointing, as there is here for Aaron's; so, when this command came to be executed, it is said expressly, that Moses poured oil on Aaron's head; but that upon his sons he only put the holy garments, (Lev. viii. 12, 13.) And therefore he is peculiarly called, "the high-priest from among his brethren, upon whose head the anointing oil was poured," (Lev. xxi. 10.) The anointing therefore of his sons, (xxx. 30.) is only meant of that unction which is here mentioned, ver. 21. of this chapter, where a mixture is ordered to be made of the blood of the sacrifice and of their anointing oil, which was ordered to be sprinkled both upon Aaron and his sons, and upon their garments, and was a part of their consecration. For it was done accordingly at that time, as we read Lev. viii. 30. So that Aaron himself had a double unction; one proper to him alone, as high-priest, upon whose head the holy oil was poured; another common to him with his sons, as he was a priest, whose garments were sprinkled with the oil and blood mingled together.

Ver. 8. *And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them.*] The high-priest was first habited, and then his sons, in the order I have described, (ver. 5.)

Ver. 9. *And thou shalt gird them with girdles,* &c.] See ver. 5.

*And the priest's office shall be theirs,* &c.] That is, as long as the holy garments were upon them, the priesthood was upon them: but if they were not upon them, neither was the priesthood upon them. They are the words of Maimonides in Celi Hammickdash, cap. 10. Or the

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meaning may be, they shall enjoy in perpetual succession the office of priests, as their father and his successors the office of high-priests.

*And thou shalt consecrate Aaron and his sons.*] Thus doing, they shall be completely consecrated. For in the Hebrew the phrase is, *shalt fill the hand of Aaron*, &c. which was done after the manner prescribed, ver. 22—24, &c. Which shews that this was the principal part of their consecration: or, at least, the consummation of it. And there was, besides this, a peculiar offering, which both Aaron and his sons are commanded to offer, in the day of their anointing, (Lev. vi. 20, 21.)

Ver. 10. *And thou shalt cause a bullock.*] The *young bullock* he commanded him to take, (ver. 1.)

*To be brought before the tabernacle of the congregation.*] In order to its being offered to God: for in this and in the following verses, the sacrifices are prescribed which were to be made at the consecration of Aaron and his sons; which were there: the first is this here mentioned, which was an *offering for sin*, as appears from ver. 14. For till their sins were expiated, they were not fit to offer any thing to God; much less to offer for the sins of others. The next was a *holocaust*, or whole burnt-offering, as a gift or present, whereby they were recommended to God. And the third was a *peace-offering*; on which they made a feast, and by that were in itiated into God's family.

*And Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the heads of the bullock.*] This was the form in all sacrifices, both *burnt-offerings* (Lev. i. 4.) and *peace-offerings*, (Lev. iii. 2. 8.) by which they devoted the sacrifice to be the Lord's. But in *sin-offerings*, there being a solemn confession of sins made, (Lev. xvi. 21.) he that laid his hands on the beast, seemed thereby to have transferred the guilt from himself unto the sacrifice, desiring it might be accepted for him.

Ver. 11. *And thou shalt kill the bullock before the Lord.*] Though Moses was never consecrated after the manner of Aaron, yet he was made a priest, for this peculiar purpose, by an extraordinary commission from God.

*By the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Where the altar of burnt-offering was placed, at the erection of the tabernacle, (xl. 6. 29.)

Ver. 12. *And thou shalt take of the blood of the bullock, and put it upon the horns of the altar with thy finger.*] Some have fancied that he means *upon the horns of the altar of incense*; because, when a priest offered a sin-offering for himself he was so to do, (Lev. iv. 7.) But it is to be considered, that Aaron and his sons, for whom this sacrifice was offered, were not yet priests, but common men, who, by this sacrifice, were to be made priests: whose blood therefore was to be put upon the *horns of the altar of burnt-offerings*, as is expressly required in other sin-offerings, (Lev. iv. 25. 30.)

*And pour all the blood.*] All the rest of the blood.

*Beside the bottom of the altar.*] This shews he speaks of the altar of burnt-offerings; at the bottom of which there was a trench, into which they poured the blood of the sacrifice, as I shall shew hereafter.

Ver. 13. *And thou shalt take all the fat that covereth the inwards.*] He means that part of the beast which is called the *omentum*, in which all the bowels are wrapped; which in Lev. ix. 19. is simply called *that which covereth*. This hath a great deal of fat upon it, to keep the bowels warm, and was much used in ancient sacrifices, both among the Greeks and Romans, who herein followed the Jews. Nay, the Persians also offered to the gods nothing but the *omentum*, or a part of it, as Bochartus observes out of Strabo. (See Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45.) And from the condition and situation of the *omentum*, the heathen diviners made their conjectures; insomuch, that some think it had the name of *omentum*, because they made their good or bad *omens* from thence.

*And the caul that is above the liver.*] Our interpreters take this for the *diaphragm*, or the *midriff*, upon which the liver hangs. But Bochartus hath demonstrated, I think, that it signifies the greatest lobe of the liver, upon which the bladder of gall lies, (lib. ii. Hierozoic. par. i. cap. 45.) The only argument against it is, that this *jothereth* (as the Hebrews call it) is said here to be *above the liver*, and therefore must signify the *diaphragm*, upon which the liver depends. But the particle *al* signifies *upon*, as well as *above*: and is to be here so translated, *upon* or *by the liver*. And the reason why this *lobe* of the liver was peculiar to the altar, was because of the fat that is upon it.

*And the two kidneys*, &c.] For the same reason the kidneys were appropriated to God: which had one of their names from the fat that is upon them, which Homer (as the same Bochartus there observes) calls ἐπινεφρίδιον.

Ver. 14. *And the flesh of the bullock and his skin*, &c.] The *burnt-offering* being flayed, the skin of it was given to the priest, (Lev. vii. 8.) But in *sin-offerings* the skin was burnt (and the flesh also in some cases), and that also without the camp, not at the altar, (Lev. iv. 11, 12. viii. 17.) The heathen sometimes burnt the skin even of their *holocausts*, as Bochart shews, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 34.

*Shalt thou burn with fire*, &c.] The Hebrew word here for *burn* is quite different from that in the foregoing verse, which is used concerning the burning of *incense*, which soon vanished into smoke, as the *fat* there mentioned did. But the *flesh*, and the *skin*, and the *dung*, were burnt with a stronger fire, and were longer before they were consumed; and therefore burnt *without the camp*, where the ashes were poured out, as a thing abominable.

*It is a sin-offering.*] The priest might eat of any *sin-offering*, whose blood was not brought into the sanctuary; or rather it was his duty so to do, (Lev. x. 17.) because it argued that the people's sin was borne and taken away by the priest. It may seem strange then that Moses (who was in the place of a priest) is ordered to burn all this sin-offering, and not permitted to eat of it; though Aaron and his sons could not, because they were not yet priests. The best reason I have found of it is, that it was to signify the imperfection of the legal dispensation; since the sins of the priests themselves could not be taken away by the priests of the law, or their sacrifices; but were to expect a better sacrifice, or a better high-priest, as Dr. Jackson's words are in his Consecration of the Son of God, cap. 26. n. 2.

Ver. 15. *And thou shalt also take one ram.*] One of the rams mentioned above, (ver. 1.)

*Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram.*] See concerning this, ver. 10.

Ver. 16. *And thou shalt slay the ram.*] Where the bullock was killed, by the door of the tabernacle, (ver. 11.)

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*And thou shalt take his blood, and sprinkle it round about upon the altar.*] It was a different sacrifice from the other, and therefore had different ceremonies belonging to it; some of the blood of the bullock being only put on the horns of the altar, (ver. 12.) How the blood was sprinkled *round about* upon the altar, will be explained Lev. i. 11.

Ver. 17. *And thou shalt cut the ram in pieces.*] That the parts might the more easily be burnt upon the altar.

*And wash the inwards of him,* &c.] Upon which there was a great deal of fat; which being put upon the *pieces,* and the *head,* made them consume the sooner, by nourishing the flame. Thus Homer represents the sacrifice of the Greeks (as Bochart observes), when they offered to Jupiter; *they cut the thighs in pieces, and then covered them over with fat.*

Μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον, κατά τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν.

(Iliad. 2. ver. 423. Vid. Hieroz. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45. p. 472.)

Ver. 18. *And thou shalt burn the whole ram upon the altar: it is a burnt-offering unto the Lord,* &c.] By this it appears, that as the former was a *sin-offering,* so this was a *holocaust,* or *burnt-offering;* which would not be received till their sins were expiated by the foregoing sacrifice. Nothing of which was offered at the altar, but some of the fat only, because (as R. Levi ben Gersom observes) the offerers were not yet worthy that God should accept any offering from them.

Ver. 19. *And thou shalt take the other ram.*] Mentioned ver. 1.

*And Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram.*] See ver. 10. This, it will appear afterward, (ver. 28. 32.) was a peace-offering: upon which, being now reconciled to God and received into his favour, they feasted with him at his table.

Ver. 20. *Then shalt thou kill the ram.*] Where the bullock was killed, which was first offered ver. 11.

*And take of his blood.*] Which was received in a bason.

*And put it upon the tip of the right ear of Aaron and his sons,* &c.] This being peculiarly called *the ram of consecration,* ver. 22. 31. the blood of it was not put upon the horns of the altar, (as in the first sacrifice, ver. 12.) nor merely sprinkled round about the altar, (as in the second, ver. 16.) but put upon Aaron and his sons. And first upon the *tip of their ears,* to signify that they should hearken to the Divine prescriptions; and then upon their thumbs and great toes (in which lie the strength of the hands and feet), to denote their ready and strenuous performance of every thing required of them. And being put upon the tip of their *right ear,* and the thumb of their *right hand,* and the great toe of their *right foot,* it may well be thought to signify the most exact and perfect obedience: the right hand being every where represented as the most excellent and strongest to do any execution. To this purpose Abarbinel discourses on this place, whose words are these: "All this tended to make the priest understand, that he ought to apply himself diligently to the study of the law; and to employ his hands with the same diligence in his sacred ministry; and to walk in the way of God's precepts," &c. Some of the Jews consider these things so scrupulously, as to say the priests might not use their left hand in their ministry, no more than minister with unwashen hands.

*And sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about.*] *i. e.* The remainder of the blood. It is no improbable conjecture of Fortunatus Scacchus, that from hence the heathens learnt their *taurobolia* and *criobolia:* which in process of time they disguised with infernal rites and ceremonies. For a deep hole being made in the ground, the priest to be consecrated was put into it; and then planks being laid over it, with a great many holes in them, the bullock or the ram was slain over them, and their blood running down into the hole, the priest received it on his eyes, his ears, his nose, his mouth; nay, he besmeared his body with it. And this was accounted the highest consecration of a priest; the virtue of which lasted twenty years before it was renewed: and he that was thus consecrated, was had in the greatest honour and veneration. Thus filthily did the devil pervert the most simple and cleanest rites which Moses prescribed, of putting a little blood, with a fragrant oil, on the tip of one of their ears, thumbs, and toes. (Myrothec. ii. Sacr. Elæochrysm. cap. 77.)

Ver. 21. *And thou shalt take of the blood that is upon the altar.*] Some of that which was sprinkled (as the foregoing verse directs) round about the altar. Or, perhaps some of the blood was left in the bason, upon the altar, for that use.

*And of the anointing oil.*] Which is afterward ordered to be made, (xxx. 23, &c.)

*And sprinkle it upon Aaron and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments of his sons with him.*] By which sprinkling, both they and their garments were separated to a holy use, as it follows in the next words, *and he shall be hallowed and his garments,* &c. (see upon ver. 7.) This may be looked upon as a lively representation of our purification by the blood of Jesus Christ, and by his Holy Spirit.

Ver. 22. *And thou shalt take of the ram the fat.*] All the fat in general was to be the Lord's, (Lev. iii. 3.)

*The rump.*] Here he seems to reckon up the particulars. And the rump of a sheep was the principal in those eastern countries, where their tails are of a prodigious bigness, and exceeding fat, as Bochartus observes, par. i. Hieroz. lib. ii. cap. 45. and Job Ludolphus in his Histor. Ethiop. lib. i. cap. 10. n. 16. and in his Comment. in Histor. lib. i. cap. 10. n. 76.

*And that covereth the inwards,* &c.] See ver. 13. where these and the following words are explained.

*And the right shoulder.*] In peace-offerings this belonged to the priest, (Lev. vii. 32.) and so it is here ordained, (ver. 27, 28.) But now it was to be burnt upon the altar, (ver. 25.) because they were not yet priests, as the following words tell us, which give the reason why this shoulder was burnt.

*For it is a ram of consecration.*] Whereby they were consecrated, and made priests, but not yet completed, and therefore could not eat of that shoulder.

Ver. 23. *And one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled bread,* &c.] Of that bread and those cakes mentioned ver. 2. of this chapter.

*That is before the Lord.*] Which had been presented unto God, (ver. 3.) for this by the law was to accompany their other sacrifices, (Numb. xv. 4.)

Ver. 24. *And thou shalt put all.*] Both bread, and cakes, and fat, and right shoulder, beforementioned.

*In the hands of Aaron, and in the hands of his sons.*]

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Thence this sacrifice was called *milluim*, that is, *filling of the hands;* which we translate *consecration*. And their hands were thus filled, to shew that Aaron and his sons did not usurp this dignity, or take it upon themselves (as we speak), but were called unto it by God, who ordered these things to be put into their hands, that they might present them to him. R. Solomon will have this ram called *the ram of fillings* or *impletions;* because by this sacrifice they were completed, and absolutely made priests; nothing remaining to be done after this.

*And shall wave them.*] When such holy things were put into the hands of the offerers by the priest, then the priest put his hands under theirs, and they were lifted up, and then waved about on all sides.

*For a wave-offering.*] The Hebrew word *tenuphah* signifies *agitation*, or shaking to and fro; which, Abarbinel saith, was performed upward and downright, and then round about to all quarters of the world, to signify that *the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;* or rather, that he is the the *possessor of heaven and of earth*. Others of them speak to the same purpose.

*Before the Lord.*] Standing with their faces towards the sanctuary.

Ver. 25. *And thou shalt receive them from their hands,* &c.] After they had waved them, they delivered them into the hands of Moses; who, as the priest at this time, laid them upon the altar, and burnt them.

*For a burnt-offering.*] It is certain this was not a whole burnt-offering, but a peace-offering, as appears from ver. 28, 31, 32. yet some of it being burnt on the altar, that part is called a burnt-offering.

*It is an offering made by fire.*] So the burnt-offerings are called, Lev. i. 9. 13, &c. but this was so only in part, as I said, not in the whole; and may be interpreted by Lev. iii. 5. where all that was to be burnt of the peace-offerings, is commanded to be *burnt upon the burnt-sacrifice*, and in that regard might be called a *burnt-offering*. (See ver. 27.)

Ver. 26. *And thou shalt take the breast of the ram of Aaron's consecration.*] Of the consecration of him and of his sons.

*And wave it for a wave-offering before the Lord; and it shall be thy part.*] Being a peace-offering, the priest who offered the sacrifice was to have his share of it: and therefore the breast is here given to Moses, after he had acknowledged it to be God's by waving it about, and that he had it only as his minister.

Ver. 27. *And thou shalt sanctify the breast of the wave-offering, and the shoulder of the heave-offering.*] Upon this occasion, he makes a general law, to be always observed hereafter; that though, in this peculiar case, the *right shoulder* of this sacrifice was burnt (being for Aaron's consecration) and called a *burnt-offering*, (ver. 25.) yet, in all future times, both the breast and this shoulder should belong unto the priest. Therefore the word *sanctify* here signifies, as much as declare them to be sanctified, or set apart for the priest's use: as they were again by an express law, (Lev. vii. 31—34.)

*Which is waved, and which is heaved up.*] There is no difference, that I can find, between *terumah*, which we translate *heave-offering*, and *tenuphah*, which we translate *wave-offering;* but the former was only lifted up and so waved, and the other was waved all manner of ways, up and down, east, west, north, and south; to signify that He to whom it was offered was Lord of the whole world, and all that therein is.

Ver. 28. *And it shall be Aaron's and his sons' by a statute for ever.*] So it is called Lev. vii. 34. and it is again repeated for greater confirmation, Deut. xviii. 3.

*For it is a heave-offering.*] It is consecrated to God, to whom it belongs; and he bestows it upon his ministers.

*And it shall be a heave-offering of the sacrifice of their peace-offerings,* &c.] And it shall always in future times be presented unto God as his part of the peace-offerings; who constitutes the priests to eat it in his stead. As the former ram was a *burnt-offering*, so this, it is plain, was a *peace-offering*, in token that now they were in a state of perfect friendship with God. Which was procured by their sin-offering, (ver. 14.) which was offered first; whereby their *present* to God (ver. 18.) was made acceptable, as now their *persons* were declared by this sacrifice of peace-offering.

Ver. 29. *And the holy garments of Aaron shall be his son's after him, to be anointed therein,* &c.] Upon this occasion, also, God makes another general law, that all the successors of Aaron in the high priesthood, should be set apart to that office, in such garments, and by such an unction, and such sacrifices, as he was consecrated withal. And it appears by Numb. xx. 28. that Aaron's son was invested with the very same garments which Aaron wore: for those which peculiarly belonged to the high-priest, did not decay as the tunic and breeches did, and therefore went from one to another.

Ver. 30. *And that son which is priest in his stead shall put them on seven days.*] This was to be done seven days, one after another, that a sabbath might pass over him. For no man could be a complete high-priest, as the Jews imagine, till a sabbath had gone over his head. But the principal intention of this was, that he might be made a priest with great solemnity and deliberation; and put on his habit so often, that he might learn how to appear in them after a decent, or rather magnificent manner, before he undertook to minister. Yet the Jews say, that if he did offer sacrifice before the seven days' end, it was not accounted unlawful; provided he had been anointed, and had put them on once. So Maimonides, who adds, that he was to put them on by day, and not by night. (See Selden de Successionibus, lib. ii. cap. 8.) Where he shews (cap. 9.) this is to be understood of his unction also, which was to be by day, and not by night; and to be repeated seven times. And by the same reason, the sacrifices were also to be repeated; though if he ministered before they were offered, the doctors held it not to be illegitimate; as he shews in the end of that chapter.

*When he cometh into the tabernacle of the congregation, to minister in the holy place.*] At his entrance into the tabernacle he was to put them on for seven days together, before he could go to minister in the sanctuary.

Ver. 31. *And thou shalt take the ram of the consecration.*] That is, all the rest of the flesh which was not burnt on the altar nor given to Moses. Who having had their share, (ver. 22. 26.) the remainder, as the manner was in peace-offerings, belonged to those that brought the sacrifice.

*And seethe his flesh in the holy place.*] At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, as we read expressly, Lev.

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viii. 31. and as it is explained in the next verse, that there they should eat it. Fire was taken from the altar to boil it.

Ver. 32. *And Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram.*] That is, feast with God in his own house, as persons now completely qualified to minister unto him.

*And the bread that is in the basket.*] All the remaining bread and cakes, which were presented unto God, after that which was burnt upon the altar, as his part, (ver. 23, 24, &c.)

*By the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Hence it appears, that this sacrifice had something in it peculiar from other peace-offerings; which might be carried home and eaten there, after God and the priests had had their parts. But this was to be eaten in God's own house, where they were ministers, as a thing more holy: and therefore Aaron and his sons and daughters could not eat of it, as all the family did of other sacrifices of this kind.

Ver. 33. *And they shall eat those things.*] Aaron and his sons alone were to eat them; and nobody else with them.

*Wherewith the atonement was made.*] The atonement was not made by these things, but by the bullock, which was offered in the first place; which made them fit to have their *hands filled* with these things (as the Hebrew phrase is for consecrating, ver. 23, 24.) to complete their sanctification. And therefore the words should be thus translated, *they shall eat those things for whom the atonement* (or expiation) *was made.*

*To consecrate, and to sanctify them.*] Their consecration and sanctification began by the sacrifice for sin; and was completed by this now mentioned.

*But a stranger shall not eat thereof.*] None that are not of the family of Aaron, to whom alone this holy food belonged. Nor were all his domestics allowed to eat of it, though they might eat of other peace-offerings; but only Aaron and his sons: who being consecrated persons, were to eat these things, which had a special holiness in them, being part of the *sacrifice of consecration;* and therefore appertained only to such persons as had been consecrated.

*Because they are holy.*] Had a special holiness, as I said, in them; which made it fit only for such persons to eat them.

Ver. 34. *And if aught of the flesh of the consecrations, or of the bread, remain unto the morning.*] He and his sons being not able to eat it all.

*Then thou shalt burn the remainder with fire.*] This is a further argument, that there was a peculiar holiness in this sacrifice, of which only Aaron and his sons might eat: for if this had been like to the flesh of other peace-offerings, it might, according to the following law, have been kept two days before it was eaten, (Lev. vii. 15, 16, &c.)

*It shall not be eaten.*] Upon the second day.

*Because it is holy.*] Is of more than ordinary sanctity; being offered to make men holy to God: and therefore the greatest care was taken, it should not be in danger to be in the least corrupted.

Ver. 35. *And thus shalt thou do unto Aaron, and unto his sons, according to all things which I have commanded thee.*] This is the sum of what I have to command thee, concerning the consecration of Aaron, and of his sons.

*Seven days shalt thou consecrate them.*] They shall not be made complete priests, in less time than I have appointed. Which no doubt was to make them sensible of the weight of their office.

Ver. 36. *And thou shalt offer every day a bullock for a sin-offering for atonement.*] Lest he should think that only the *ram of consecration* should be offered seven days together, he here expressly directs the *bullock* for a sin-offering should be so often repeated. The reason of it follows, because it was *for atonement.* Which appears by the next words to signify, that it was not only for the atonement of the priest, but of the altar itself, which was, by this sacrifice, made fit for God's service. And that is the reason, perhaps, why he saith, in the plural number, it was for *atonements.* So the Hebrew text.

*And thou shalt cleanse the altar when thou hast made an atonement for it.*] The altar was not capable of any guilt; therefore this word *atonement* is here used improperly, to signify that, by these repeated sacrifices, it was set apart to be a place where expiation should be made. Or simply, this expiation of the altar was no more, but, of a common, making it a sacred place: or, as Fortunatus Scacchus understands it, it was purified by these rites from that defilement it must be supposed to have contracted, by the hands of the workmen that made it: for all vessels, in the sense of the law, were looked upon as made unclean, by the touch of any unclean person. And therefore perhaps the altar was also washed with water, as the priests were; which is here called its *cleansing.*

*And thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it.*] To perfect its sanctification or separation from common use, it was anointed with the holy oil (mentioned in the next chapter), as Aaron and his sons were. For as by the blood of the bullock it was expiated, so by this anointing it was consecrated: which is meant by *sanctifying* it.

Ver. 37. *Seven days thou shalt make an atonement for the altar, and sanctify it.*] Many think that these were not distinct *seven* days from those in which the priests were expiated and consecrated; as the bullock for the cleansing of the altar, was not a distinct bullock from that for the priests: but the same sacrifice served for both. This opinion I shall consider in the conclusion of this book, (xl. 17, 18.) and now only observe, that thus not only the priests among the heathen, but their altars also, were dedicated, by their *taurobolia* and *criobolia,* (which I mentioned ver. 20.) for we find an ancient inscription, wherein one is said to have set up *petram tauroboliatam, an altar consecrated, by besmearing it with the blood of those sacrifices,* as Fortunatus Scacchus interprets it, (Ib. cap. 69.)

*Make an atonement for the altar.*] By the blood of the bullock.

*And sanctify it.*] By anointing it with the holy oil.

*And it shall be an altar most holy.*] The reason why it is so called, is given in the following words; because it was not only thus separated to a holy use, but made those things to be holy which were offered upon it. Which they could not be till it was thus expiated and sanctified. Therefore Fort. Scacchus expounds these words [*an altar most holy*] it shall be *fully and completely consecrated,* by observing all the rites which are here prescribed, for *seven* days together. Till the end of which no sacrifice whatsoever was offered on this altar (because it was not cleansed and sanctified to make them holy and acceptable), but on the *eighth* day, when all was performed that was required on the



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preceding *seven* days, fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt-offering, (Lev. viii. 1. 24.)

*Whatsoever toucheth the altar shall be holy.*] Nothing was acceptable unto God, unless it was offered upon this altar; which sanctified every thing that was laid upon it, according to God's direction. Thus our Saviour seems to explain these words, (Matth. xxiii. 19.) *The altar sanctifieth the gift.* That was the name for all things presented unto God, which were called *korban;* being destined to be offered at his altar.

Ver. 38. *Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar.*] The principal use of the altar was, that there might be a constant sacrifice offered upon it, in acknowledgment of God's sovereign dominion over them. Which could not be done till it was expiated and consecrated: but that being finished, Moses directs here what should be the first sacrifice offered upon it.

*Two lambs.*] These were to be a burnt-offering; which was the most ancient of all other sacrifices, being the same that Abel offered.

*Of the first year.*] See xii. 5.

*Day by day continually.*] There were other occasional sacrifices of various sorts; but these were stated, and so constant, that they were never intermitted. No, not upon festivals, when other sacrifices were added: as upon the sabbath this sacrifice was doubled, (Numb. xxviii. 9, 10.) and upon new moons, and other feasts, several other sacrifices were appointed, as may be seen there, (ver. 11.) and in the rest of that chapter. It appears by Lev. ix. 17. that this daily sacrifice was offered (at least for some time) in the wilderness; but after they began to wander to and fro, for eight-and-thirty years, some think it was omitted. Which was the reason that God renewed this charge in Numb. xxviii. 3, 4. (See Junius and Menochius on that place.)

Ver. 39. *The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning, and the other thou shalt offer at even.*] At what time in the morning and even, is not here plainly prescribed: but the word in the Hebrew for the latter being *between the evenings,* which was about three o'clock in the afternoon; the morning sacrifice also was offered between the rising of the sun and noon, *viz.* at nine o'clock in the forenoon.

Ver. 40. *And with one lamb a tenth-deal of flour.*] Most understand the tenth part of an ephah, which was an omer: (concerning which see xvi. 36.) And so Moses afterward expressly orders by God's command, (Numb. xxviii. 5.)

*Mingled with the fourth part of a hin of oil,* &c.] A hin was the sixth part of an ephah; containing one wine gallon, two pints, and fifteen inches (as Bishop Cumberland computes, in his learned treatise of Scripture Measures). So that the fourth part of it was a quart, and something more than a quarter of a pint.

The principal thing here to be observed is, that this was ordained (as I noted upon the twenty-fifth chapter) to represent God's dwelling among them in the sanctuary; where this daily sacrifice was the constant provision made for his table (as the altar is called), and bread and wine a necessary attendant (as they are at all tables) upon the meat that was set before him.

Ver. 41. *And the other lamb thou shalt offer at even, and shalt do thereunto according to the meat-offering in the morning, and according to the drink-offering thereof.*] The same rites were to be observed in this, that were in the morning sacrifice, without any difference. For as Abarbinel observes, in his preface to the book of Leviticus, the true reason of these two sacrifices was, that all men, who live well, having two meals a day, so many sacrifices (which were his meat) were therefore appointed for the Divine Majesty.

*For a sweet savour.*] See Lev. i. 9.

*An offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] *i. e.* A burnt-offering, as the next verse explains it.

Ver. 42. *This shall be a continual burnt-offering throughout their generations, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] For there the altar of burnt-offerings stood, as we read, xl. 6. 29. Lev. xvii. 6, &c.

*Before the Lord.*] Who dwelt in the most holy place, in the upper end of the tabernacle.

*Where I will meet you.*] Their coming to worship in that place, is called *drawing nigh to God:* accordingly he promises to vouchsafe his gracious presence to them. (See xxv. 22.)

*To speak with thee.*] More especially, he promises to meet Moses there upon occasion; and to declare his mind and will to him, in such cases wherein he should consult him.

Ver. 43. *And there I will meet with the children of Israel.*] That they might not think his meeting with them (beforementioned) was only by revealing his mind to Moses, and so to them (as the last words of the foregoing verse might seem to intimate), he explains his meaning to be, that there he would grant tokens of his special love and favour to them all, when they approached unto him.

*And the tabernacle shall be sanctified with my glory.*] The glorious presence of God, which filled this house, (xl. 35.) was that which sanctified it, or made it a holy place. But some refer this not to the tabernacle, but to Israel (which is just before mentioned, and the word *tabernacle* not in the text), and the truth is, they were made a holy people also, by this glorious presence of God among them, in the tabernacle.

Ver. 44. *And I will sanctify,* &c.] That is, manifest them to be sanctified; or still more completely sanctify them, by the appearance of the Divine Glory in the tabernacle, (Lev. ix. 24.)

*The tabernacle of the congregation.*] In the Hebrew, the name is *ohel moed,* which signifies exactly the *tabernacle of meeting;* so called, not from the people's meeting there (as we seem to take it when we translate it, *tabernacle of the congregation),* but from God's meeting there with them, which is mentioned just before; and in the next chapter, (xxx. 36.) is expressly called *the tabernacle of meeting* (as I think it should be translated), *where I will meet with thee.* Which shews that this was the reason of its name. (See also Numb. xvii. 4. and Mr. Mede, book ii. p. 436.)

Now all the people could not come to attend upon the daily sacrifice, which was offered for them, and so to meet with God here; and yet it was a maxim among them, that *no man's sacrifice was accepted, unless he was present at it:* therefore, there were certain select persons chosen to wait upon God, in the name of all the rest (and there were twenty-four classes of them, as of the priests in David's time), called by the Jews *stationary men;* who never missed, when their course came, to attend on the Divine Majesty at the tabernacle, as the representatives of all their brethren.

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Concerning which see Pet. Cunæus, lib. ii. de Repub. Jud. cap. 10. and our learned Dr. Lightfoot, in his Temple Service, chap. 7. sect. 3.

*I will sanctify both Aaron and his sons, to minister to me in the priest's office.*] He declared them to be sanctified to be his priests, by the appearance of his glory at their first sacrifice after their solemn consecration; and by fire coming from heaven to consume their burnt-offering, (Lev. ix. 23, 24.)

Ver. 45. *And I will dwell among the children of Israel.*] The Chaldee renders it, *I will place my divinity* (*i. e.* the Schechinah) *among them.* In the Hebrew it is, *in the midst of them:* for the tabernacle was situated in the very middle of their camp, while they were in the wilderness, (Numb. ii. 17.)

*And will be their God.*] Bestow special blessings upon them; such as he did not vouchsafe to other people.

Ver. 46. *And they shall know that I am the Lord their God, that brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may dwell among them.*] By his special favour towards them, it was evidently manifested to them, that he brought them out of the slavery of Egypt, to make them a select people unto himself; among whom he settled his habitation, and appeared, by a most glorious symbol of his presence, to be in the midst of them.

*I am the Lord their God.*] How could they doubt of it, when they remembered, in what a wonderful manner he had brought them out of Egypt; and what they had heard him declare from his own mouth at Mount Sinai? (xx. 2.)

## CHAP. XXX.

Ver. 1. *AND thou shalt make an altar to burn incense upon.*] This is commonly called the *golden altar;* upon which sweet incense was as constantly burnt every day, as the morning and evening sacrifice of a lamb (beforementioned, xxix. 38, 39.) was offered at the brazen altar.

*Of shittim-wood shalt thou make it.*] See xxv. 5.

Ver. 2. *A cubit shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, (four-square shall it be.)*] It was a square of not much more than half a yard; because it served only to offer incense upon twice a day, and had no other use.

*And two cubits shall be the height thereof.*] It was as high again as it was broad; that the priest might minister there without stooping.

*The horns thereof shall be of the same.*] At each corner there was a spire, rising out of the same piece with the corner-post. (See xxvii. 2.)

Ver. 3. *And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold,* &c.] The top of it, and the frame on all sides, with the horns, were to be covered with plates of gold, as the table was, (xxv. 24.)

*The top thereof.*] The Vulgar Latin translating the Hebrew word *gag,* by *craticula,* hath led many into a conceit that there was a *grate* upon this altar, as there was upon the other. But as the word for that is quite different (*viz. micbar*), so there is not the least mention here made, of cleansing this altar from the ashes, or of any thing to receive them; and therefore Fortunatus Scacchus ingenuously acknowledges, there was no grate on this altar; but a golden pan, or dish, was set upon the top of it (as we translate it rightly), with coals therein, when incense was to be burnt; and taken away with the coals, when that was done.

*And thou shalt make unto it a crown of gold round about.*] A border of gold which went about the brim or edge of it. (See there, xxv. 24.) This seems to have been made of massy gold, not of shittim-wood, overlaid with gold.

Ver. 4. *And two golden rings shalt thou make to it, under the crown of it.*] The golden crown arose upward above the table, and these rings were fixed below it.

*By the two corners thereof, upon the two sides thereof shalt thou make them.*] On each side of the altar, near the corners of it, were these golden rings annexed; at each of the four corners, one.

*And they shall be for places for the staves to bear it withal.*] This shews the use of the rings.

Ver. 5. *And thou shalt make the staves of shittim-wood, and overlay them with gold.*] Just like the staves for the carriage of the ark and the table, (xxv. 13. 28.)

Ver. 6. *And thou shalt put it before the veil.*] In the midst of the house, between the candlestick and the table; though not just between, but something higher, towards the veil; where it was placed directly before the most holy place.

*That is by the ark of the testimony.*] See xxv. 22.

*Before the mercy-seat.*] Towards which the priest looked when he offered incense; recommending to God the people and their prayers, which they were making without, while he burnt incense within. There is no ground to think that this altar stood in the most holy place, as St. Austin and some others have conceived; for these words are a plain demonstration to the contrary. (See Cunæus, lib. ii. de Repub. Jud. cap. 5.)

*That is over the testimony.*] That is, the ark; which is here simply called the *testimony,* as it is ver. 36. because it was the principal thing in the ark, xl. 20. (See xxv. 22.)

*Where I will meet with thee.*] Though Aaron and his sons might go no farther than the holy place (except only once a year, when Aaron alone went into the most holy) to offer incense, before the mercy-seat; yet Moses had the privilege to consult the Divine Majesty, in the most holy place, where the Divine glory shined, as these words, and xxv. 22. Numb. vii. *ult.* seem to intimate. For since he was admitted into the mount (as P. Cunæus argues, in the place beforementioned) to speak with God face to face, for many days together; it is not unreasonable to think that he was admitted to speak with him, upon occasion, in the most holy place in the tabernacle.

Ver. 7. *And Aaron shall burn thereon sweet incense.*] He did it at first; but afterward his sons in their courses performed this service: as appears from Luke i. 8, 9. where Zacharias, who was not high-priest, offered the incense when it came to his turn, *according to the custom of the priest's office.*

*Sweet incense.*] For it was a compound of several spices, which were very fragrant, as appears by the latter end of this chapter.

*Every morning when he dressed the lamps.*] At the rising of the sun, the priests went in to look after the lamps which they had lighted in the evening before. The dressing of them, as the Hebrews describe it, consisted in cleansing the snuff-dishes, and snuffing those lamps they found burning, and supplying them with new oil; and in putting new



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cotton (as we now speak) and oil into those that were gone out, and lighting them at some of the lamps which still continued burning.

*He shall burn incense upon it.*] The manner of it is described by Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, chap. 9. sect. 5.

Ver. 8. *And when Aaron lighteth the lamps at even.*] See concerning this xxvii. 20.

*He shall burn incense upon it.*] As he did in the morning.

*A perpetual incense.*] In the same sense that the morning and evening sacrifice is called a *continual* burnt-offering, (xxix. 38. 42.) this is called *perpetual* incense, because it was never intermitted twice a day. And one reason why it was thus continually burnt, was, because of the vast number of beasts that were slain, and cut to pieces, and washed and burnt every day at the sanctuary: which would have made it smell like a shambles (as Maimonides speaks), if this sweet odour had not perfumed it, and the garments of the priests who there ministered. Whence, saith he, that speech of our rabbins, *this sweet odour might be smelt as far as Jericho.* Whereby the reverence due to God's house was preserved; which would have been contemptible, if there had been an ill smell constantly in it, as he truly observes, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45.)

*Before the Lord.*] For this altar stood right over against the mercy-seat, (ver. 6.)

*Throughout your generations.*] In all future ages.

Ver. 9. *Ye shall offer no strange incense thereon.*] None but that, which by God's own order is directed to be made, in the latter end of this chapter.

*Nor burnt-sacrifice, nor meat-offering, neither shall ye pour drink-offering thereon.*] There was another altar appointed, without the holy place, for all these: which as they might not be offered any where else, so this altar was appropriated for an offering more grateful than all their burnt-sacrifices, or meat and drink-offerings. So Porphyry seems to have learnt from this place (for he was acquainted with these books): "It is most fit to worship the gods with incense, both because it is more grateful, and also more pure than a hecatomb: for blood doth not at all delight the gods." Accordingly we find in Numb. xvi. 46, 47. that the wrath of God was appeased, when it broke out in a plague upon the people, merely by offering incense, whereby he is said to *make an atonement for them.*

Ver. 10. *And Aaron shall make an atonement upon the horns of it once a year, with the blood of the sin-offering of atonement.*] Only once a year, the blood of that great sin-offering, which was made for the general atonement of the people, was to be put upon the horns of this altar; though no sacrifice might be burnt upon it.

*Once in the year.*] Upon the great day of expiation, which was the tenth day of the seventh month: when the high-priest was first to go with the blood of the sin-offering into the most holy place, and sprinkle it before the mercy-seat; and then come out into the sanctuary, and there put the blood upon the horns of this altar, and sprinkle it upon it also with his finger seven times, as we read Lev. xvi. 18, 19.

*Shall he make atonement upon it.*] The *atonement* mentioned so often in this verse, seems to relate to the altar itself, (as it is explained Lev. xvi. 18.) which was hereby cleansed from the impurities, which it was supposed to have contracted by the sins of those who constantly officiated there.

*It is most holy unto the Lord.*] This may be meant of that solemn expiation, upon the day of atonement; which was the most holy rite in all their religion: for that sacrifice is called by the peculiar name of *the sin-offering of atonement*, or expiation, (Numb. xxix. 11.) Or, it may be expounded of this altar itself; which by this was declared to be separated to the most holy service, in which none should presume to officiate, but they who were thereunto consecrated. Which was the reason of the heavy punishment upon king Uzziah, for attempting that which belonged to the priests only, as we read 2 Chron. xxvi. 18—20.

Ver. 11. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] This is often repeated in this chapter (ver. 17. 22. 34.) and in the next; to shew that God did not deliver all his precepts to Moses in the mount without intermission; but gave him some time to rest, and then spake to him again.

Ver. 12. *When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, after their number.*] This was done twice by God's own order, (Numb. i. and xxvi.) From whence it doth not follow that it could not be done lawfully, without a special command: for there might be reasonable causes, why the rulers of the people might think fit to order them to be numbered, especially in time of war.

The reason why this is here mentioned seems to be, because, besides the offerings made voluntarily (xxv. 2.) every man also paid half a shekel towards the building of the tabernacle, and providing all the furniture of it: for which directions had been given in the foregoing chapters. This appears from xxxviii. 25, 26.

*They shall give every man a ransom for his soul.*] This was a homage, whereby they acknowledged they were God's redeemed ones; and whereby they also preserved their lives, which were in danger if they did not pay it.

*Unto the Lord.*] To be employed about his house.

*That there be no plague among them,* &c.] Which God might have justly inflicted, if they had not made him this acknowledgment, for increasing and multiplying them according to his promise.

Ver. 13. *This shall they give, half a shekel.*] A shekel wanted not much of our half crown. (See Gen. xxiii. 15. and Bishop Cumberland's treatise of Scripture Weights and Measures, chap. iv.)

*After the shekel of the sanctuary.*] There the standard was kept, by which such money was to be examined; as Justinian commanded the weights and measures, whereby all others were to be regulated, to be kept in the great church of every city. For I see no reason to think, that there were two sorts of shekels among the Jews, one sacred, and the other common; but much reason against it: for a *shekel of the sanctuary*, which is the rule of the rest, (Lev. xxvii. 25.) was in value but *twenty gerahs;* which is the same with *aguroth,* (1 Sam. ii. 36.) and is by the LXX. translated ὀβολός.

*A half shekel shall be the offering of the Lord.*] This was a tax, which was continued in following times, for the reparation of the tabernacle, and afterward of the temple, (Matth. xvii. 24.) For Cicero, in his oration *pro Flacco,* speaks of gold, sent every year, in the name of the Jews, out of Italy and all the provinces to Jerusalem; which Mr. Selden thinks was this half shekel, paid for the maintaining

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the public sacrifices, and such-like uses, (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 8.) And he shews, (lib. iv. cap. 5.) out of the Misna, in the title Siklim, and other authorities, that on the first day of the month Adar, men were appointed to sit in every city of Judea to receive this payment. Which is the tribute mentioned by Titus in his oration to the Jews; wherein he puts them in mind how kind he had been to them, in permitting them to take tribute, and to gather gifts for God, δασμολογεῖν τὸ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἀναθήματα συλλέγειν ἐπετρέψαμεν, (Josephus, lib. vi. Halos. cap. 34.)

Ver. 14. *Every one that passeth among them that are numbered, from twenty years old and above, shall give an offering unto the Lord.*] Every man was bound to offer, whether priest or Levite, Israelite or stranger; except women, servants, and such as were under age. Yet, if any one of these did make a voluntary offering, it was accepted: only from a gentile, who was an idolater, they would not accept it, as Maimonides tells us. (See Selden, lib. iii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 4. p. 291.)

Ver. 15. *The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less than half a shekel.*] They were all equally concerned in this tax, being for the support of the daily, weekly, monthly, and annual sacrifices; and for the providing salt, and wood, and the shew-bread, &c. whereby all Israel came to have an interest in whatsoever was done at the house of God all the year long. The priestly garments also were provided out of this money, and other things belonging to the Divine service, and to the reparations of the house of God. See Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 10. n. 2, 3, 4. where he shews, that if any thing remained in the end of the year, after all these charges were defrayed, it was spent in extraordinary burnt-offerings; which were called the *second sacrifices of the altar.*

*When they give an offering unto the Lord, to make an atonement for your souls.*] Whence this money is called in the next verse *keseph hakippurim, the money of expiations.* Which made every man, though never so poor, endeavour to raise it, though he sold his clothes to get it; and he that failed to pay this tribute, was separated from the congregation, and not comprehended in the expiation, (as R. Levi, of Barcelona, speaks, Præcept. cv.) that is, was not partaker of the benefit of the expiatory sacrifices.

Ver. 16. *And thou shalt take the atonement money of the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the service of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] See the verse foregoing, and Nehem. x. 32, 33, where we read of ordinances made, to charge themselves with the *third part of a shekel,* for the forementioned uses; because the expenses were then so great, that half a shekel was not sufficient to maintain them.

*That it may be a memorial for the children of Israel before the Lord, to make an atonement for their souls.*] A testimony of their gratitude to God; who graciously accepted this acknowledgment of him, and spared their lives, which by their sins they had forfeited: this being a propitiation for them, because it purchased propitiatory sacrifices to be offered on their behalf.

Ver. 17. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] See ver. 11.

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt also make a laver of brass.*] There is nothing said, either here or xxxviii. 8, concerning the form or bigness of it. But we may probably think, that though Solomon made a *sea of brass,* much bigger than this vessel (which was to be carried about with them in their travels in the wilderness), yet he made it of the same form; and that was circular, as we read 2 Chron. iv. 2, 3, &c. And after their return from the captivity of Babylon the laver was restored (as L'Empereur observes out of Maimonides, in his Annotations on Codex Middoth, cap. 3. sect. 6.) but there is nothing to be found in the Talmudists concerning its dimensions.

*And his foot also of brass.*] The basis of it was so contrived, as to receive the water which ran out at the laver at certain spouts.

*To wash withal.*] At those spouts the priests washed their hands and their feet, before they entered upon their ministration. For if they had put their hands and feet into the laver, the water in it would have been defiled by the first man that washed therein. And the sea of brass made by Solomon was so high, that they could not put their feet into it.

*And thou shalt put it between the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar.*] It stood, according to the Talmudists, between the porch of the temple and the altar; and consequently, in the tabernacle, at the entrance of it, but a little on the south side, and not just before the altar. That is, it was placed like our fonts, which stand at the lower end of our churches, towards the door. So that the priests coming into the court immediately went to the laver, and there washed, and then ascended to the altar.

*And thou shalt put water therein.*] The heathens were so superstitious, as to think there was a greater virtue in some waters than in others for their lustration: particularly the Greeks (as Fort. Scacchus observes) would admit of no other water, in some of their greatest solemnities, but that from the fountain Callirrhoe. But the Divine institution was more simple, requiring merely spring-water, for all manner of purifications: only this water here mentioned was put into a vessel sanctified by a solemn unction, (xl. 11.)

Ver. 19. *For Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet therein.*] Which, that it might be done more conveniently, the Talmudists tell us there were twelve spouts or cocks, in the form of a woman's breast (whence they call them *paps* or *dugs*), to let the water out of the laver: so that the twelve priests, who attended upon the daily sacrifice, might wash there altogether. See L'Empereur in the place abovenamed, where he treats at large of this, and of the conveyance of water into the laver: which in the tabernacle (at least while they were in the wilderness) was brought thither every day in other vessels, and put into it, according to the direction in the conclusion of the foregoing verse.

Every one knows that the gentiles took great care of washing their hands, before they sacrificed, as appears by many places in Homer (to name no other authors), who, in the first book of his Iliad, speaking of the great sacrifice that was preparing to be offered, for the appeasing of Apollo, saith,

Χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα, καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο.

Upon which words Eustathius observes it as the ancient custom, before they sacrificed, to wash their hands, δεῖ γὰρ καθαροὺς τῶν θείων γίνεσθαι, *for none but those who were*

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*clean and pure might meddle with sacred things.* And again in the third book,

Ἀταὰρ βασιλεῦσιν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν.

*They poured water upon the hands of the kings:* ὡς μέλλουσι θύειν, saith Eustathius, *as being about to sacrifice.* But I do not find in any author, that they were concerned for more than washing their hands (from whence came the proverb of doing things *illotis manibus*, see Erasmus in his Adages), there being no mention of washing their feet: which was an extraordinary degree of purity, which God required in his priests, who ministered in his house barefoot: and so they did among the gentiles also, as appears by that saying of Pythagoras, mentioned by Jamblicus, ἀνυπόδητος ϑύε καὶ προσκύνει, *sacrifice and worship without shoes;* which St. Ambrose thinks was borrowed from Moses, lib. i. Epist. 6. (See Cuperus in his Apotheosis Homeri, p. 185.)

Ver. 20. *When they go into the tabernacle of the congregation, they shall wash with water.*] This washing was not to be repeated before every act of their ministration; but it sufficed for all the service of that day, if they washed once at their entrance upon it. Only on the great day of expiation, before five of the various duties then to be performed, the washing was to be renewed.

*That they die not.*] By the hand of Heaven, as the Jews speak; that is, of God, who punished such profanation, as ministering to him in their uncleanness, with death. And the service performed by such a person, was all without effect; whether he were the high-priest, or a common one, as R. Levi of Barcelona saith, (Præcept. cvi.)

*Or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] Whether they were to go in to minister at the altar of incense in the tabernacle (of which he speaks in the first words of this verse), or to offer sacrifices at the brazen altar in the outward court, they were to wash before they entered upon their service.

Ver. 22. *So they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not.*] There was no need of doing more, being washed once all over before they were consecrated, (xxix. 4.) but their hands and feet were to be washed, upon pain of death, every day, before they ministered.

*And it shall be a statute for ever to them.*] As long as the tabernacle or temple stood.

Ver. 23. *Take thou also unto thee principal spices.*] So we rightly translate the Hebrew word *roschim*, which literally signifies *heads;* but thence, the chief of any kind of thing: the *head* being the principal or chief member of the body.

As for the word *besamin*, which we translate *spices*, it seems to be a general name for all the following species, which are comprehended under it. (See ver. 34.)

*Of pure myrrh.*] The Hebrew word *mor*, according to Maimonides, signifies *musk;* and David Kimchi commends their exposition, who take it for a kind of frankincense: but the general opinion of the Hebrews, as well as of later writers, is, that it signifies *myrrh*, which seems to be derived from the ancient word *mor*. And that being the best which flows from the shrub of itself, Moses is required to make use of such *myrrh*. For the word *deror* (which we translate *pure*, or not adulterated) properly signifies *freely flowing* or *dropping myrrh:* which was far better than that which came out from the tree by incision. The fragrancy of this is taken notice of by a great number of authors; who also mention it as having a principal part in the composition of the most costly ointments, as Fort. Scacchus observes, (lib. i. Myroth. Sacr. Elæochrysm. cap. 51, 52. and lib. ii. cap. 8.)

*Five hundred shekels.*] That is, in weight; which was two hundred and fifty ounces: a *shekel* being as much as half an ounce of our weight.

*Of sweet cinnamon half so much.*] There were two sorts of *cinnamon:* one that doth not smell very much; another which was very aromatic, and rarely to be found (Galen saith, in his time) but in the closet of kings. And therefore God commands Moses here to take not mere *cinnamon*, but with the addition of *bosem*, which signifies *sweet-scented.*

Salmasius in his Plin. Exerc. treats of both these spices.

*And of sweet calamus two hundred and fifty shekels.*] This spice hath also the same addition of *bosem* to it, because there was a *calamus* that was not sweet-scented; and that which was they held very precious, being not of the growth of Judea, but coming from distant places. So we read (Jer. vi. 20.) of "sweet cane from a far country;" and Isaiah intimates in xliii. 24. that it was a foreign commodity of great value: and Salmasius is positive, that there was no aromatic *calamus* grew out of India, (Plin. Exercit. p. 1052.) But Bochartus very well observes that there was no traffic, in all likelihood, with India in the days of Moses: and therefore they had it then from Arabia: where Dionysius Periegetes, together with frankincense and myrrh, mentions (in one and the same verse) εὔοδμος κάλαμος, *sweet-smelling calamus.* (See Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. v. cap. 6.)

Ver. 24. *And of cassia five hundred shekels.*] There is no mention of this spice (which the Hebrews call *kidhah*) but here and in Ezek. xxvii. 19. where it is joined with *calamus*, and reckoned among the precious things which were brought to the marts of Tyre. Therefore, it doth not signify that *cassia* which is now used among purging medicines, but another mentioned by Pliny, together with *cinnamon*, (lib. xii. cap. 19.) There being one sort of it called *isocinamomum*, because it was equal to *cinnamon* in virtue and in value: (see Salmasius in his Plinianæ Exercit. in Solin. p. 1302.) But this sort of *cassia* differing but little from *cinnamon*, Fort. Scacchus thinks, for that very reason, we are here to understand by *kidhah* that aromatic plant which the ancients call *costus:* the best of which was brought out of Arabia, and was of a white colour, as he proves out of Avicenna, Dioscorides, and Pliny. And it appears by Propertius it was used by the ancients to be burnt on their altars, as well as frankincense:

"Costum molle date, et blandi mihi thuris honores."

(Myrothec. Elæochrysm. par. ii. cap. 11, 12.)

*After the shekel of the sanctuary.*] See ver. 13.

*And of oil-olive.*] Which was clear, and free from all dregs. (See xxix. 40.)

*A hin.*] I observed there that it contained a wine-gallon and two pints, and something more.

Ver. 25. *And thou shalt make it.*] From hence, and from those words, (ver. 23.) "take thou unto thee sweet spices," &c. the Hebrew doctors conclude, that Moses made this holy oil with his own hands. Of which there is no cer-

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tainty; much less that none ever adventured to make it after him: nay, it is evident that Bezaleel made it, as well as all other things beforementioned, (xxxvii. 29.)

*An oil of holy ointment.*] To anoint with it all the things mentioned in the next verse; whereby they were sanctified (that is, set apart) for the service of God. It was not thick, like those compositions which we now call ointments, but thin as oil is; being nothing but oil, with an infusion of these strong spices, which made it have a comfortable scent. For it is observed by Dioscorides, that oil was very proper, εἰς τὴν τῶν μύρων κατασκευὴν, *for the preparation of ointments:* odours being better preserved in oil than in any other liquor, as Pliny observes, (lib. xiii. cap. 2.) And this oil, no doubt, was the purest they could get (such as they brought for the light of the tabernacle, xxvii. 20.) which would best imbibe the tincture.

*After the art of the apothecary.*] Or *ointment-maker;* of whose art Theophrastus and Dioscorides give an account. But the manner of making this ointment, as Maimonides describes it, was thus: the spices were beaten severally (he should have excepted the myrrh, which was liquid), and then they were mixed together, and macerated in pure water, till all the virtue of them was extracted. Which being done, the hin of oil was poured upon them, and all was boiled upon the fire till the water was evaporated, and the oil alone remained: (see Guil. Schickkard in his Mischpat hamelek, cap. 1. p. 24.)

*It shall be a holy anointing oil.*] Wherewith none were to be anointed but sacred persons and things.

Ver. 26. *And thou shalt anoint the tabernacle of the congregation therewith,* &c.] This and the following verses shew the use of the holy oil; which was to consecrate or set apart every thing hereafter mentioned, to the service of God, whereby the majesty of God's house (as the Jews speak) was set forth: for anointing belonging only to kings and princes, this ceremony begat in people's minds a greater fear and reverence towards God himself, as Maimonides's words are, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45.)

Ver. 27. *And the table and all his vessels,* &c.] Here being such a particular mention of every thing that was in the sanctuary, he only saith, when it was erected, (xl. 9.) "Thou shalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that is therein," &c.

Ver. 28. *And the altar of burnt-offering,* &c.] In this verse he mentions all that was without the sanctuary, in the court of the Lord's house; of the unction whereof he also gives a particular charge, (xl. 10, 11.) And accordingly when he gives an account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons, he also tells us how he executed these commands of anointing the tabernacle, and all that was in it; but more especially this altar, which he sprinkled seven times with the holy oil, (Lev. viii. 10, 11.) See there.

Ver. 29. *And thou shalt sanctify them.*] Separate all the forenamed things from common uses, to the service of God alone, by anointing them with this holy oil.

*That they may be most holy.*] They were made hereby *most holy,* because, as it here follows, they made other things to be holy.

*Whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy.*] As the gift was made holy by the altar, upon which it was laid. (See xxix. 37.)

Ver. 30. *And thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons,* &c.] (See xxix. 7, 8.)

Ver. 31. *This shall be a holy anointing oil unto me, throughout your generations.*] The Jews understand this, as if it were meant of this individual oil now made by Moses; which lasted till the captivity, or till the time of Josiah. But this seems to be as fabulous as that Josiah hid it so, that it could never be found after his death. For there were so many things to be anointed with it at present, and in future times (all the high-priests being anointed, not with a drop or two, but with such a plentiful effusion of it, that it ran down to their beards, nay, the skirts of their garments, Psal. cxxxiii. and their kings also, when there was any doubt of their title), that this oil could not last so long, much less retain its scent for so many generations, without a miracle, of which there was no need. For though there was near half a hundred weight of the spices, yet there was but five or six quarts of oil; and therefore the ointment could not be more: the odours of these spices being only extracted by infusion, and the substance left behind. And such a quantity as this, one may well suppose, was near spent in the anointing of so many things and persons, as are here mentioned: and therefore it was upon occasion to be made again, as the perfume was, which follows here, ver. 34.

Yet it must be confessed that there hath been a very ancient opinion among the Jews, that *in the second temple there was no holy oil:* for which one can see no reason, but that they did not think it lawful to make this composition, and therefore consecrated their high-priests, only by putting on their robes. How they came to fancy it unlawful doth not appear; but the omission of this unction after their return from their captivity, seemed to foretell that there should be another and better kind of unction, which was by the Holy Ghost; the variety of whose gifts might perhaps be fore-shadowed by these several spices.

*A holy anointing oil unto me.*] There was no rite or ceremony ordained whereby this oil became holy; but it was consecrated by this Divine institution, which appropriated it unto God alone in these words, *unto me.* Which separated it to God's uses and service; and made it unlawful for any body to employ it to other purposes.

Ver. 32. *Upon man's flesh shall it not be poured.*] Here follow two prohibitions, to breed in the people the greater reverence to this holy ointment. The first is this, that it should not be poured *on man's flesh, i. e.* on common men, who were not priests, or were not appointed by God to be anointed with it. It is well known, that in the eastern countries (whom the Greeks and Romans also imitated) men were wont to anoint their heads and faces, and that with very precious ointments, especially at their feasts, and when they would make a splendid appearance: and therefore they are here forbidden to make use of this oil for such uses.

*Neither shall ye make any other like it, after the composition of it.*] This is a second prohibition, not to make any ointment of these spices, for private and common use.

*It is holy.*] It is set apart for my use alone.

*And shall be holy unto you.*] And therefore you shall not employ it to any other.

Ver. 33. *Whosoever compoundeth any like it, or whosoever putteth any of it upon a stranger,* &c.] That is, if any man broke either of the foregoing prohibitions, by making

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the like composition, or putting any of this upon one who was not a priest, he was liable to be cut off from Israel. What that is, see Gen. xvii. 14. The reason of these prohibitions is manifest, as Maimonides excellently discourses, (More Nevochim. par. iii. cap. 45.) which was, that this sweet odour being smelt no where else, men might be more in love with it in the sanctuary: and that none, by being anointed with the like, might fancy themselves better than others, from whence great dissensions and mischiefs might have arose. The same may be said concerning the perfume, (ver. 37, 38.)

Kings, indeed, are said to have been anointed with this very oil; at least Solomon was, (1 Kings i. 39. though we may doubt of David, when he was anointed king of Judah, 2 Sam. ii. 4.) which was, I suppose, by a special direction of the prophets; that the people might look upon them as sacred persons, and special ministers of God, for their good. The Jews also will have it, that he whom they call *the anointed of war*, that is, say the Jews, the priest mentioned Deut. xx. 2. but I should rather think, the general who commanded their forces, in any sudden danger, was anointed also with this oil, that he might be inspired with courage, when he fought as a sacred person. So that they interpret the first words of the foregoing verse [*upon man's flesh shall it not be poured*] in this sense: *None shall be anointed with it but the high-priest, the anointed of war, and the kings of the house of David.* For the kings of Israel were not anointed with it, but with simple balsam, as they also tell us.

Ver. 34. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet spices.*] There are the same words here in the Hebrew, that we had before, (ver. 23.) save only that there he saith, *Take to thee rosamin* (with the addition of *rosch*, principal, or most excellent), and here, *Take to thee samim*, which we translate *sweet spices*. How these two differ, interpreters of all sorts extremely vary: but they both seem to be general words, which contain the following species under them; and *samim* to signify spices of less value than *besamim*. The latter of which denotes such spices as were either liquid or most proper to mix with oil, or other liquid things, to give them a fragrancy, as Fort. Scacchus thinks, who hath discussed these two words with great diligence, in his Elæochrysm. Myroth. par. ii. cap. 7.

*Stacte.*] The Hebrew word signifies something that drops, which some have taken for *balsam*; but the LXX. translate it as we do; and Salmasius hath shewn that it is the liquid part of myrrh (not which flows of itself) which drops from it when it is pressed out by art. (See Plin. Exercit. p. 520.) The same Fort. Scacchus, cap. 8. observes, out of Dioscorides, who calls it προσφάτου σμύρνης τὸ λιπαρὸν, &c. *the most unctious part of fresh myrrh, pressed out with a little water*, (cap. 74.) This was used in the perfumes which the heathen burnt upon the altars, as appears by that of Euripides in Troad. where he mentions,

Σμύρνης αἰθερίας τὸν κάπνόν.

*Onycha.*] The Hebrew word *secheleth* is translated by Jonathan *ceseth*, which the famous Bochartus proves by many arguments to be *ladanum*, which was one of the principal aromatics among the Arabians. The stream of interpreters indeed carry it for *onycha*, but are not agreed what that is: for some take it for the hoof or claw of an animal (as Maimonides), others (as Jarchi) for the root of a plant, which is smooth and transparent as the nail of a man's hand, which the Greeks call *onyx;* but there are others, and more numerous, who take it for the shell of a fish, in the fens of India, that are full of *spikenard*, upon which this fish feeding, it makes the very shell odoriferous. (See Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. v. cap. *ult.*) He observes also, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 1. that there was such a shell-fish in Babylonia, which was nearer to the Jews than the Indians. The Greeks called it *onyx*, from the form of it; and the Hebrews *secheleth*, from its colour, which was black.

*And galbanum.*] That which is sold in our shops is of an offensive smell; but there was another in Syria, in the mount Amanus, which had an excellent scent. And, therefore, to distinguish it from ordinary *galbanum*, there is a word added to it, as the Vulgar Latin takes it, in which it is called *galbanum boni odoris*. For that translation joins the next word (which we translate *sweet spices)* unto *galbanum:* as if he had said, *aromatic galbanum.*

*With pure frankincense.*] It was gathered twice in the year; in the spring and in the autumn: and Pliny tells us, that gathered in the autumn was the purest and whitest; with which the other (that was reddish) was not to be compared, (lib. xii. cap. 14.) Every one knows that this was very much used by the gentiles upon their altars.

*Of each shall there be a like weight.*] This is the common interpretation of the Hebrew words; and I will not trouble the reader with any other. But we have no certain knowledge what weight this was: for I see no authority for what the Hebrew doctors say, that there were seventy pounds of each of these four spices. And they add (which makes all they say of this matter questionable), that there were also several pounds of *cinnamon*, and *cassia*, and *crocus:* in short, of thirteen several spices, which Josephus (lib. vi. Haloseos, cap. 6.) affirms were in this composition. Of which Moses, they say, made in the whole three hundred and sixty-eight pounds; that is, one pound for every day in the year, and three for the day of expiation. And, accordingly, R. Levi Barzelonita saith, the priests made every year as much as would suffice for every day of it; and that the ordinary priests might make it, as well as the high-priest, (Præcept. ci.)

Ver. 35. *And thou shalt make it a perfume.*] Some think the last words of the foregoing verse signify, that each sort of spice was to be pounded, one by one: and then they are all ordered here to be put together.

*A confection after the art of the apothecary.*] Made with great care, and according to this Divine prescription. Thus Plutarch, speaking of the aromatic Μίγμα among the Egyptians, which was burnt morning and evening on their altars, saith it was not put together, ὅπως ἔτυχεν, *on any fashion*, or *as it happened;* ἀλλὰ γράμματα ἱερῶν τοῖς μυρεψοῖς, &c. *but the sacred books were read to those who compounded it*, when it was mixed, (lib. de Isid. et Osiride.)

*Tempered together.*] Both the Chaldee and the LXX. render this *mingled;* just as salt is with any thing upon which it is sprinkled.

*Pure.*] Without any other mixture.

*And holy.*] To be used only in the Divine service. For this was one of the most ancient ways of worshipping God; the word θυσία, *i. e. sacrifice* (as Porphyry saith, lib. ii.)

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being derived ἀπὸ θυμιάσεως: the first men making a fume, by burning parts of trees, and shrubs, and seeds, and fruits. And the sweeter their scent was, the more grateful they fancied the fume was to their gods. So that though at first they contented themselves with simple herbs and plants, and Moses here prescribes only some few spices fetched from foreign countries, yet, in aftertimes, they increased them to a greater number: for that aromatic mixture I mentioned before among the Egyptians, called Κῦφι, was a composition of sixteen things, which Plutarch reckons up in the forenamed book. And Sophocles brings in Clytemnestra (in his Electr. ver. 637.) calling for θύματα πάγκαρπα, *fumes of all sorts of seeds*, to be offered to Apollo, that she might be delivered from her terrors.

Ver. 36. *And thou shalt beat of it very small.*] Reduce it to powder.

*And put it before the testimony.*] Burn it upon the altar of incense, which was placed before the ark, as we read ver. 6. This seems to be the meaning; and not that he should put it in a dish upon the table, ready to be burned: for the table did not stand before the ark of the testimony.

*Where I will meet with thee.*] See xxix. 42.

*It shall be unto you most holy.*] Employed only in the worship of God, before the most holy place.

Ver. 37. *And as for the perfume which thou shalt make*, &c.] Or rather, *And the perfume which thou shalt make, you shall not make to yourselves according to the composition thereof.* For any private use; which is imported in these words, *to yourselves.*

*It shall be unto thee holy for the Lord.*] Entirely separated to the Divine worship; and therefore not to be touched by any but the priests, and that when they ministered in the sanctuary, before the mercy-seat.

Ver. 38. *Whosoever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto.*] For his own pleasure: (see ver. 33.) R. Levi of Barcelona hath well explained this: no man was to make this composition with the same spices, and the same weight, and with an intention to burn it. So he interprets those words *to smell thereto*; that is, to make a perfume with it by burning it: (Præcept. cxi.) yet if any man (as Maimonides observes) did smell this perfume, but did not make it, he was not guilty of being cut off.

*Shall even be cut off from his people.*] See ver. 33. Their opinion is not improbable, who think by this is meant not only the excision of the transgressor, but of his whole race; none of which should remain to keep up his name in Israel. By which severe threatening, the people were deterred from profaning these holy things.

## CHAP. XXXI.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] After all the foregoing directions from the twenty-fifth chapter unto this (in which, as I said before, xxx. 11. one may well think there was some intermission), the Lord proceeded to give Moses this following information, to encourage him to go about this work.

Ver. 2. *See I have called.*] Be not solicitous where thou shalt find workmen, who have skill enough to make all the things which I have commanded; for I have taken care of that; and pitched upon one who shall be the chief director of the whole business.

*By name.*] Made a particular choice of one man above all others, whom I have designed for this work. It appears by other places, that this phrase (to call him *by name*) gives Bezaleel the pre-eminence above all other artificers. See xxxiii. 12. 17. where he saith the same of Moses; and Isa. xlv. 3. where he saith it of Cyrus.

*Bezaleel the son of Uri.*] See 1 Chron. ii. 18—20. Though he was particularly chosen and fitted for this work, yet there was another joined with him to be his assistant, (ver. 6.) Which two did not do all the work with their own hands (as appears from xxviii. 3. where he speaks of many persons endowed with extraordinary skill), but they were the principal artists, and the chief directors and overseers of the work. And therefore, after the mention of Aholiab, (ver. 6.) he speaks also of others into whose hearts he had put wisdom, to do all that he commanded.

*The son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah.*] This Hur is thought by some to have been the husband of Miriam, the sister of Moses: (see xvii. 10.) And then the observation of Abarbinel is not impertinent, that God did the more particularly declare his choice of Bezaleel, and Moses the more punctually remember it, to take away all exceptions from the Israelites; who might have been apt to think that Moses had too much regard to his own kindred, if he had appointed him to be the chief governor of this work, without the special call of God unto it. For thus they might have cavilled (as some of them did afterward, in part)—he makes *himself* king, and Aaron his brother high-priest; and now delivers into the hands of his *nephew* all the oblations and collections that have been made for the tabernacle. For which there could be no colour, after God had solemnly declared it was done by his special order. He adds also (which is not so justifiable) that there was a strife among the Israelites who should undertake this work; for which, though Moses knew the fitness of Bezaleel, yet he durst not mention him, for fear they should think him partial; till God commanded him, saying, Do not regard what the people say, for thou, and they all, shall see that he is chosen by me, and not by *thee*, unto this work; for I will give him extraordinary wisdom, &c.

Ver. 3. *And I have filled him with the spirit of God.*] *i. e.* With an excellent spirit; or with Divine inspiration. Which was but necessary; because the Hebrews being long kept in slavery under the Egyptians, cannot be supposed to have been bred up to the learning of those ingenious arts mentioned in the next verses. For they were acquainted only with the making of bricks, during that heavy servitude; and therefore God instructed several men, particularly Bezaleel, in those arts which they had no master to teach them, and with their natural genius, though never so great, could not attain, especially on a sudden, without inspiration.

*In wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge.*] Here wisdom, understanding, and knowledge, do not signify as they do in other places, particularly in the Proverbs, and in Isaiah xi. 2. (where the Messiah is said to be "filled with the spirit of wisdom and understanding, and the spirit of knowledge,") but skill in the arts of engraving, and setting jewels, and weaving, and needle-work, &c. How *wisdom* differs from *understanding* and from *knowledge*, is not much



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material; they may be many words used only to express their skill in all sorts of arts, that might make them accomplished workmen, as it follows in the latter end of the verse, *to work in all manner of workmanship.* They that would see how the Hebrews distinguish them, may look into Paulus Fagius upon the place, or Buxtorf's Historia Arcc, cap. 2. n. 3.

Ver. 4. *To devise cunning works,* &c.] There are two things required in an excellent artist: good invention, and ability to do what he hath contrived. The first of these seem to be intended in this verse; and the other in the next: together with a dexterity to teach other artificers, who were to be employed under Bezaleel and Aholiab.

Ver. 5. *And in cutting of stone,* &c.] There were no stones employed about the tabernacle; and therefore this must be meant of *cutting* and *setting* the precious stones mentioned chap. xxviii. and in graving on them what God commanded, ver. 11. 21.

*And in carving of timber.*] We do not read in the foregoing chapters of any carved work about the tabernacle; and therefore this word may better be rendered (as it is in the beginning of the verse) *cutting,* rather than *carving* timber. For it signifies, in general, doing all the work of carpenters and joiners.

*To work in all manner of workmanship.*] That was necessary for the making of every thing God had commanded.

Ver. 6. *And I, behold, I have given with him.*] Lest Moses should think one principal contriver and director not to be sufficient, God joins another with him.

*Aholiab, of the tribe of Dan.*] It is observed by R. Bechai, that God chose one out of the lowest tribe (for so they accounted that of Dan), as well as one out of the chief, which was Judah; that Bezaleel, saith he, might not be lifted up with vain conceit; for great and small are equal before God. And he truly observes, that one of the same tribe, of Dan, by the mother's side, was the most skilful person that could be found, for the building of the temple by Solomon, (2 Chron. ii. 14.)

*And in the hearts of all that are wise-hearted, I have put wisdom.*] That is, God endued the minds of all ingenious persons among them with an extraordinary skill; which they never learnt, either by their own study or any master, but had it by an inspiration from above. There were several, no doubt, who had a natural genius to such arts as were necessary in this work; but they could not, by their own industry, have attained such skill as God bestowed on them; at least not so soon, as to go immediately about the building of the tabernacle, and all things belonging to it.

*That they may make all that I have commanded thee.*] Not to imitate the Egyptian contrivances, as some have fancied (for which no such great skill, one would think, was necessary), but to make all exactly according to the model which Moses had seen in the mount, and he described to them; which could not have been done without God's extraordinary assistance.

Ver. 7. *The tabernacle of the congregation, and the ark of the testimony,* &c.] These things are here mentioned, according to the order of nature; which is first to build a house, and then to provide its furniture. And it is observable, that there was but one house, or tabernacle, one ark, and one altar, either for sacrifice or incense, to preserve in their minds the belief of the unity of God; contrary to the gentiles, who had their temples and altars every where, and each family its domestic gods, and particular superstitions.

Ver. 8. *The pure candlestick.*] It is hard to tell why this is particularly called *pure,* unless it be because it was entirely of pure gold, (xxv. 31.) which the table and altar of incense were not; for they were only overlaid with pure gold, (xxv. 24. xxx. 3.) Some have thought that it is called *pure,* because no blood was ever sprinkled upon it, as there was on the altar of incense; but this is not a good reason, for we do not find there was any sprinkled on the table.

Ver. 9. *The altar of burnt-offering,* &c.] Concerning this and the *laver* he had received orders, xxvii. 1. xxx. 17.

Ver. 10. *And the clothes of service.*] Wherewith the *ark,* and the *table,* and the *candlestick,* and the *golden altar* were covered (Numb. iv. 6, 7. 9. 11, &c.) when the camp removed.

*The holy garments for Aaron,* &c.] Which are ordered chap. xxviii.

Ver. 11. *And the anointing oil and sweet incense,* &c.] These were ordered in the foregoing chapter, ver. 23. 34.

Ver. 12. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] After he had delivered him all the foregoing orders, about the tabernacle, its furniture, and the workmen to be employed in making them; he added what follows.

Ver. 13. *Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily my sabbaths shall ye keep.*] This hath been mentioned thrice already (see xvi. 23. xx. 8. xxiii. 12.) but here seems to be repeated again, upon this special occasion, that they might not think this sacred work would warrant them to break the sabbath. On which he bids Moses tell them, they must not do this work no more than any other: for the tabernacle was built for the service of God, which was principally performed upon this day. And he uses a word of the plural number, not to signify any other sabbath but this; which recurring so often as once in seven days, he might well admonish them to keep his sabbaths. And so the apostle plainly speaks, Coloss. ii. 16.

*For it is a sign between me and you.*] This plainly shews he speaks of the weekly sabbath; the observation of which testified to all the world what God they worshipped: as all nations signified, by their rites and ceremonies, what their gods were to whom their services were paid. Now the Israelites stood in a double relation to God; as his creatures, and as those who were redeemed by him from the Egyptian bondage: in both which regards the sabbath was a sign or token between him and them. For by observing one day in seven, after six days' labour, they signified that they worshipped the Creator of the world; who in six days made all things, and then rested: and by observing such a seventh day, (see xvi. 5.) after six days' labour, rather than any other, they signified they owned him to be their deliverer from Egyptian slavery. This is opened excellently by our Mr. Mede, Discourse xv. p. 73, 74.

*Throughout your generations.*] During this polity which God now establishes among you.

*That ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you.*] To be my peculiar people, by observing this solemnity. For it was peculiarly enjoined to them, and to no other nation; and was looked upon as a singular benefit

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conferred on them above all people; as appears by the devout acknowledgment Nehemiah makes of this, among the rest of the Divine favours to them, that *he made known unto them his holy sabbath*, ix. 14. and see Ezek. xx. 11, 12.

Ver. 14. *Ye shall keep the sabbath therefore.*] Since it is such a distinguishing mark, be the more careful to observe it.

*For it is holy unto you.*] This depends upon what was said in the conclusion of the foregoing verse, that hereby they were *sanctified*, or separated to God as a peculiar people; and therefore, in all reason, should look upon this as a *holy* day.

*Every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death.*] If there were credible witnesses of his profanation.

*For whosoever doth any work thereon.*] This was to defile or profane it.

*That soul shall be cut off from among his people.*] God seems to threaten that he himself would shorten his days, if the judges, for want of witnesses, could not punish him. So Eliah ben Moseh (one of those whom the Jews call *Karaites*) most excellently expounds this, and all the rest of the punishments threatened to the violation of this precept, which Mr. Selden hath given us out of a MS. lib. i. de Synedriis, cap. 6. The sense is this, in short: he that violates a negative precept, as they call it, either doth it secretly, which is most frequent, or openly, which happens seldom, unless a man be one of those profligate wretches whom we call apostates. Now him that secretly broke the sabbath, the Scripture threatens with cutting off, *viz.* by the hand of God, according to what is written here in this place. In like manner, incestuous and unlawful conjunctions are threatened, (Lev. xviii. 29.) because they were wont to be committed secretly. But if any man did any work openly on the sabbath, so that there were witnesses of it, he was to be stoned, according to what is said Numb. xv. 35. Though if he did it out of mistake, either secretly or openly, he was only to bring a sacrifice for his error: and if he offended against any of the decrees of the wise men about the sabbath, he was to be beaten. Or if there was no court of judgment in the place (as now, in their present condition), then all such transgressors were left to God to punish them, of whatsoever sort they were.

Ver. 15. *Six days may work be done, but in the seventh is the sabbath of rest, holy to the Lord.*] So it is called also xxxv. 2. and Lev. xxiii. 3. And so the *sabbath* wherein the land rested, is likewise called, Lev. xxv. 4. But the Hebrew words *schabbat schabbaton (sabbath of rest)* properly signify *sabbath above all sabbaths, i. e.* the greatest sabbath; on which a *rest* was to be most punctually observed from all manner of work, which the Jews, as De Dieu notes, call the *weighty sabbath;* as if other days of rest were but light in comparison with this. According to that saying of R. Josee, *great is circumcision, because the weighty sabbath gives place to it;* that is, admits of this work, though the rest on this sabbath be so very great.

*Shall surely be put to death.*] As an idolater, who did not acknowledge the Creator of the world. See before, ver. 14.

Ver. 16. *Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout all their generation, for a perpetual covenant.*] The most literal interpretation of this verse seems to me to be that of Lud. de Dieu, *the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath by making the sabbath a perpetual covenant throughout their generations.* That is, by never suffering it to be interrupted, they made it a perpetual covenant between God and them throughout all ages.

Ver. 17. *It is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever.*] A badge and livery that they were the servants of the Most High, who made the heavens and earth. A mark of their being devoted to him, and continuing in covenant with him, no less than circumcision.

*For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth.*] In memory of which the sabbath was first instituted, "to preserve perpetually and establish that most precious history and doctrine of the creation of the world," as Maimonides speaks, More Nevoch par. iii. cap. 43.

*And on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed.*] Delighted in the contemplation of all his works, which he saw were very good, (Gen. i. 31.) The same Maimonides observes, that the word *jinnaphash* (which we translate *was refreshed*) comes from *nephesh*, which, among other things, signifies the intention of the mind and the will; and therefore the sense of this phrase is, "all the will of God was perfected and brought to a conclusion: his whole good pleasure was absolutely finished on the seventh day," (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 67.)

Ver. 18. *And he gave unto Moses, when he made an end of communing with him upon Mount Sinai.*] When he dismissed him, having said all that is before related during his forty days' stay with him in the mount, he delivered unto him two tables of testimony, to carry down with him to the people.

*Two tables of testimony.*] Wherein God testified to them his mind and will, in the principal things which concerned their duty. (See xvi. 34.)

*Tables of stone.*] That what was written upon them might be more durable. There is no ground to think that these tables were made of some precious stone (as the author of the book Cosri, and other Jews fancy), for the word *eben* in the Hebrew simply signifies any sort of stone, and is wont to have some other joined to it, when precious stones are meant, as in 2 Sam. xii. 30. 1 Kings x. 2. 2 Chron. iii. 6.

*Written with the finger of God.*] *i. e.* By God himself. Just as the heavens, saith Maimonides, are said to be *the work of his fingers*, (Psal. viii. 4.) which he interprets in another place (xxxiii. 6.) "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made." Therefore *written by the finger of God*, is as much, saith he, as by the word; that is, the will and good pleasure of God, (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 66.) In short, this phrase signifies, that God employed neither Moses, nor any other instrument, in this writing, but it was done by his own powerful operation. For all things that we do, being wrought by our hands and our fingers, these words are used to express God's power. (See xxxii. 16.)

This was a thing so notorious in ancient times, and so much believed by those who were not Jews, that many other nations pretended to the like Divine writings, that they might gain the greater authority to their laws. Thus the Brachmans report in their histories, that the book of their law (which they call Caster) was delivered by God to Bremavius, upon a mount in a cloud: and that God gave



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also another book of laws to Brammon in the first age of the world. The Persians say the same of those of Zoroaster; and the Getes of Xamolxis. Nay, the Brachmans have a decalogue like this of Moses, and accurate interpretations of it, in which they say there is this prophecy, That one day there shall be one law alone throughout the world. This evidently shews how well the world was anciently acquainted with these books of Moses, and what a high esteem they had of them. (See Huetius, lib. ii. Alnetan. Quæst. cap. 12. n. 19.)

## CHAP. XXXII.

Ver. 1. *AND when the people.*] Not the whole body of the congregation; but so many of them, that the rest durst not appear to oppose their desires.

*Saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount.*] The Jews fancy that he stayed beyond the time that he had appointed for his return to them. But that is not likely; for he himself was not told how long God would detain him there. (See xxiv. 14.) The meaning therefore is, that he stayed longer than they expected; so that they did not know what to think of it. And having as yet received no directions about the service of God, for which they were called out of Egypt (vii. 16. and other places), they thought it was time to desire Aaron to set about it, in such a way as other people served their gods.

*The people gathered themselves together unto Aaron.*] They applied themselves to him, as being left by Moses, to be the chief director and governor of affairs, together with Hur, during his absence, (xxiv. 14.) And according to the computation made concerning the time of his going up into the mount, (see xxiv. 18.) this happened upon the fifteenth of our July; which month the Hebrews call Tamuz.

*And said unto him, Up.*] One cannot think that they spake thus to him at the very first words; but other discourse passed before this: unto which Aaron, in all probability, making some difficulty to consent, and persuading them not to persist in their demand, they would not be denied any longer, but said in a seditious manner, *Up*, make no further delay, for we will have what we desire.

*Make us gods.*] Or rather, *make us a god:* for so Nehemiah expresses it in the singular number, ix. 18. and so Elohim is often translated, Gen. xx. 13. xxxv. 7, &c. For their meaning was, make us a sacred symbol or sign, as other nations have, that may represent God in a visible manner to us. So the Jews expound it in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 45. "They said to Aaron, The Egyptians extol their gods, they sing and chaunt before them; for they behold them with their eyes. Make us such gods as theirs are, that we may see them before us." And so R. Jehudah, in the book Cosri, par. i. sect. 97. "They desired a sensible object of Divine worship to be set before them; not with an intention to deny God, who brought them out of Egypt, but that something in the place of God might stand before them, when they declared his wonderful works." Such, no doubt, was their meaning: for they could not be so senseless as to imagine the true God could be made by a man; or that an image could go before them (as it here follows), which may have feet, but cannot walk, as the Psalmist speaks. And therefore Aben Ezra judiciously interprets it, *some corporeal image, in which God may reside.*

*Which shall go before us.*] Conduct us through the wilderness. God himself, in a pillar of cloud and fire, hitherto went before them: but that cloud now covering the mount where Moses was, and not stirring at all from thence, they imagined, perhaps, that Moses being lost, it would no longer lead them as it had done.

*For as for this Moses,* &c.] This doth not seem to be the language of those who had any regard to him.

*We wot not what is become of him.*] They thought, perhaps, that he was consumed in the mount, by the fire which shone from the face of God, as Jonathan paraphrases it. Greg. Nyssen's reflection upon this demand of the people is very natural; that they were like schoolboys, who, in the absence of their master, were carried ἀνοήτοις ὁρμαῖς εἰς ἀταξίαν, *with senseless impetuous motions, into rudeness and disorder,* (p. 183. de Vita Mosis.) For there were many among them who were infected with the Egyptian idolatry, as we learn from Josh. xxiv. 14. Ezek. xx. 7, 8. xxiii. 3. 8. And, therefore, hankering after that way of worship by images, which they had learnt there, they took this opportunity to desire a visible representation of God among them, as the Egyptians had. And so St. Stephen looks upon this as a turning back in their hearts unto Egypt, (Acts vii. 39, &c.)

Ver. 2. *And Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden ear-rings,* &c.] This confirms what I said, that there was some debate about this matter, before they spake those words to him, (ver. 1.) *Up, make us gods,* &c. For it is not credible that Aaron would immediately consent to so foul a fact as this, without the least argument against it. Which is so unlikely, that the Jews have devised this tale: that Hur rebuking them in his presence, the people fell upon him and killed him; which affrighted Aaron into a speedy compliance.

*The golden ear-rings.*] These, it is probable, were some of the jewels which they borrowed of the Egyptians, (xii. 35.) and possibly might have worn superstitiously, as I observed (Gen. xxxv. 5.) they did very anciently. There are those who think Aaron hoped they would not have easily parted with these; and so their design might have been broken.

*From the ears of your wives, of your sons, and your daughters.*] Men wore these ornaments in the eastern countries, as well as women; as we find in the story of the Ishmaelite and Midianite soldiers, (Judg. viii. 24. and Pliny, lib. xi. cap. 31.) "In oriente quidem et viris aurum eo loci," &c. *In the east it is esteemed an ornament for men to wear gold in that place;* speaking of their ears. (See Bochart. Hierozoic. par. i. lib. i. cap. 34.)

Ver. 3. *And all the people.*] All that were engaged in this design; who were so many (as I said ver. 1.) that the rest it is likely durst not oppose it.

*Broke off the golden ear-rings which were in their ears, and brought them to Aaron.*] So zealous is superstition, which prevails over pride and covetousness.

Ver. 4. *And he received them at their hands.*] They seem to have presented them as an offering, towards the making of a representation of God; wherein every one of them might have an interest; and accordingly Aaron accepted them.

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*And fashioned it with a graving tool.*] The Hebrew word *cheret* (which we translate *graving tool*) is used for a writing pen, (Isa. viii. 1.) and for a crisping pin, which women used about their hair, (Isa. iii. 22.) And therefore interpreters take it here for an instrument of engraving. And some think that Aaron made such marks with it in this calf as there were in the Egyptian Apis: which was a cow that had a spot on her right side like a crescent, (as some writers say, though Herodotus saith otherwise, and the marks are variously reported; see Pignorius in his Mensa Isiaca, p. 18, &c.) and a square white spot in the forehead. But others think it more likely, that the calf coming rough out of the mould, Aaron only polished it with a proper tool. For though Apis was in great honour among the Egyptians, yet it was a living cow, and not the image of one, which they had in such veneration. Therefore Mr. Selden (in his Syntagma, i. de Diis Syris, cap. 4.) takes it to be more probable, that this golden calf, or ox, or bullock (for so the Psalmist differently calls it, cvi. 19, 20.) was made in imitation of that golden ox that represented Osiris; which was very famous among the Egyptians: who had a mighty veneration for the river Nile, called in Hebrew *Sichor* (from whence came Syris), and for the dog-star (called Syris likewise), at whose rising that river began to swell; and for the sun (which was principally meant by this name), to whom both the bull at Heliopolis, and the ox at Memphis were consecrated, as Macrobius tells us, lib. i. Saturnal. cap. 21. But though all this be very ingenious, yet the truth of it may be well questioned, as I shall shew presently; when I have noted that this translation, *fashioned it with a graving tool*, is not so agreeable to what here follows, as another which the Hebrew words will as well bear.

*After he had made it a molten calf.*] The words in the Hebrew are, *and he made it*, &c. we translate them *after*, &c. to make this agree with what goes before, according to our translation, *he fashioned it with a graving tool:* which may as literally be translated, *he bound them up in a bag.* For we find the word *jatzar*, which we here translate *fashioned*, to have the signification also of *binding* or *tying up*: and *cheret* in the plural number to signify *a bag*, (2 Kings v. 23.) And thus the prophet Isaiah (as Bochart observes) describes the making of images, (xlvi. 6.) "They lavish gold out of the bag, and they make it a god." Which agrees with what is here said of Aaron—he received the ear-rings, and put them in a bag; and then having made a mould, cast them into it, and made a golden calf. (See ver. 24.)

*A molten calf.*] So he calls it, because it was no bigger than a calf, though the head was like an ox: and therefore, as I observed before, so called by the Psalmist. What moved Aaron to represent God in this figure, is hard to resolve. Most think he imitated the Egyptians, among whom he had long lived: which seems not to me at all likely, since he had seen the judgment that God executed against all their gods, (xii. 12.) Yet so great a man as I. Gerh. Vossius hath taken a great deal of pains to prove, that Joseph was adored by them under the name of Apis and Serapis; and that his symbol was an ox. This he hath laboured to support by many ingenious conjectures. But it is not likely, if he were thus publicly honoured as a god, that a king should arise who *knew not Joseph*, i. e. *had no regard to him*, (Exod. i. 8.) and another succeed him, who endeavoured to ruin all his kindred. The worship of Serapis also was not so ancient, for Herodotus saith not a word of it, nor any body else, till the time of Alexander the Great; and many authors say it was brought into Egypt out of Pontus by Ptolemy: (see Bochartus in his Hierozoic. par. i. p. 338.) And though Apis was more ancient, yet not of such antiquity as Moses, as a very learned person of our own (Dr. Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury) hath shewn in his book of idolatry, chap. vi. part 4, 5, &c. And as for Osiris, both Plutarch and Strabo say he was the same with Apis: which was not then known, as I have said, in Egypt, no more than Typhus or Typhon, whom Philo thinks to be here intended; but was certainly a later invention, and, as Bochartus imagines, represented Moses himself, though very much disguised.

Cuperus, indeed, hath made it probable (in his Harpocrates, p. 83, &c.) that there was a Serapis worshipped in Egypt, before that brought out of Pontus: but whether it be so or no, I do not take it to be at all material, because it is not likely that Aaron would make such a representation of the Divinity as was in use among them, from whose slavery God had lately delivered them. For how could he think the Lord, to whom he proclaimed a feast, would be pleased to be represented by any of those idols, on whom, as I said before, he had executed judgment, at their departure out of Egypt? Or what reason is there to think the Israelites themselves could be inclined to think their God to be like any thing which that people worshipped, who abhorred the sacrifices which the God of Israel required? Their conjecture seems to me far more likely, who think that Aaron, in making this calf, took his pattern from some part of the Schechinah which appeared to him and the elders of Israel (when they ate before God, xxiv. 10.) attended with the angels: some of which, called cherubims, they think appeared with the faces of oxen. But as there is no mention in that place of cherubims, nor of the angels appearing in any shape whatsoever; and Moses expressly saith, the Israelites saw no manner of similitude on the day when the Lord spake to them in Horeb (Deut. iv. 15. and therefore Aaron and the elders, in all probability, saw none afterward), so I think there is no evidence that the heavenly ministers at any time appeared in this shape, till the Schechinah departed from the temple, in the days of Ezekiel. (See xxv. 18. 20.)

After all this considered, Aaron seems to me to have chosen an *ox* to be the symbol of the Divine presence, in hope the people would never be so sottish as to worship it; but only be put in mind by it of the Divine power, which was hereby represented. For an ox's head was anciently an emblem of strength, and horns a common sign of kingly power. So they were among the Phœnicians, (as Pignorius observes in his Mensa Isiaca, p. 15. out of Eusebius's Præpar. Evang. lib. i. cap. *ult.*) and among the Egyptians, (as Diodorus Siculus relates, lib. i.) and among the Romans, as appears by that famous story of Genucius Cipus, (in Val. Maximus, lib. v. cap. 6.) who, when he was prætor, had horns come out of his head on a sudden, as he was going out of the city to the wars; whereupon he was told, "Regem eum fore, si in urbem revertisset;" *that he should be a king, if he returned into the city.* And something like it is related by Julius Capitolinus concerning Clodius Albi-

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nus, at whose birth a cow brought forth a calf with purple horns, which they looked upon as *signum imperii, a token of empire.* Which made the ancient fathers, perhaps, when they spake of this calf or ox of Aaron's, mention only its head. For so doth Tertullian: (lib. adversus Judæos, cap. 1.) "cum processisset eis bubulum caput;" and St. Cyprian, Lactantius, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and others: not because they thought Aaron made only the head; but because this was the principal part whereby God was represented.

*And they said.*] The people cried out aloud.

*These be thy gods, O Israel.*] Or, as Nehemiah expresses it, (ix. 18.) *This is thy God,* &c. the image or symbol of the Divine Majesty: or, as Abulensis interprets it, *his Divine virtue resideth in this golden body.* The plural number is commonly used for the singular, especially when God is spoken of, as I observed before, Gen. xx. 13. xxxv. 7. 2 Sam. vii. 23.

*Which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.*] This shews they looked upon this ox only as a representation of the Almighty Lord their God: for it being but newly made, they could not imagine they were brought by it from the Egyptian slavery, but by his power, which perhaps they fancied now resided in it.

Ver. 5. *And when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it.*] As at the people's request he made it, so he, seeing them receive it with such applause, presently consecrated it; by building an altar, offering sacrifices, and keeping a solemn feast in its honour.

*And Aaron made proclamation.*] Caused it to be publicly proclaimed throughout the host; that every one might have notice of the solemnity.

*And said, To-morrow is a feast.*] Which was a part of worship ordained by his authority.

*To the Lord.*] Not to this ox, but to the Creator of the world, whom they worshipped in this image. Notwithstanding which, this was no better than an idol, (Acts vii. 41.) and they gross idolaters, (Psal. cvi. 19, 20. 1 Cor. x. 7.) Some think, indeed, that Moses being gone, and, as they imagined, either burnt up or famished, they desired this representation of God to go before them, and direct them, as a kind of *teraphim:* but God allowed no such visible sign to be made of his presence with them, which he knew would in a short time have their adoration.

Ver. 6. *And they rose up early on the morrow.*] The next day, which was the sixteenth of our July, they kept their festival. And to shew their devotion, they began betimes in the morning, and seem not to have stayed for Aaron: but, as it follows, offered sacrifices themselves.

*And offered burnt-offerings.*] Which always preceded others. See xviii. 12. xxiv. 5. where I observed, that whole burnt-offerings were entirely consumed on the altar, being wholly God's.

*And brought peace-offerings.*] This intimates that some persons received what they brought; and perhaps they were the young men mentioned xxiv. 5. where I noted also, that of peace-offerings the people that brought them had a share, that they might feast with God; and they invited their friends likewise to feast with them. There is no mention either here, or in the other places, of sin-offerings: whereof the priests had a part, but not the people.

*And the people sat down to eat and to drink.*] Upon the sacrifices of peace-offerings; whereof the people, as I said, had their part: and by partaking of it, had fellowship with the idol, to whom they were offered, as the apostle shews, (1 Cor. x. 20, 21.) Thus the Egyptians kept a Πανδαισία at the feast of Apis; in imitation rather of the Israelites, than otherwise.

It may be fit here to note, that this custom of sacrificing, and also of feasting on the sacrifice, in token of their communion with him to whom the sacrifice was offered, was so very ancient, that it is not easy to believe the observation of St. Chrysostom to be true, that God gave no commandment about sacrifices, till after this sin of worshipping the golden calf: when, seeing their proneness to offer such sacrifices, he thought fit to ordain them himself, and direct them to their right object. Much less is it true, that before this οὐδαμῶς θυσίας ὄνομα, *we do not find any where the name of sacrifice,* (as he speaks Homil. xvii. upon Acts vii.) no, not with the qualification of Grotius, who says (upon Exod. xv. 26.) that there was no law about sacrifices, except that of the Passover, till after they had committed idolatry. For, besides that, there is an order how to make an altar, on which to sacrifice their burnt-offerings, (xx. 24.) which supposes God's intention about them; and the building of an altar, and actual sacrifice upon it, at the sealing of the covenant between God and Israel, xxiv. 4, 5. &c. (which surely was not without God's command) there is a whole chapter in this book about sacrifices at the consecration of Aaron and his sons, before this sin was committed, (chap. xxix.) and particular directions given in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth verses of that chapter, about the daily burnt-offering. I omit what might be said concerning the oblation of sacrifices from the beginning of the world, which it is hard to believe was without a Divine institution. St. Jerome's words therefore are also too large, who saith, in his commentaries upon Ezek. xx. that the Israelites received only the decalogue before this offence of the calf: after which, God gave them *multiplices legis ceremonias, abundance of legal ceremonies.* All that can justly be said in this matter is, that Moses had not yet delivered to them the commands beforementioned, which God had given him; and that they had received but a few commands about sacrifices till after this sin: when the precepts were multiplied, that they might upon all occasions offer sacrifice to God, and not to demons, as they were inclined to do. The daily burnt-offerings were appointed before (as I said) though not delivered to them; and so was the sin-offering for the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and the altar, (xxix. 36, &c.) But the sin-offering for particular persons, and for the whole congregation of Israel, and the great variety of sacrifices, with the manner of them, were not yet prescribed; and perhaps were ordained upon this occasion to preserve them from idolatry; though not merely for that, there being respect in them to the great sacrifice of Christ, especially in that sacrifice upon the day of expiation. But in general, it may be reasonably thought, that if they had not been perverse, they might have been left more at liberty to do these things at pleasure, according to the law of nature; and they might perhaps have been permitted to offer sacrifices every where, as the patriarchs did, though there is no certainty of such speculations.

*And rose up to play.*] So God commanded at their festi-

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vities; and when they offered solemn sacrifices, to rejoice before him, (Deut. xii. 6, 7. xvi. 11.) as David did before the ark, after he had sacrificed oxen and fatlings, (2 Sam. vi. 13—16.) Thus they now expressed their joy, by music, and dancing, and songs, and such-like tokens of mirth, which was wont to be very great upon their feasts. (See ver. 18.) There are those who think, that after they had eaten of the sacrifices to the idol, and drunk liberally, they committed fornication, after the manner of heathen worshippers. Thus Tertullian expounds this phrase, (L. de Jejunio, cap. 6.) "Intellige Scripturæ verecundiam;" *the Scripture modestly expresses their lewd filthiness.* And so this very word which we translate here *play*, is used by Potiphar's wife; (Gen. xxxix. 17.) the Hebrew servant came in, *to mock me, i. e.* to violate my chastity. So that the Israelites did now, as they did afterwards when they worshipped Peor, (Numb. xxv. 1, 2.) And the truth is, these sacrifical feasts were turned among the gentiles into drunkenness and lasciviousness, which are wont to be companions; insomuch, that the ancient Greeks, even Aristotle himself, as Athenæus tells us, (lib. ii.) derived the word μεθύειν, *to be drunk*, from μετὰ τὸ θύειν, *after the sacrifice*, when they were wont to drink very largely. And it is also true, that nothing enticed men to idolatry more than these filthy pleasures, which were a part of that worship. Yet I think it is not credible, that the Israelites, at the very dedication of their idol, when they pretended much religion, fell into such foul practices, which were not at first committed among the heathen. Nor is there any signification of it in this story; but only of their singing and dancing, ver. 18, 19. (accompanied, it is likely, with music) which Philo indeed calls χοροὺς ἀχορεύτους, *unseemly dances;* but that was only, I suppose, because they were in honour of a calf. Nor did the gentiles themselves, as I said, run at first into such excess of riot, as Athenæus observes, (lib. viii. Deipnosoph.) where, in the conclusion of it, he describes all the city full of the noise of pipes, and cymbals, and drums, and the voice of those that sung in a great festival; and thence takes occasion to remember, that the ancients observing what a great inclination people had to pleasure, took care they might enjoy it εὐτάκτως καὶ κοσμίως, *orderly and decently*, by setting apart certain times to entertain them with it. When in the first place they sacrificed to their gods, and then were left to take their ease: that every one believing the gods came to their sacrifices, μετὰ αἰδοῦς τὴν συνουσίαν ποιῆσαι, *might behave themselves at such meetings with modesty and reverence.* For we are ashamed, saith he, to speak or do any thing unseemly before a grave person: and therefore, supposing the gods to be nigh them, τὰς ἑορτὰς κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως διῆγον, *they passed their festival days, in ancient times, decently and soberly.* And so he proceeds to shew how much the world was altered in his time, when nothing but mad revelling was to be seen on such occasions. He observes it also as a sign of the ancient modesty at these feasts, that they did not κατακλίνεσθαι, *lie along*, ἀλλὰ δαίνυνθ' ἑζόμενοι, *but they sat down to eat and drink*, as the Israelites here did.

Ver. 7. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Go, get thee down.*] He had dismissed him before, having done communing with him, (xxxi. 18.) and now sends him away from the mount in some haste, at the end of the forty days mentioned in the twenty-fourth chap. *ult.*

*For thy people, which thou broughtest out of Egypt.*] These words are generally looked upon, as God's abandoning the Israelites, and disowning them to be his people. But then, they would not have been Moses's people neither, but utterly destroyed, (ver. 10.) Therefore the true meaning is explained by St. Stephen, who calls Moses their λυτρωτὴς, *deliverer*, (Acts vii. 35.) because by his hand God redeemed them; and in that regard they became his people.

*Have corrupted themselves.*] He doth not mention Aaron, though he was very angry with him also, (Deut. ix. 20.) because the people were the beginners of the revolt, and he complied with them out of fear.

Ver. 8. *They have turned aside quickly out of the way, which I commanded them.*] It was not much above six weeks since they heard God charge them, in a terrible manner, not to worship any image, (xx. 4.) and they solemnly promised to do whatsoever Moses commanded them from God, (ver. 19.) Immediately after which, this command is in a peculiar manner repeated, (ver. 23.) *Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold.* Which, with all the rest of his judgments, they covenanted also to observe, (xxiv. 3. 8.) And therefore such a speedy revolt, from such obligations, made their crime exceeding heinous.

*They have made them a golden calf.*] For what Aaron did was at their instigation.

*And have worshipped it.*] By kissing it (saith R. Eliezer in his Pirke, cap. 45.) and bowing down to it; and then offering sacrifice to it (as it here follows) and acknowledging it to be their conductor out of the land of Egypt.

Ver. 9. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] He added this further before he went down from the mount.

*I have seen this people.*] Long observed their disposition.

*And behold, it is a stiff-necked people.*] This character of them is repeated, xxxiii. 3. 5. xxxiv. 9. being a metaphor from untamed heifers, who draw their necks and shoulders back when they are put under the yoke. The prophet Isaiah alludes to this, when he saith of this people, (xlviii. 4.) *Thy neck is an iron sinew*, which would not bend. And Jeremiah v. 5. where he saith, the great men *had broken the yoke and burst the bonds.*

Ver. 10. *Now therefore let me alone.*] Do not interpose in their behalf, with thy prayers and deprecations for them.

*That my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them.*] That the just indignation I have conceived against them, may proceed to punish them with utter destruction.

*And I will make of thee a great nation.*] Or, *I will set thee over a great nation;* make thee prince of a mightier nation than they, (as the words are Numb. xiv. 12.) for so the word *asah (to make)* signifies, 1 Sam. xii. 6. where we translate it, *advanced Moses and Aaron.* Which seems to be the meaning here, because Moses urges (ver. 13.) the promise made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as if that would not be made good if the people were all destroyed. Whereas there would have been no danger of that, if God had made a great nation to spring from Moses, who was of their seed.

Ver. 11. *And Moses besought the Lord.*] The Hebrew word *challah*, from whence comes *vaichal* (which we translate *besought*) importing something of sickness and in-

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firmity; denotes that Moses besought the Lord with much earnestness, and great agony of mind.

*His God.*] He hoped he had not lost his interest in God, which the people had justly forfeited.

*And said, Why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people.*] There was great reason for this high displeasure against them, which God threatened, ver. 10. and Moses himself was not only angry, but his anger waxed hot; (ver. 19.) yet he hoped other reasons would move the Divine mercy to moderate his anger; that is, not to punish them so severely as they deserved.

*Which thou hast brought out of the land of Egypt, with great power and with a mighty hand?*] This is one ground of hope, that God would not on a sudden destroy what he had employed so much power to preserve.

Ver. 12. *Wherefore should the Egyptians say, For mischief did he bring them out.*] This is another reason, that the Egyptians might not be led into a misbelief, or confirmed in their infidelity.

*To slay them in the mountains.*] There were many mountains besides Sinai (where they now were) in that desert into which God led them: and they were the most dangerous part of it.

*Turn from thy fierce wrath,* &c.] Let these considerations prevail for a pardon.

Ver. 13. *Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, to whom thou swarest by thine own self,* &c.] This is the great argument of all, the promise made to their forefathers, who were his faithful servants, and this promise confirmed by an oath (often repeated) which he hoped God would faithfully fulfil.

*I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven.*] Gen. xv. 5. xxii. 17. This part of the promise he had fulfilled; which made him hope he would fulfil the other part which here follows.

*And all this land that I have spoken of will I give to your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever.*] Gen. xii. 7. xiii. 15. xv. 7. xxviii. 13.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people.*] He did not change his mind; for there was not a peremptory decree or definitive sentence (as they speak) pronounced against them; but only a signification of what they deserved, (ver. 10.) which, unless it had been for the forenamed reasons, and Moses's intercession, he would have inflicted upon them.

Ver. 15. *And Moses turned.*] From the presence of God, with whom he had been forty days.

*And came down from the mount.*] From the place where he was with God, to that where he left Joshua waiting for his return. (See xxiv. 13.)

*And the two tables of the testimony were in his hand.*] Which God promised to give him, and one would think had readily prepared for him before he went up into the mount, (xxxiv. 12.) and when he was coming down, delivered into his hands, (xxxi. *ult.*) They are called *tables of testimony*, because God declared and testified therein what his mind and will was, as I have often noted.

*The tables were written on both their sides.*] Some fancy that the writing was both on the fore-part and the back-part of them; that so the ten commandments might be read by those who stood either before or behind, when they were set up; being written (according to this conceit) twice over. But they were not made to be set up, but to be reposited in the ark: and therefore the meaning is, they were written on both the leaves (as I may call them) which were to be folded up and shut like a book, when they were laid in the ark.

*On the one side and on the other were they written.*] On the right hand, and on the left. How many were written on the one, and how many on the other, is variously disputed, but cannot certainly be determined.

Ver. 16. *And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven on the tables.*] The tables were made and planned by God himself; as well as the letters written by him, (xxxi. 18.) and no creature employed in either work; much less Moses, who seems to have found them ready prepared for him, when he came into the mount, as I observed before from xxiv. 12.

Ver. 17. *And when Joshua heard the noise of the people, as they shouted.*] Being come to the foot of the mount, they could easily hear the noise which the people made in their festival.

*He said unto Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp.*] Knowing nothing of the occasion, he took it for the noise which soldiers make (called by the Hebrews *teruah*, by the Greeks ἀλάλαγμα) who make a great shout when they give the onset; and much greater when they get the victory.

Ver. 18. *And he said, It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome.*] Being before instructed by God what the people were a doing, (ver. 7.) Moses could easily correct his mistake; assuring him, it was neither *the cry of strength, nor of weakness* (as the words are in the Hebrew), i. e. *of conquerors*, as we rightly translate it, *or of those that are overcome.*

*But the noise of those that sing do I hear.*] Out of merriment in a festival. For thus Apis was brought in solemn pomp to Memphis, the royal city; the children going before in procession, and singing a song of praise to the deity. Which was not the pattern to the Israelites, nor borrowed, perhaps, from them; but the common practice of the world on such occasions, from ancient times, as I observed before out of Athenæus, (ver. 6.) whose words are, ἐγένετο κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν αὐλῶν βόμβος, καὶ κυμβάλων ἦχος, ἔτι δὲ τυμπάνων κτύπος; μετ' ᾠδῆς ἅμα γενόμενος. And this was part of the entertainment in private feasts; as appears by those known words of Homer:

——— δαίνυντ' ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα
Τερπόμενοι, μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο δῖος ἀοιδός.

*They feasted upon excellent cheer, and were very merry; and then the Divine songster sung among them.*

Ver. 19. *And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp.*] Which was at some distance from the mount, (xix. 21. 23. xx. 21. xxiv. 1.)

*That he saw the calf, and the dancing.*] Which began early in the morning, and continued all day: for we may presume it was towards the evening before Moses got to the camp; having spent a considerable part of the day in beseeching God for them.

*And Moses's anger waxed hot.*] The sight of their madness turned the compassion he had for them (ver. 11, 12, &c.) into a kind of rage.

*And he cast the tables out of his hands, and he brake them*

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*beneath the mount.*] He did not do it till now (though he knew their guilt, and no doubt was affected with it before *he came nigh to the camp, and saw the calf, and dancing),* because he would have the people see how he resented their wickedness, and with what indignation it filled him. And now he did it, no doubt, by the same Divine impulse, or heroic motion, which stirred him up to kill the Egyptian. (See ii. 12.) For he is never blamed for this; and therefore did it by a Divine incitement: to shew the Israelites how unworthy they were to be espoused to God (as some have expressed it) by these instruments or deeds, which were most precious tokens of God's love to them. To this effect Abarbinel discourses: "Moses did not leave the tables in the mount where they were delivered to him, when he heard how the people had revolted; but brought them along with him, that he might make all Israel sensible what they had lost, by breaking them before their eyes."

Ver. 20. *And he took the calf, which they had made, and burnt it in the fire.*] Melted it down; so that though the matter remained (*i. e.* the gold), yet the form and external shape of the calf was so destroyed, that it might be said properly enough to be *burnt.* For the Romans (as Bochart observes) called that place where they melted their metal *Ustrina.*

*And ground it to powder.*] Some have pretended to the knowledge of an herb, which will dissolve gold, and reduce it to ashes: but they do not say what it is, or that it was to be found in that wilderness. And if Moses had known, and used this secret, what need was there of his grinding it again, after it was dissolved to ashes? it is most likely, therefore, that this was done with a file, whereby it was grated into dust as small as flour, which is ground in a mill. With such dust some powdered their own hair, and the manes of their horses, (as Bochart observes in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34.) which made them glitter and sparkle when the sun shone upon them.

*And strawed it upon the water.*] Of the brook which descended out of the mount, (xvii. 6. Deut. ix. 21.) By which means the calf was utterly abolished; and demonstrated (as Abarbinel notes) to have no more divinity in it than the dust or water hath.

*And made the children of Israel drink of it.*] He did not constrain them; but having no other water, they could not avoid, when they were thirsty, to drink with this mixture. Which Moses threw into it, not to discover who were guilty of idolatry, as the Jews fancy, who say this was like the water of jealousy, (Numb. v. 27.) which made their bellies swell, or their beards, as some have since fabled, turn yellow, (for it was a general apostacy, ver. 1. 3.) but to make them sensible how vile a thing this idol was; which was gone into their draught, and mixed with their dung and their urine. They that have a desire to see the conceits of the Jews about it, may look into Selden de Diis Syris, Syntag. i. cap. 4. and J. Wagenseil upon Sota, p. 1128.

Ver. 21. *And Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people unto thee?*] It was not sufficient that the idol was destroyed, but he thought fit to call his brother to an account, for his misgovernment in his absence. Who makes a very weak defence, as all commentators observe, to whom I refer the reader. And shall only note, that the best apology he could have made had been this (if it had been true), that he only represented God unto them, as he had represented himself to him and the elders of Israel; when the cherubims, in the form of oxen, made part of the train of the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty. But he says not a word of this; which I suppose therefore is a groundless opinion.

*That thou hast brought so great a sin upon them.*] If they had made or built a house for Divine worship (saith Sepher Cosri in the place abovenamed), according to their own fancies, that they might have offered their sacrifices there, and directed their devotions thither, it would not have seemed to me so grievous a sin: for at this day we make such houses, and have a veneration for them, and promise ourselves the Divine benediction in them, &c. But to make an image was directly against the command of God; and to fancy that he would be present with that which he abhorred, very much aggravated the crime.

Ver. 22. *And Aaron said, Let not the anger of my lord wax hot.*] He beseeches him in a very humble manner to hear him calmly.

*Thou knowest the people.*] He had been long acquainted with their rebellious and obstinate humour: which made them fall a murmuring as soon as ever they were delivered from Pharaoh at the Red Sea, (xv. 24. xvi. 2, &c.)

*That they are set on mischief.*] The words in the Hebrew, *bera hu,* are more emphatical, *they are in wickedness,* or *in idolatry:* like that expression in St. John, 1 Epist. v. 19. *the whole world lieth in wickedness.* Or, as we say in our language, they were *stark naught.*

Ver. 23. *For they said unto me, Make us gods,* &c.] This verse is but a recital of what the people said to him, ver. 2. (See there.)

Ver. 24. *And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let him break it off: so they gave it me.*] This is the sense of ver. 2 and 3.

*Then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.*] He speaks as if he did not make the calf, but the gold being cast into the fire, out it came in this form. Which made Dr. Jackson think it more than probable, that th erewas some magical or demoniacal skill practised in the sudden moulding of this idol, which very much increased the people's superstition to it. For what else, saith he, could Aaron mean by these words, *I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf,* than that there was some secret invisible operation whereby it was moulded into this form in an instant? which raised, as I said, the people's devotion to it. Herein he follows some Jews, who go a great deal further, saying, that the devil entered into it, and made it roar like a bull, to strike a greater awe into the people, as R. Juda saith, in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 45. And in Tanchuma they say, it not only roared, but danced also. Which seem to me to be conceits invented for the excuse of Aaron; who is said plainly enough (ver. 4.) to have *made this molten calf.* Which he could not have done without designing it, and running the gold into a mould of this figure.

Here is no account at all given what judgment Moses made of this defence; but it appears by Deut. ix. 20. that God was so angry with him, that he had been destroyed, if Moses had not interceded for him, and beseeched God to pardon his weakness, in complying with a people set on mischief; (ver. 22.) for, no doubt, in his own mind he was against this fact, as the Levites were, of whom he was the chief.

Ver. 25. *And when Moses saw that the people were naked,*] Without the Divine protection. For the glory of the Lord



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in the cloud, it is likely, departed and went up from them; which we read descended again, xxxiii. 9.

*For Aaron had made them naked,* &c.] Laid them open, by this sin, to the scorn of all their enemies, who should hear of such a shameful revolt from their God.

Ver. 26. *Then Moses stood in the gate of the camp.*] Where the courts of judgment were wont to sit, to hear causes, and to punish offenders. So it was in their cities, in aftertimes, which it is likely was derived from the usage now: as now they did but follow the practices of their forefathers. For in the days of Abraham, the city gate was the place where all public and private business was transacted, (Gen. xxiii. 10. 18.) which seems to have been the manner in all the country; for at Shechem we find, as well as here at Hebron, when Hamor and his son proposed to make an alliance with the Israelites, they motioned it to the people at the gate of the city, (Gen. xxxiv. 20.) Which was the same thing with the forum or exchange among the Romans: the market being also held here, where there were seats for the judges and elders.

*And said, Who is on the Lord's side?*] Abhors this idolatry, and cleaves to the worship of the Lord only?

*Let him come unto me.*] To receive his commands; who was under God their leader.

*And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him.*] If not the whole tribe, yet as many as had any zeal for the Lord; who were the most. This is an argument there was a general defection of the people to this idolatrous worship, that none but the sons of Levi appeared to join with Moses on this occasion.

Ver. 27. *And he said unto them, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side.*] The Lord himself, by his command, warrants what I bid you do.

*And go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp.*] They were not to go into their tents (where they who were sensible of God's displeasure, it may be presumed, were bemoaning their sin), but to kill every one they met in the street.

*And slay every man his brother, and every man his companion,* &c.] All the Israelites were *brethren;* and they are commanded to spare none they met withal, because they were *near relations,* or *friends,* or *next neighbours.* Some may imagine this too hazardous an undertaking, the Levites being but a very small number in comparison with the people of Israel; but having God's warrant, they were confident none would have the courage to oppose them; for guilt makes men timorous: and the Levites also found them, as men used to be at the conclusion of a festival, weary with their dancing and sports. Besides, there are those who, by their *being naked,* (ver. 25.) understand they were *unarmed:* for Aaron had disarmed them to their shame, by setting up the calf for them to dance about; which made them lay aside all thoughts of their arms, and so were more easily slain by the Levites.

Ver. 28. *And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses.*] Who being, under God, their chief ruler, passed this extraordinary sentence upon the offenders, without the common process in courts of judgment, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2. in the end of it.

*And there fell of the people that day about three thousand men.*] The Vulgar hath twenty-three thousand, contrary to the LXX. as well as the Hebrew text, and all the eastern versions, except the Arabic, printed at Rome in this age, and manifestly out of the Vulgar Latin, as Mr. Selden hath observed in the same place, and Bochart shews largely to be against all the ancient translations and writers, Hieroz. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34. p. 353. where he notes also out of Philo, these *three thousand* to have been ἀρχηγέτας μάλιστα τῆς ἀσεβείας, *the principal ringleaders of this impiety.*

In memory of these disasters, the breaking of the tables, and this slaughter, the Jews keep a fast every year on the seventeenth of Tamuz, which, by Jac. Capellus's computation, answers to the sixteenth of our July.

Ver. 29. *For Moses had said, Consecrate yourselves today to the Lord.*] Or, Moses said, *ye have consecrated yourselves,* &c. Which way soever we take it (either as spoken before the execution, to encourage them to it, or afterward, to commend them for it), the meaning is, that this act was as acceptable to God as a sacrifice, and had procured them the honour to wait upon him as his ministers.

*Every man upon his son, and upon his brother.*] This seems to signify that some of the tribe of Levi had also prevaricated, to whom these pious Levites had no regard, but killed them indifferently with the rest, though they met with one of their own children; for which they are highly commended by Moses in his blessing, Deut. xxxiii. 9. But it may signify no more, but that they went out with this sincere resolution to spare none, though never so dear to them.

*That he may bestow upon you a blessing this day.*] This blessing was the preferment of the tribe of Levi to be God's ministers in his house, and to enjoy all the *tenth* of the land for an inheritance, (Numb. xviii. 21. 24.)

Ver. 30. *And it came to pass on the morrow.*] Which was the eighteenth day of Tamuz, or our seventeenth of July.

*That Moses said unto the people.*] Whom he assembled together, that he might make them sensible of their sin.

*Ye have sinned a great sin.*] He set their sin before them, it is likely, in all its aggravating circumstances.

*And now I will go up unto the Lord.*] But he would not have them despair of recovering God's favour, though he could not absolutely assure them of it.

*Peradventure I shall make an atonement for your sin.*] That God might not inflict any further punishment upon them.

Ver. 31. *And Moses returned unto the Lord.*] Not, as yet, to the place where he was before with the Lord for forty days; but to some part of the mount, where he might put up his most fervent prayers to God, by which his anger was turned away, as well as by sacrifices.

*And said, Oh! this people have sinned a great sin.*] He begins his prayers with a confession of their guilt in a most pathetical manner.

*And have made them gods of gold.*] Contrary to the express repeated command of God, (xx. 4. 23.)

Ver. 32. *Yet now.*] Here follows his earnest and most affectionate deprecation for them.

*If thou wilt forgive their sin.*] Be thou pleased, or, O that thou wouldst forgive them! See Dr. Hammond upon Psal. xcv. not. 6.

*Or if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.*] Let me die, rather than live to see the evils that are coming on them, if thou punish them as they deserve. God hath no need of a book, wherein to register and record any of his purposes; but the Scripture uses the language of men, as the Jews speak, who, to this day, re-

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tain this form of speech, in their prayer wherewith they begin the new year. *O, our Father and our King, write us in the book of the best life, in the book of righteousness, in the book of redemption.* They desire, that is, to be preserved that year in a happy condition, free from sin, from want, and from danger. See Theodoric Hackspan, in his annotations on this place.

Ver. 33. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book.*] This was all the answer Moses could obtain: *that they only should perish who had offended the Divine Majesty.* Which doth not deny them a pardon, if they ceased to offend him.

Ver. 34. *Therefore now go.*] Speak no more of this matter, but return to the camp.

*Lead the people unto the place of which I have spoken unto thee.*] Take the conduct of the people upon thee to the land which I promised to bestow on them. This supposes God would not punish them as they deserved; though, by the words following, it appears he abated something of his wonted kindness to them.

*Behold, mine angel shall go before thee.*] Not the angel spoken of, xxiii. 20. but some lesser minister in the heavenly court, as appears from the next chapter, ver. 2. where he saith only, *I will send an angel before thee,* viz. in the pillar of cloud and fire, (xiii. 22.)

*Nevertheless, in the day when I visit, I will visit their sin upon them.*] Upon the next occasion to punish other offences, I will further punish this. Whence the saying of R. Isaac, in the Gemara Sanhedrin, cap. 11. "There hath no vengeance come upon the world, in which there hath not been half an ounce of the first calf." To which R. Uschajah there hath respect, in these words: "Till the days of Jeroboam, the Israelites sucked but of one calf, but afterward of three." That is, their punishment was twice as great; for they made two calves, though they had seen the terrible punishment which came upon their forefathers from making one.

Ver. 35. *And the Lord plagued the people.*] With the pestilence, as some imagine, though it be not mentioned in Scripture. Or, he means all the evils that afterward consumed them in the wilderness. But there are those who understand this of the slaughter made by the Levites; which he briefly repeats (as the manner sometimes is in these writings) as a conclusion to this history of the golden calf.

*Because they made the calf which Aaron made.*] Provoked him to make.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord said unto Moses, Depart, and go up hence, thou and thy people,* &c.] This is a renewal of the order he had already given, (xxxii. 34.) which he further explains, by expressly assuring him he would make good his promise to their forefathers, of which Moses had remembered him, (xxxii. 13.) But they were not by this ordered presently to remove, till Moses had been again in the mount, and the tabernacle was set up, and all the service of it prescribed.

*And I will send an angel before thee, and I will drive out the Canaanite, the Amorite,* &c.] I will not wholly withdraw my protection from you (as he had for the present, xxxii. 25.) but send one of my ministers to discomfit your enemies, till you get possession of their land.

Ver. 3. *For I will not go up in the midst of thee.*] For though I intended to have dwelt among you myself, by my special presence, (which was in the Schechinah, xxv. 8. xxix. 43. 45, 46.) you have justly forfeited that favour. The Chaldee gives the true sense of this speech, *I will not make my majesty* (so the Schechinah or Divine Glory was called) *to go up in the midst of thee.* And accordingly it follows, (ver. 7—9.) that he did remove to a distance from them. Concerning that phrase, *in the midst of thee,* see xvii. 7.

*For thou art a stiff-necked people.*] See xxxii. 9.

*Lest I consume thee in the way.*] It is not fit for me to see myself affronted to my face by stiff-necked offenders, and not punish them with utter destruction. This is an argument that the angel, he saith he would send before them, was not God himself (as the eternal ΛΟΓΟΣ is), for then he would have had the same reason to consume them for their disobedience.

Ver. 4. *And when the people heard these evil tidings.*] This threatening of such a grievous punishment.

*They mourned.*] Fasted, perhaps, and wept; and hung down their heads with shame and sorrow.

*And no man did put on him his ornaments.*] But every one laid aside his usual attire, and appeared in the habit of penitents; which, in aftertimes, was sackcloth.

Ver. 5. *For the Lord had said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a stiff-necked people: I will come up into the midst of thee in a moment, and consume thee.*] This verse gives a reason of their mourning, because Moses had by God's order said to them, what God said to him, that they were such a perverse people, it was not safe for them that he should stay among them; and be provoked by their transgressions suddenly to destroy them.

*Therefore now put off thy ornaments from thee.*] These words shew that he had not peremptorily resolved to forsake them (as he threatened, ver. 3.) but might be moved by their repentance to continue with them. And therefore he orders them to put themselves in a mourning habit, in token of their hearty sorrow for their sin.

*That I may know what to do unto thee.*] Deal with you according as I find you disposed. (See Gen. xxii. 12.)

Ver. 6. *And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments.*] Not only of those wherewith they had decked themselves, at their late festival, but of all other that they ordinarily wore; which they, who were not dressed, forbore to put on, (ver. 4.)

*By the Mount Horeb.*] Or rather (as the Hebrew word *mehar* imports) *from the mount;* that is, a great way off from the place where God appeared; as unworthy to come into his presence.

Ver. 7. *And Moses took the tabernacle.*] His own tent, as the LXX. interpret it, τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ: meaning, I suppose, not his own private tent, where he and his family lived; but a public tent, where he gave audience, and heard causes, and inquired of God; which Bonaventura C. Bertramus calls *castrorum prætorium,* in his book de Repub. Jud. cap. 4. For such a place, we cannot but think there was, before that tabernacle was erected, whose pattern he saw in the mount; where all great affairs were



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transacted, and where religious offices, in all probability, were performed.

*And pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp.*] At the distance of two thousand cubits, as R. Solomon interprets it. Which was done to humble them, when they saw the displeasure of God and of his servant against them, declared by this departure far from them: for they might justly fear he would remove quite out of their sight.

*And called it the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Gave it the same name which was afterward appropriated to the tabernacle built for Divine service alone. Because here God met with Moses, and communicated his mind to him; and hither they were all to resort, who had any business with Moses; or would receive an answer to their inquiries from God.

*And it came to pass, that every one which sought the Lord went out unto the tabernacle of the congregation, which was without the camp.*] This is commonly understood of those who came to desire resolution in any case of difficulty; which they could not have, as formerly, within the camp; but were forced to go and seek it without. Which, as it shewed God's displeasure, so withal gave them some hope of mercy; because it plainly appeared, God was not quite alienated and estranged from them.

Ver. 8. *When Moses went into the tabernacle, all the people rose up, and stood every man at his tent-door.*] In reverence to him, as their leader, whom they had lately despised. Or, it may be thought also, a posture wherein they implored his intercession for them, that God would be graciously pleased to return to them: which is expressed by what follows.

*And looked after Moses.*] Expecting what would be the end of this business; both God and his minister being removed from them.

*Until he was gone into the tabernacle.*] As long as they could see him.

Ver. 9. *And it came to pass, as Moses went into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended.*] In which the Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, was, (xl. 35.) which was gone up before, because of their idolatry, whereby the camp was become unclean; but now came down again upon the removal of the tabernacle. Where, it is very probable, it used to be settled, as the token of the Divine presence among them: and afterward was translated to the tabernacle, made after God's appointment, where this cloud stood just as it did here, at the door of it, (Numb. xii. 5.)

*And stood at the door of the tabernacle.*] Openly to assert the authority of Moses, with whom God shewed himself present, though he had forsaken them.

*And the Lord talked with Moses.*] Which shews the Divine Glory was within the tabernacle, where Moses now was: and so the people understood it, as appears by the next verse.

Ver. 10. *And all the people saw the cloudy pillar stand at the tabernacle-door.*] Which they knew was an evident token that God was there.

*And all the people rose up and worshipped, every man in his tent-door.*] Bowed themselves unto the Divine Majesty, and humbly deprecated his displeasure; acknowledging, we may reasonably think, his great goodness, in condescending to appear again to them, though at a distance from them.

Ver. 11. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, face to face.*] In a familiar manner, which did not affright or astonish him, by a dreadful appearance of his majesty; which, in the sight of the children of Israel, looked like devouring fire, (xxiv. 17.) but appeared to Moses in a milder and more cheerful brightness. The like expression in Numb. xii. 8. seems to relate only to the discourse he had with Moses, which was clear and plain, and by a voice; not in visions and dreams, and obscure resemblances: and so it may be understood here, as Maimonides takes it, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45.) But Abarbinel thinks that these expressions signify, God treated with Moses in his own person, not by an ambassador; just as one friend converses with another. And this is a common notion among the Jews, that God did not speak to Moses by an angel, but by himself: which they take to be the meaning of this phrase, *face to face.* Which seems to me rather to import the clearness and evidence of that Divine light, wherein God revealed himself to Moses; whether it was by himself, or an angel, it matters not. Yet the New Testament determines this question, when he tells us, the law itself was *given by angels,* in the hand of a mediator. And accordingly the old tradition was, that Moses saw things in a clear and bright glass; but the rest of the prophets, in a glass that was dim and cloudy.

*As a man speaks to his friend.*] This is added, to shew how differently God treated Moses from all other men. For he is said to have talked *face to face* with all the Israelites, (Deut. v. 4.) but it was out of the midst of the fire, which struck a terror into them: whereas he spake to Moses out of the midst of a glorious but comfortable light, which gave him high satisfaction.

*And he turned again into the camp.*] After some time spent in conversation with the Divine Majesty, he went to comfort the people, it is likely, with hopes of recovering his favour; of which they might have quite despaired, if he had stayed long from them.

*But his servant Joshua, a young man, departed not out of the tabernacle.*] It is hard to tell for what end Joshua should stay behind his master; and it seems not decent that Moses should return alone without his servant to attend him. They that say he stayed to guard the tabernacle, have no foundation for it; and they have not much, who say he stayed to give judgment in small causes, which needed not Moses's resolution, (according to xviii. 26.) For we never read that Joshua was a judge, but a constant attendant upon Moses's person. And therefore the words may better be translated, as they plainly run in the Hebrew, *he turned again to the camp, and his servant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man.* At which there is a stop in the Hebrew (over the word *naar, young man*) to distinguish these from the following words; which are,

*Departed not out of the tabernacle.*] That is, the Lord departed not from thence, but his presence remained there; and would not come into the camp, as Moses did. And this interpretation is the more likely, because the last words in the Hebrew are, *out of the midst of the tabernacle:* which cannot refer to Joshua, because he did not go thither; but only Moses, who conversed alone with the Divine Majesty.

Why Joshua is called a *young man,* when he was near sixty years old, is not easy to resolve. Perhaps it signifies

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a *valiant man*, for so he was; or, he had waited on Moses from his youth: or, as Maimonides, this is the phrase of the Hebrew nation, who call all men young, till they begin to decay; as Joseph is called, when he was thirty years old, Gen. xlii. 2. More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 32.

Ver. 12. *And Moses said unto the Lord.*] When, or where Moses spake what follows, we are not here informed. It is likely, that after he was satisfied the people were very penitent, he returned to the tabernacle; and there made this address unto the Divine Majesty, for a perfect reconciliation with his people.

*See.*] A word imploring attention and regard to his petition.

*Thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people.*] Lead them to the land of promise, (xxxii. 34. xxxiii. 1.)

*And thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me.*] Thou hast only said, thou wilt send an angel before me; but I hope to obtain greater favour from thee, which thou hast not yet declared to me. And I have no heart to proceed, if thou thyself wilt not guide us in the pillar of cloud, as thou hast done hitherto, and dwell among us, as thou hast promised, in thy sanctuary. This seems to be the sense (if this verse be compared with the fifteenth), and not barely that he did not know what angel he would send with him.

*Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name.*] The Chaldee takes it to be the same with what is said of Bezalcel, whom God called by name, (xxxi. 2.) that is, particularly designed to make the tabernacle, and all belonging to it. But to *know* is more than to *call;* signifying God's special love and kindness to Moses above all men, as the LXX. interpret it.

*And thou hast also found grace in my sight.*] God had often heard his prayers for this people, as he hoped he would do now. For that was the effect of his being *an acceptable person* unto him; which is the proper signification of this phrase.

Ver. 13. *Now therefore I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight.*] If I still continue in thy favour.

*Shew me now thy way.*] The interpretation of Maimonides (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 54.) is too much strained, who thinks he here desires the knowledge of God's attributes, as ver. 18. he desires the sight of his essence. The plain meaning of this prayer is, that God himself would conduct him, and shew him the way wherein he should lead his people unto their rest in the land of Canaan, (xxxii. 34.)

*That I may know thee, that I may find grace in thy sight.*] That I may be fully assured of thy gracious acceptance of me.

*And consider that this nation is thy people.*] I do not beg this merely upon my own account, but for those who have been redeemed by thee out of the land of Egypt, and have engaged themselves to be thine by a solemn covenant, (xxiv.) and now return unto thee by repentance, (ver. 6.)

Ver. 14. *And he said, My presence shall go with thee.*] In the Hebrew, *my face, i. e.* I myself, as the LXX. translate it: *my majesty*, as the Chaldee. He promises, that is, to continue with them, as he had done hitherto, and not merely send an angel to accompany them: but to lead and guide them himself, by the pillar of the cloud, and his glorious presence in the tabernacle.

*And I will give thee rest.*] Some think these words are particularly spoken to Moses; and signify, that God would give him ease in this point, and quiet his spirit (which was now very solicitous about his departure from them) by returning to them. But as the foregoing words are a promise, that he would take the conduct of the people again; so is this, that he would not leave them till he had brought them to their rest.

Ver. 15. *And he said unto him, If thy presence go not with us.*] Some translate the words, *for he* (i. e. *Moses*) *had said unto him, i. e.* to God, *If thy presence*, &c. So that these words and the following are the reason of God's answer to him, ver. 14. And if they be not thus taken, one would have expected Moses should rather have given God thanks for his gracious promise, than further pressed him to it. But the seventeenth verse doth not well agree with this; and therefore these words are to be looked on only as part of what Moses said to God after his promise, that his *presence should go with him.* Which he acknowledged to be the greater favour, because otherwise he had rather never stir from the place where they now were.

*Carry us not up hence.*] Let us go no further, if thou thyself dost not lead and guide us in our way.

Ver. 16. *For wherein shall it be known here, that I and thy people have found grace in thy sight?*] How shall all the people round about us be convinced that we are not abandoned by thee in this wilderness?

*Is it not in that thou goest with us?*] Is not this the great demonstration of it, that thou leadest us in a pillar of cloud and fire, day and night?

*So shall we be separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth.*] This will distinguish us, while it continues with us, from all other people whatsoever; none of which have such a token of thy presence with them. The manna, indeed, continued all this time to descend for their sustenance, which was a miraculous food: but it might have been ascribed to other causes, if this glorious token of God's presence had not still appeared among them.

Ver. 17. *And the Lord said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken.*] Distinguish you from all other people; not only by leading you in a pillar of cloud and fire, but dwelling among you, as I designed, xxv. 8.

*For thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name.*] He owns Moses still to be most acceptable and dear to him as he had been, (ver. 12.) and therefore, at his intercession, promises to be perfectly reconciled, and return to his people.

Ver. 18. *And he said, I beseech thee.*] Having obtained so much favour of God, he presumes to ask something beyond all this, but with all humility.

*Shew me thy glory.*] In the Hebrew the word is *hareni*, make me to *see* thy glory. Where Maimonides takes the word *see* to signify, *apprehend with the understanding*, not with the bodily eye, (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 4.) For by *glory* he there understands (cap. 54.) the Divine essence, which he makes Moses to be desirous to apprehend; which is not likely such a man as he should think possible. For thus he explains himself in his book de Fundamentis Legis, cap. 1. n. 10. "Moses desired to know the truth of the Divine essence, as one man knows another, whose face he beholds, and his image is so engraven in his mind, that he exists there distinguished from all other men: so he begs that the Divine essence might be distinct in his mind

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from all other essences, till he knew the truth of it, as it is in itself." But he confesses, in another place of that book, (cap. 64.) that by the *glory* of the Lord, is many times understood a created light or splendour, whereby God miraculously set forth his majesty, (xxiv. 26. and other places.) And I can see no reason why it should not so signify here, and the meaning be, that he desired to see that glorious presence (or *face of God*, as it is called) which he promised should go with them; not veiled in a cloud, but in its full splendour and majesty. For hearing him speak from the Schechinah, he supposed, perhaps, that God appeared therein, in some visible shape, which he desired to be acquainted withal. To confirm this, it is observable that God himself, in his answer to Moses, calls this glory *his face*, (ver. 20.) as he had done, ver. 14, 15. And thus R. Jehudah, in the book Cosri, pars iv. sect. 3. (towards the latter end of it) seems to have understood it. (See upon ver. 20.)

Ver. 19. *And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee.*] Which Maimonides thinks signifies his making Moses to understand the nature of all creatures, and how they are knit and united together, and after what manner they are governed, both in general and particular; because when God had made all his works, he saw that *they were very good*, (Gen. i. 31.) But that text is a very slender ground for such an interpretation. The LXX. seem to come nearer to the matter, who interpret this passage, παρελεύσομαι πρότερός σου τῇ δόξῃ μου, *I will pass before thee with my glory*. That is, he promises to give him a transient view of his glory, while it passed by him, (ver. 22.) though it could not be seen in its full majesty. And then the word *tobh* (which we translate *my goodness*) must rather be rendered *my beauty*, it being the same with *glory*, only a softer word, to express such a degree of its splendour as would not hurt him, but be delightful to him. And thus the word *tobh* is used in the second chapter of this book, ver. 2. and 1 Sam. ix. 2. Or, if this be not the meaning, *all his goodness* must signify his gracious intentions concerning the children of Israel, to whom, he assures him, he would fulfil all his promises, which was sufficient for him to know.

*And I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee.*] The LXX. seem to have understood this right, when they translated it, *I will call to thee by my name* (saying), *The Lord is before thee*. That is, lest, when I pass by thee, thou shouldest not observe it, I will admonish thee, by a voice calling to thee, and telling thee, that now the Lord is presenting himself to thee. And so we find he did, xxxiv. 6.

*And will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy.*] This is the substance of the words, which he tells him he would proclaim, after notice given him of his coming to pass by him. And their meaning is, that he would dispense his favours, according to his own good pleasure, as he did now to Moses; unto whom he vouchsafed such a revelation of himself, as he did not make to others. For thus he explains it, xxxiv. 6, 7. where he tells him, he would be very gracious, patient, and long-suffering, unto some; but punish severely the iniquity of others.

Ver. 20. *And he said, Thou canst not see my face.*] But as for thy request, that I would make thee see my glory in its full splendour, thou art not capable of it. I know none that hath explained this whole matter better than R. Jehudah, in Sepher Cosri, par. iv. sect. 3. "For the glory mentioned in Scripture, there is one of such a nature, that the eyes of the prophets could sustain it; another all the Israelites saw (as the cloud and the consuming fire); but another so pure and bright to such a high degree, that no prophet is able to apprehend it: but if he venture to look upon it, his composition is dissolved, *i. e.* he dies." Such was the glory here spoken of, a splendour so great and piercing, that none could behold it.

*For there shall no man see me, and live.*] Accordingly we find, when the Schechinah, or Divine Glory, filled the tabernacle, Moses was not able to enter into it, (xl. 35.) that is, he could not, with safety to his life, look upon it. And so it was after the temple of Solomon was built and consecrated by solemn prayer to God, "The glory of the Lord filled the house, and the priests could not enter into the house, because the glory of the Lord had filled the Lord's house," (2 Chron. vii. 1, 2.)

From this speech to Moses, it is likely that men, in future times, imagined they should die immediately, when they saw only an angel appear in such a high glittering manner that it amazed them.

Ver. 21. *And the Lord said, Behold, there is a place by me.*] It doth not plainly appear by the story, from whence God now spake to Moses. It is most likely from the mount, where he had long conversed with him. Or, if it was from the tabernacle, (where his glory appeared, ver. 9. and continued, ver. 11.) that was not far from the mount; where he tells him, he would make his glory pass before him.

*And thou shalt stand upon a rock.*] It is probable, this was the rock in Horeb, where the Lord had formerly appeared to Moses, (xvii. 6.)

Ver. 22. *And it shall come to pass, that while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock.*] Perhaps it was in one of the clefts which was made in the rock, when God brought water out of it, (Psal. lxxviii. 15.) into which he directed Moses. For that is meant by *putting* him in the cleft; shewing him the place where he should be, while the Divine Majesty passed by.

*And I will cover thee with my hand*, &c.] That he might not be hurt by the splendour of that glory, as it passed by the cleft. This doth not certainly signify, that the glory of the Lord appeared in a human shape: for *hands* are ascribed to God (in accommodation to us) when nothing is meant but this invisible power: which now, perhaps, cast a cloud about him, that he might not be struck dead by the inconceivable brightness and force of those rays which came from the face of the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 23. *And I will take away mine hand.*] As soon as the face (as it is called, ver. 20.) of the Divine Majesty was gone by him (which it was impossible for him to behold, and live), he promises to remove that cloud which covered him: so that he should look upon the hinder parts of his glory, though not upon the face.

*And thou shalt see my back parts.*] In which the glory of the Divine Majesty shone in a lower degree of light; which was not so piercing, as to put out the eyes, and take away the life of the beholders: and yet there was such a resplendent brightness in it, that Moses's face shone when he came down from the sight of it, (xxxiv. 29.) For that lustre in his countenance is to be ascribed, in all probability, to that sight which he had of the Divine Majesty at

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that time. Some little particles of light remaining upon his face, and sticking to it (if I may so speak) from that exceeding great splendour which shone upon him, and passed before him, as he lay in the hollow place of the rock.

*But my face shall not be seen.*] My glory in its full lustre, without any veil before it, cannot be seen. (See ver. 20.) There are many other interpretations of this verse, as well as of the 18th and 19th Maimonides, in his book de Fundam. Legis, cap. 1. n. 11. takes it thus: "God revealed that to Moses, which no man, either before or after him, ever knew: he making him to apprehend something of his very essence, whereby God was separated in his mind, from all other beings; as a man discerns another man, when he sees his back parts, and by his mind discerns his proportions distinct from all other men." But in his More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 21. he takes this discovery to Moses, to be the knowledge God gave him of his works and attributes, *viz.* those mentioned xxxiv. 6. And thus Gregor. Nazianzen. (Orat. xxxiv. p. 559.) expounds it, ταῦτα γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ ὀπίσθια ὅσα μετ' ἐκείνον, &c. *Those things are the back parts of God which are after him; whereby he is known as the sun is by its image in the water,* &c. upon which Elias Cretensis hath this ingenious gloss, "That the face of God signifies his essence before the beginning of the world: and his hinder parts, his creation and providence in the government of the world." But Maimonides, in the same place now mentioned, acknowledges also, that this may be interpreted according to the Targum; that God made his majesty, that is, an exceeding bright representation of himself (though not in its fullest glory) to pass before him. Which Onkelos sometimes calls *Jekara, Glory;* sometimes *Memra, the Word;* and sometimes *Schechinah, the Majesty.* Which seems to be the most literal meaning; that God himself, particularly the eternal Word, in a visible glory or majesty, appeared unto him in so much splendour, as human nature was able to bear; but not in his unveiled brightness, which is, as the apostle speaks, *inaccessible.*

## CHAP. XXXIV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord said unto Moses.*] Having obtained a promise of a pardon for the people, and of greater favour to himself, than had been hitherto shewn him; God directs him here to dispose things for the performance of both.

*Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou breakest.*] Every attentive reader must needs observe the difference between the first tables, which Moses brake, and those which he is now ordered to prepare. For God did not only write his laws with his own finger upon the first tables, but the tables themselves also were the work of God, (xxxii. 16.) Whereas in these, as Greg. Nyssen well expresses it, (de Vita Mosis, p. 183.) ἡ γραφὴ μὲν ἐκ θείας δυνάμεως ἦν. ἡ δὲ ὕλη, διὰ τῆς Μωϋσέως ἐξησκήθη χειρός: *the writing, indeed, was by the Divine power, but the matter of them framed by the hand of Moses.* So that, at the same time God shewed he was reconciled, he put them in mind that he had been offended; and restored them to his favour with some abatement.

Ver. 2. *And be ready in the morning.*] On the eighteenth day of July. (See xxxii. 30.)

*And come up in the morning unto Mount Sinai.*] From whence God spake to the Israelites (Deut. v. 4, &c.) those very words which he intended to write upon the tables. He orders him to come up in the morning, that all the people might see him ascend, and carry the tables with him.

*And present thyself there to me, in the top of the mount.*] Where the Divine Majesty appeared before in its glory; and where Moses stayed with him forty days and forty nights, (xix. 26. xxiv. 17, 18.)

Ver. 3. *And no man shall come up with thee.*] The same precept is renewed, which was given at his first ascent, (xxiv. 1, 2.)

*Neither let any man be seen throughout the mount.*] See xix. 12. 21, &c.

*Neither let the flocks nor herds feed before the mount.*] He seems to require their removal to such a distance, that they should not be within view of the Divine Majesty. By which means the people were naturally led to stand in greater awe of God, and there was the less danger of any beasts touching the mount, (xix. 13.)

Ver. 4. *And Moses hewed two tables of stone,* &c.] These and the following words only declare that he did as God bade him, (ver. 1, 2.)

*And took in his hand the two tables of stone.*] These he carried with him; but the first tables were given him when he came there, (xxiv. 12.) They seem to have been thin, being no heavier than that he could carry them in one hand.

Ver. 5. *And the Lord.*] The Schechinah, or Divine Majesty; called also the *glory of the Lord.*

*Descended in the cloud.*] Wherein it had been wont to appear from the beginning of their deliverance out of Egypt; and had lately appeared to Moses in the tabernacle, (xxxiii. 9.) when the cloudy pillar descended, and stood at the door of it, while the Lord talked with Moses there. And it seems, when that was done, the glory of the Lord in the cloud went up again towards heaven, and now came down upon this occasion.

*And stood with him there.*] The cloudy pillar, wherein the glory of the Lord was, rested upon the top of the mount where Moses now was, (ver. 2.)

*And proclaimed the name of the Lord.*] Gave him notice of his presence, as he had promised, (xxxiii. 19.) and is more fully expressed in the next verse.

Ver. 6. *And the Lord passed by before him.*] Which Onkelos translates, *the Lord made his majesty to pass before him.* Which exposition Maimonides acknowledges to be right; and confirmed by the Scripture itself, when it saith, (xxxiii. 22.) *While my glory passeth by,* &c. which he confesses signifies not the Divine essence itself; but some created splendour, which no eye was able to behold, (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 21.)

*And proclaimed.*] As the glory of the Lord passed by, he heard a voice proclaiming this description of the Divine nature.

*The Lord.*] Some join the next word to this, as if the voice said, *The Lord, the Lord;* the more to awaken his attention, to mind what he heard. (See xxxiii. 19.) And this name of his signifies his self-existence, and his absolute dominion over all creatures, which received their being from him. (See vi. 3.)

*God.*] The Hebrew word *el* signifies strong and mighty; in one word, his irresistible power, (Job ix. 4.)

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*Merciful.*] The word *rachum* signifies that which we call *tender mercies;* such as parents have to their children, when their bowels yearn towards them.

*And gracious.*] We call that *chaninah* (*grace* or *favour*), saith Maimonides, which we bestow upon any man to whom we owe nothing, (Gen. xxxiii. 5. 11.) And therefore God is here called *chanum* (*gracious*), with respect to those whom he created, preserves, and governs, but is not obliged by any right to these things; as his words are, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 45.

*Long-suffering.*] So slow to anger, that he doth not presently punish those that offend him, but bears long with them.

*Abundant in goodness.*] The Hebrew word *chesed*, which we translate *goodness*, signifies, as Maimonides saith, (More Nevoch. par. iii.) the excess and highest degree of any thing whatsoever it be; but especially, the greatest benignity. And therefore, with the addition of *rabh* (*abundant*), denotes long-continued kindness; as is more fully declared in the next verse.

*And truth.*] Most faithful and constant to his promises; which he steadfastly keeps throughout all generations. The word *abundant* refers both to this and to his benignity, (Psal. cxlvi. 6.)

Ver. 7. *Keeping mercy for thousands.*] The same word *chesed*, which before we translated *goodness*, we here translate *mercy:* and the Hebrews observing the letter *nun* to be greater in the word *notzer (keeping)* than is usual, fancy that it denotes the immense treasures of the Divine bounty. But the word *thousands* fully explains how abundant his mercy is.

*Forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin.*] Here are three words, to signify all sorts of offences, which he passes by, till men grow intolerably wicked. But some distinguish them by making *iniquity* signify offences against men; and *transgressions*, offences against God himself; and *sin*, all the errors, childishnesses, and follies, which men are guilty of, in the conduct of themselves. But they may as well signify the offences which were committed against the *moral*, *ceremonial*, and *political* laws.

*And that will by no means clear the guilty.*] These words, according to Maimonides, belong still to the loving-kindness of God, as all the foregoing do; signifying, that when he doth punish, he will not utterly destroy and make desolate. For so the Hebrew words, *nakkeh lo jenakkeh*, he thinks, are to be literally rendered, *in extirpating he will not extirpate;* as the word *nakah* he observes is used, Isaiah iii. 26. "She shall sit desolate on the earth." And to the same sense these words are expounded by many modern interpreters; particularly Lud. de Dieu: *When he empties, he will not empty;* or *make quite desolate.* For the maxim of the Hebrew is, (as Maimonides there observes, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 54.) that *the property of goodness far excels that of severity.* For here being thirteen properties of God mentioned (I can find but ten, besides the name of the Lord), there is but one of them that belongs to the latter (*viz.* that which follows), all the rest belong to the former. And, indeed, we find that Moses urges these very words, among other, why God should not destroy the Israelites as one man, (Numb. xiv. 18.) which had been very improper, if God would *by no means clear the guilty.*

*Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children.*] This is meant, saith the same Maimonides, only of the sin of idolatry; unto which God threatens, in the second commandment, this punishment to the third and fourth generation, upon *those that hate him.* For no man is called a hater of God, but only an idolater; according to what we read, Deut. xii. 31. "Every abomination which the Lord hateth," &c.

*Unto the third and fourth generation.*] He mentions, saith the same author, none beyond these; because the utmost that any man can live to see of his seed, is the *fourth* generation. And therefore, when an idolatrous city was destroyed, the old idolater, with children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, were all cut off; according to the precept, (Deut. xiii. 15.) "Destroy it utterly, and all that is therein."

The sense of the whole seems to be, that this is the glory of the Divine Majesty: that he hath a sovereign dominion over all, because he is the fountain of being, the original of all things; most powerful to do what he pleases; and so merciful, that he delights to bestow his benefits unasked; and so gracious, as to continue them to the unthankful: bearing long with them, when they provoke him; multiplying favours on those who have no deserts; and faithfully performing his promises, though never so great; doing good unto a thousand generations of those who adhere faithfully to him, and do not apostatize from him: for he pardons innumerable offences, of all sorts, that are committed against his laws; and when the provocations are so great, that they are fit to be punished, he proceeds not to the utmost extremity till there be no remedy; then he punishes idolaters terribly, to the third and fourth generations.

Ver. 8. *And Moses made haste, and bowed his head towards the earth, and worshipped.*] Being transported with joy at so glorious a sight, and such gracious words, he immediately worshipped God with the humblest reverence, acknowledging his great condescension to him.

Ver. 9. *And he said.*] Which encouraged him to renew his request to God.

*If now I have found grace in thy sight, O Lord.*] He doth not doubt of it; but the meaning rather is, *since I have found grace*, &c. as appears from what he granted him, (xxxiii. 17, 18, &c.)

*Let my Lord, I pray thee, go among us.*] Upon the mention of the last property of the Divine Majesty, [*visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children*, &c.] Moses seems to have been afraid he might be provoked to proceed to such severity with the Israelites, who had lately apostatized from him: and again beseeches him he would be so gracious, though they should again offend him, as to continue his presence among them, which he had threatened to withdraw, (xxxiii. 3.)

*For it is a stiff-necked people.*] If we adhere to this translation, the meaning is, they needed such a governor, by whose authority and presence they might be kept in awe, and cured of their perverseness. But the particle *ki*, which we here translate *for*, often signifies *though:* and may be very fitly so rendered here: and then the meaning is, Though they be very refractory, (xxxii. 9.) yet do not forsake them, and leave them to themselves; but still conduct them as thou hast done.

*And pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance.*] Since thou art so ready to forgive, (ver. 7.) do not cut us off for our late offences; but still continue to own us for thy peculiar people. This Moses had begged

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of God before, and obtained a promise of it, (xxxiii. 16, 17. and see xix. 5.) and now he beseeches him, out of his goodness which he had proclaimed, to confirm that promise, and not to revoke it upon every new provocation.

Ver. 10. *And he said, Behold, I make a covenant.*] Herein God verified the truth of what he had proclaimed; being so *merciful and gracious*, as not only to confirm his promise, but to turn it into a covenant, like that at the giving of his laws from Mount Sinai, (xxiv. 3. 7, &c.) which he renews with them in the next verse: where he engages to drive out the inhabitants of Canaan before them; and then requires them to take care not to imitate their idolatry.

*Before all thy people will I do marvels, such as have not been done in all the earth,* &c.] This seems to relate to all the wonderful works he intended to do, in their introduction into the land of Canaan, by making the waters of Jordan retire, and the walls of Jericho fall down; with the rest that followed, till they got possession of their inheritance.

*For it is a terrible thing that I will do with thee.*] Such as shall declare the almighty power of the Divine Majesty; and strike a terror into all those that oppose him, but demonstrate (in an astonishing manner) his fidelity to his people. For all this is said to confirm their belief of the covenant he said he would make with them, in the beginning of the verse.

Ver. 11. *Observe thou that which I command thee this day.*] Doubt not of what I say; but only mark, and take care to do all that I now enjoin thee.

*Behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite and the Canaanite,* &c.] To encourage them so to do, he premises what he intended to do for them; which he put at the conclusion of his covenant, when he first declared it, (xxiii. 23. 28.) but here puts it in the front of it, that they might be the more sensible of the reasonableness of those commands to which he expected obedience.

Ver. 12. *Take heed to thyself.*] He now renewing that covenant with them, which they had broken by the worshipping the golden calf, repeats the principal precepts which concerned his worship and service (which had been delivered to them before), and excites them to the observance of them, by the addition of a very gracious promise, (ver. 24.)

*Lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest.*] Nothing could be more reasonable than this, that they should not enter into friendship with those nations, whom he commanded them to expel, for their abominable wickedness; unless they would renounce their idolatry, and come under their government. (See xxiii. 32. and Mr. Selden, lib. vi. de Jure N. et G. in the latter end of the thirteenth chapter and beginning of the next.)

*Lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee.*] Lest they inveigle thee to imitate their manners.

Ver. 13. *But ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves.*] This more largely explains what was briefly and summarily delivered in xxiii. 32. "Thou shalt not make a covenant with their gods." And, ver. 24. "Thou shalt quite break down their images." Which images and altars were usually set in *groves*, as sacred places; being the temples of their gods. (See 2 Kings xxiii. 24.) For when Tacitus saith (Lib. de Moribus Germanorum), that the old Germans went to war as if God commanded them, whom they believed to be present with them; he tells us, "Effigiesque et signa quædam detracta lucis ad prœlium ferunt," *they carried with them into the battle certain images and signs, which they took out of their groves.* These, in all probability, were the images of their gods, who they thought fought for them, as Joh. Filesacus conjectures, (lib. ii. Selectorum, cap. 5. de Ceremoniis, sect. 7.) where he observes, that these groves were impure places, not only because there were the images and altars of their false gods; but all manner of filthiness and lewdness was committed under those shades. Which made Horace call them, *parum castos lucos,* (lib. i. in the latter end of the twelfth Ode.)

Some of the Hebrews restrained this precept only to the land of Canaan: where they were bound to destroy all things belonging to the religion of those idolatrous people, in whose place they were planted, that they might not be infected with their impiety. (See Deut. xii. 2, 3.) But in other countries which they conquered, they fancied they were not bound to root it out. Yet afterward they saw it necessary to extend this precept to all idolatrous countries which came under their power, where they destroyed their idols, as they had done in Canaan: lest by imitation παρατροπή τις τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔσοιτο, *their polity should have been quite subverted,* as Josephus speaks. (See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 2.)

Ver. 14. *For thou shalt worship no other god.*] This being the great principle of their religion, "the Lord thy God is one Lord," (Deut. vi. 4.) and there is no other God beside him.

*For the Lord, whose name is Jealous.*] So he calls himself, xx 5. and gave himself this peculiar name, because he could not bear any other god to be rival with him, after the manner of the gentiles: whose gods suffered a number of other gods to share in the worship that was given to them, by offering sacrifices, and burning incense, and bowing down to them.

*Is a jealous God.*] As is his name, so is he himself: he will not endure any other to be worshipped with him.

Ver. 15. *Lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land.*] That is, a covenant of *marriage,* (for covenants in general were forbidden before, ver. 12.) which he commands them not to contract with the inhabitants of Canaan: no, nor with any idolaters whatsoever. For though some of the Jews would restrain this to the seven nations only, yet the generality of them resolve it is meant of all other idolatrous people. And there is an illustrious argument of it, in the ninth and tenth chapters of Ezra, and in Nehemiah, xiii. 25. This they will have to have been as old as the law of circumcision; which they gather from Gen. xxxiv. 14. and it held throughout all following ages; insomuch that Mahomet forbids any of his religion to marry any one that is not made a Mussulman, *i. e.* a believer of his doctrine. As for such as turned from idolatry, it was always lawful to marry them; but they were so far from having to do with others, that the Talmudists held it as unlawful to lie with a gentile woman, as with a woman in her uncleanness. Whence that character which Tacitus gives of the Jews, "Projectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abstinet." (See Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 12.)



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*And they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice to their gods.*] Of which there was very great danger if they loved their wives; who would have great power over them (as appears by Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 2, 3, &c.) to entice them to their religion. Of this phrase, *going a whoring after their gods*, see Seld. Uxor. Hebr. lib. iii. cap. 23.

*And one call thee.*] Invite thee (as the manner was) to the feast that was usually made, upon the sacrifices offered to their gods: as the Israelites ate of the peace-offerings, and invited their friends to partake with them.

*And thou eat of his sacrifice.*] By this we see how ancient and universal the custom was of feasting upon sacrifices: which Mr. Mede truly calls *epulæ fœderales, federal feasts*, (upon Malachi ii.) For the meat was God's, being set upon his table; of which he inviting the offerers to partake, they were his guests; whom he entertained at his table, in token of reconciliation and friendship with him. And therefore, whosoever ate of the sacrifices offered to other gods, professed themselves to be their worshippers and servants. Which made the Jews so cautious in this matter, that they would not so much as drink the wine, or the water, or use the salt of an idolater, not knowing but it might have been set before an idol. So R. Levi Barzelonita, in the explication of the 112th Precept. This explains that discourse of the apostle, 1 Cor. x. 20.

Ver. 16. *And thou take of their daughters unto thy sons*, &c.] If they themselves married idolaters, there was the greater danger they might be content to let their sons and daughters marry with them; especially if they were rich or beautiful: and so the whole family be undone.

Ver. 17. *Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.*] Images are called by the name of *gods*, because they were worshipped together with them, as symbols of their presence. And though *molten* be here only mentioned, (upon occasion of their late sin, in worshipping the *molten calf*, xxxii. 4.) yet all other images are intended, as appears by xx. 4. 23.

Ver. 18. *The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep*, &c.] See all this explained, xii. 15, 16, &c. xiii. 6, 7. xxiii. 15.

*As I commanded thee in the time of the month Abib*, &c.] See xiii. 4. xxiii. 15.

Ver. 19. *All that openeth the matrix is mine*, &c.] See xiii. 12. xxii. 29, 30.

Ver. 20. *But the first-born of an ass shalt thou redeem*, &c.] See xiii. 13.

*And none shall appear before me empty.*] See xxiii. 15.

Ver. 21. *Six days shalt thou work*, &c.] See xx. 9. xxiii. 12. xxxi. 15. where this is sufficiently explained. But here, to shew the necessity of forbearing labour on this day, they are not permitted it *in earing or in harvest*: that is, in the two most busy times of the year; when they ploughed and sowed their ground, and when they reaped the fruits thereof. (See Gen. xlv. 6.)

Ver. 22. *And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks*, &c.] This verse also hath been explained before, xxiii. 16. Only here observe, that the *first-fruits of wheat-harvest* being now offered at this feast, there was a harvest before this, which began at the Passover, when they offered the *first-fruits of barley-harvest*, (Deut. xvi. 9.)

Ver. 23. *Three times in the year shall all your males appear before the Lord, the God of Israel.*] This likewise was explained, xxiii. 14. 17. And nothing need be added, but that these peculiar laws are here repeated (together with those that follow, ver. 25, 26.) upon this occasion, because they were ordained to preserve the people in the worship and service of the true God, from whom they had lately departed. Who therefore puts them in mind, in the last words of this verse (which was not said before), that he was *the God of Israel*, to whom they were devoted by especial obligations.

Ver. 24. *For I will cast out the nations before thee.*] Till this was done, they were not bound to observe the precept, of appearing three times in the year before the Lord.

*And will enlarge thy borders.*] Beyond the land of Canaan, as he had promised before, (xxiii. 31.)

*Neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord*, &c.] To remove all fear out of their mind, that their neighbours might invade them, when all the men were gone, and none but women, and children, and old men left at home, he adds this promise to all he had made before (or rather makes it a part of his covenant, which he now renews), that he would lay such restraints upon their enemies, that they should not so much as think of invading them at those three feasts; much less make any actual incursions into their country.

Ver. 25. *Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice*, &c.] At the Passover. See this fully explained, xxiii. 18.

Ver. 26. *The first of the first-fruits of thy land thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God.*] At Pentecost, which was the *feast of the first-fruits*. (See xxiii. 19.)

*Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.*] This concerns the other great feast, that of tabernacles. (See in the same place.)

Ver. 27. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] Having recited the principal part of his covenant, mentioned ver. 10. he gives the following order.

*Write thou these words.*] From ver. 11 to this place: just as he did those words contained in the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third chapters of this book, (see xxiv. 4.) out of which these words are extracted, as the chief things respecting the worship of God; which he requires him to write in a book by itself.

*For after the tenor of these words have I made a covenant with thee, and with Israel.*] See xxiv. 7. where the covenant, containing these words and many other, was sealed with the blood of a sacrifice.

The Jews are so blind as to found their oral tradition upon this place, and upon one small word *(pi)*, which signifies, indeed, *mouth;* but withal is an expletive particle, denoting the manner and value of any thing, as appears from Gen. xliii. 7. Lev. xxvii. 18. and, therefore, here rightly translated *the tenor* of these words. Yet R. Johannes, in the very beginning of Halicoth Olam, gathers from hence, that God made a covenant now with their fathers, concerning all the unwritten laws delivered by word of mouth. Unto which, while they adhere, they can never understand their Divine writings: for what can be more plain that the covenant here mentioned was ordered to be *written?*

Ver. 28. *And he was there with the Lord.*] This, saith Maimonides, was the highest degree of prophecy, which none attained but Moses: whose thoughts were wholly taken off from all other things, and fixed upon God, while he was with him in the holy mount; that is, asked and re-

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ceived answers from the Lord: (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 51.)

*Forty days and forty nights.*] As he had been at the first, (xxiv. 18.) Which was partly to make a new trial, how they would behave themselves in his absence; and partly to give the greater authority to the laws, he brought them from God, which he renewed, as we read in the end of this verse.

*And did neither eat bread, nor drink water.*] But was supported by influences from the Almighty, who kept up his spirits in their just height, without the common recruits of meat and drink: which, when they give us refreshment, likewise make us drowsy, (see xxiv. 18.) To which add what Maimonides saith in the place now named, that the joy wherewith he was transported made him not think of eating and drinking; for his intellectual faculties were so strong, that all corporeal desire ceased.

It seems to me very probable, that, during this time, he saw again the model of the tabernacle and all its furniture, with every thing else he was ordered to make when he went first into the mount, from the beginning of the twenty-fifth to the end of the thirtieth chapter, which are briefly summed up xxxi. 7—11. He seems also to have spent much of this time in prayer to God for the people, that he would restore them entirely to his favour, and bring them to their inheritance, (Deut. ix. 18, 19. 25, 26. x. 10.)

*And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant,* &c.] That is, the Lord wrote, (as he said he would, ver. 1.) not Moses; who wrote the foregoing words in a book; but not these, which were written by the finger of God in the tables of stone. So Moses tells us expressly, Deut. x. 4. Jacobus Capellus, and others, following the Hebrew doctors, imagine that Moses was three times with God in the mount, for the space of forty days; and that this was the last time. Between which and the first they place another, which they fancy is mentioned, xxxii. 30, 31. compared with Deut. ix. 18, &c. But I see no solid ground for this; for God called him up into the mount but twice; and he durst not have adventured to go so near him, as he was both these times, without his invitation.

Ver. 29. *And it came to pass, when Moses came down from Mount Sinai.*] Which was upon the twenty-fifth of our August, according to the former computation, (ver. 2.)

*With the two tables of testimony in Moses's hand, when he came down from the mount.*] So he came down at the first, (xxxii. 15.)

*That Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone.*] There was a radiant splendour in his countenance; which is the import of the Hebrew *karan*, which the Vulgar translates *horned*. Not imagining that Moses had horns, but rays of light which imitated horns. And therefore the Hebrew word *karnaim* signifies both; and R. Solomon Jarchi upon this place calls these rays on Moses's face, *horns of magnificence;* as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 6. p. 292.) It is not improbable that the hair of his head was interspersed with light, as well as that rays came from his face; which perstringed the eyes of beholders. And painters had done more reasonable, if, instead of horns upon Moses's forehead, they had represented him with a glory crowning his head, as the saints are usually painted in the Roman church. Which perhaps came from the ancient custom among the heathen, who thus represented their gods, as Tho. Bartholinus observes (de Morbis Biblicis, cap. v.) out of Lucian de Dea Syria, where he saith she did ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτῖνας φορέειν, *carry beams upon her head.* Whence it was that the Roman emperors, who were raised so much above the rest of mankind, that they honoured them as a sort of deities, were thus represented; as appears by many testimonies, particularly Pliny, who, in his panegyric to Trajan, laughs and jeers at the *radiatum Domitiani caput.*

*While he talked with them.*] While he conversed so familiarly with the Divine Majesty, and both saw his glory and heard him proclaim his name, (ver. 5—7.) At his first being in the mount, there was no such brightness left upon his countenance; for he did not see the Divine Majesty in so great a splendour as he did now, when the Lord, upon his petition, vouchsafed him such a sight of his glory as he could bear, (xxxiii. 18. 23.) which was so exceeding piercing, that it altered the very skin of Moses's face, and made it luminous: of which Moses doth not seem to have been sensible, till some time after he came down from the mount (when Aaron, as well as others, were afraid to come nigh him), having his thoughts wholly possessed with the far more transcendent glory of the Divine Majesty, of which he had a glimpse.

From this familiar conference which Moses had with God, it is likely the heathen took occasion to invent the like stories of their Zamolxis, who pretended to receive his laws from Vesta; and Minos and Lycurgus, who said they received theirs from Jupiter and Apollo; with several others mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. who then adds, Moses had his from the god *Jao;* so they pronounced the name *Jehovah.* But they had no such testimony as this of their communication with the Divine Majesty; much less were their laws confirmed by such miracles, as lasted for the space of forty years under the conduct of Moses, in the sight of all people.

Ver. 30. *And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone.*] This highly established his authority, and bred in them a reverence to the laws he brought, that they were all witnesses of the *brightness* or *glory of his countenance,* (as the apostle calls it, 2 Cor. iii. 7.) which demonstrated he had been with God, as he affirmed, and had beheld the glory of his majesty, and received from him the tables of testimony. By *all the children of Israel,* in this verse, seems to be meant *all the rulers of the congregation* mentioned in the next.

*And they were afraid to come nigh him.*] The light which shone from his countenance was so great, that it dazzled the eyes of beholders, even of Aaron himself, who did not know whether it would be safe to approach him. This was an illustrious testimony that he had been with God, *who dwells,* as the apostle speaks, *in light inaccessible.*

Ver. 31. *And Moses called unto them.*] Invited them to come near him, and not to fear any hurt.

*And Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned unto him.*] *viz.* After he had put a veil upon his face, till which they could not *steadfastly look upon it,* (as the apostle speaks, 2 Cor. iii. 7.) the light of it being so strong, that it hurt their eyes, if they fixed them there.

*And Moses talked with them.*] Acquainted them with what he had seen and heard.



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Ver. 32. *And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh*, &c.] There was a general assembly of all the tribes summoned, that he might deliver to them all that which he had received from God. (See xxxv. 1.)

*And he gave them in commandment all that the Lord had spoken with him in Mount Sinai.*] All the orders he had given about the building of the tabernacle, and the rest contained in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth chapters, and those that follow to the thirty-second. For at his first coming from the mount, finding them in an apostacy from God, he said nothing to them about these matters; but, in abhorrence of their foul idolatry, broke the tables of testimony which God had given him to deliver to them.

Ver. 33. *And till Moses had done speaking with them, he put a veil on his face.*] This seems to belong as well to ver. 31. as to the 32d, and accordingly I have interpreted it. Though there are those who think he persuaded Aaron and the rulers to approach without a veil; but put it on when he spake to the people, who were less able to bear it. But there seems to be the same reason for both; Aaron being no less afraid than any of them: and the majesty of his countenance appeared sufficiently, even when it was veiled; for the brightness was not quite obscured, though very much shaded by it.

Ver. 34. *But when Moses went in before the Lord to speak with him, he took the veil off till he came out.*] He went into the tabernacle, where he spake with him, face to face, as a man speaks to his friend, (xxxiii. 9—11.)

*And he came out, and spake unto the children of Israel that which he was commanded.*] This seems to relate unto the frequent occasions Moses had to go and consult with God in difficult cases, whose mind he declared to them when he had received it.

Ver. 35. *And the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses's face shone*, &c.] Some great men have thought that the brightness continued on Moses's face till his death; so that he spake to them with a veil on his face, from this time, as long as he lived: of which we cannot be certain; though thus much is evident, from this and the foregoing verse, that the splendour of his countenance did remain for some time after he came down from God's presence in the mount; during which, as oft as he went in to speak with God, he took off his veil, and when he came out to speak with them, he put it on, *until he went in to speak with God again*, as this verse concludes. How long it was before it vanished none can resolve: perhaps not till he had set up the tabernacle, and consecrated Aaron and his sons, and delivered all the laws he had received about the service of God, which are recorded in the book of Leviticus: that is, all the time they stayed near Mount Sinai; from whence they removed a little more than half a year after this, (Numb. x. 11, 12.)

## CHAP. XXXV.

Ver. 1. *AND Moses gathered all the congregation of the children of Israel together.*] Having told them what orders he had received from the Lord, and sufficiently convinced them of his authority, (xxxiv. 32, 33.) he now proceeds to put them in execution. And in order to it, he gathered *col-hadath*, all the congregation: which sometimes signifies all the elders and judges, &c. (the prime governors of the people) and sometimes the whole body of the people, as Corn. Bon. Bertram observes, de Repub. Jud. cap. 6. It seems here to be used in the first sense; for he could not speak these words to the whole body of the people, but to the principal persons of the several tribes, by whom what he said was communicated to all Israel.

*These are the words which the Lord hath commanded, that ye should do them.*] Before they entered upon the work, he admonishes them that none of it must be done upon the sabbath.

Ver. 2. *Six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you a holy sabbath*, &c.] This commandment was particularly repeated to Moses, at the end of all the directions about the building of the tabernacle, (see xxxi. 13—15.) and now repeated to them (as it was at his late renewing his covenant with them, xxxiv. 21.) that they might not imagine any of the work here commanded to be done about the tabernacle, &c. would license them to break the sabbath. The observation of which being the great preservative of religion, that is the reason it is so often enjoined, and particular care taken to secure it. And it is not to be omitted, that (to shew of what great concern it is) he calls it here, as he did xxxi. 15. where the end and use of it is set down, the *sabbath of sabbaths*, that is, the great sabbath or rest.

Ver. 3. *Ye shall kindle no fire in your habitations upon the sabbath-day.*] To dress their meat, or for any other work: otherwise they might kindle a fire to warm themselves in cold weather. This is sufficiently comprehended under the general command, *thou shalt not do any work*, (xx. 10.) Therefore the meaning is, Thou shalt not so much as kindle a fire for any such purpose. For that is the rule they give in Halicoth Olam, cap. 2. that such particular prohibitions *forbid the whole kind, i. e.* all manner of work whatsoever; which is here mentioned, to shew they might not kindle a fire for this work of the tabernacle.

Ver. 4. *And spake unto all the congregation*, &c.] See ver. 1.

*This is the thing which the Lord commanded.*] Having secured the observation of the sabbath, according to the direction given just before he came down from the mount the first time, (xxxi. 13—15.) he now relates to them what commands he received from God, concerning all that follows.

Ver. 5. *Take ye from amongst you an offering unto the Lord.*] And first he makes a motion to them from the Lord, that they would make a free oblation of materials for the building of the tabernacle, and all other things which the Lord commanded to be made, (ver. 10, &c.)

*Take ye*, is as much as *bring ye*, and so we translate it xxv. 2. (See there.) Where it appears that this was the very first thing God said to him (concerning a voluntary offering, which was the foundation of all the rest), and therefore is first propounded to the people by him.

*Whosoever is of a willing heart*, &c.] See xxv. 2.

Ver. 6—9.] All these have been explained in the twenty-fifth chapter, ver. 3—5, &c.

Ver. 10. *Every wise-hearted among you shall come, and make all that the Lord hath commanded.*] Every skilful person in the art of making the things following. The same is said of the women, ver. 25. The Hebrew word *cochmah*,

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which we translate *wisdom*, is used variously, as Maimonides observes; sometimes for the understanding of Divine things; sometimes for moral virtue; and sometimes for skill in any art (of which he alleges this place as an instance), and sometimes for craft and subtlety. (See More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 54.) The word *leb* (or *heart*) is used here according to the vulgar opinion of those days, that the heart is the seat of the understanding. And thus I observed before upon chap. xxv. that excellent artists are by the heathen called *wise men*. Since which I have observed, that this is the language of Homer himself; whose verses concerning Margites are quoted by Aristotle in more places than one, (lib. vi. Moral. ad Nichomach. cap. 7. et lib. v. Moral. ad Eudemum, cap. 7.) where he saith he was so foolish, that

Τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ σκαπτῆρα θεοὶ θέσαν οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα
Οὔτ' ἄλλως τι σοφόν.

*The gods neither made him a ditcher, nor a ploughman, nor any other sort of wise man.* Upon which Aristotle notes, τὴν δὲ σοφίαν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις, τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις τὰς τέχνας ἀποδίδομεν, *We ascribe wisdom in arts to those who excel in them;* and then he instances in Phidias a stone-cutter, and Polycletus a statuary.

Ver. 11. *The tabernacle.*] This signifies sometimes the whole structure of the house of God; but here only the fine inward curtains, mentioned xxvi. 1, 2, &c.

*His tent.*] This signifies the curtains of goats' hair; which were laid over the other, (xxvi. 7, &c.)

*His covering.*] Of rams' skins and badgers' skins; which were thrown over the other two, (xxvi. 14.)

*His taches, and his boards, his bars, his pillars, and his sockets.*] All these are explained in that chapter.

Ver. 12. *The ark and his staves, with the mercy-seat.*] See xxv. 10. 13. 17.

*And the veil of the covering.*] Whereby the holy was separated from the most holy place. Which is here fitly mentioned between the mercy-seat, which was within; and the table, &c. which were without this veil.

Ver. 13. *The table, and his staves, and all his vessels.*] See all these explained, xxv. 23, 24, &c.

*And the shew-bread.*] This is a short expression, one word (as is usual) being cut off, *viz. the dishes*, in which the *shew-bread* was set. For Moses had not order to make the bread itself, but the dishes (as I said) on which the loaves were laid, (xxv. 29.)

Ver. 14. *The candlestick also for the light, and his furniture, and his lamps.*] See xxvi. 31, 32, &c.

*With the oil for the light.*] See xxvii. 20, 21.

Ver. 15. *And the incense-altar, and the staves.*] See xxxi. 1, 2, &c.

*And the anointing oil.*] See xxxi. 23, 24, &c.

*And the sweet incense.*] See xxxi. 34, &c. He mentioned before the materials for them, (ver. 8.) and now the things themselves.

*And the hanging for the door, at the entering in of the tabernacle.*] Of this, see xxvi. 36.

Ver. 16. *And the altar of burnt-offering, with his brazen grate, his staves.*] These are explained, xxvii. 1—7.

*And all his vessels.*] See there, ver. 3.

*The laver and his foot.*] See xxix. 17, 18.

Ver. 17. *The hangings of the court, his pillars, and their sockets.*] See xxvii. 9, 10, &c.

*And the hangings for the door of the court.*] See there, ver. 16.

Ver. 18. *The pins of the tabernacle,* &c.] See xxvii. 19.

Ver. 19. *The clothes of the service, to do service in the holy place, the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and his sons,* &c.] Of which there is an account in the whole twenty-eighth chapter. And Moses here makes this large enumeration of all the things which God had commanded, (ver. 10.) that they might be stirred up to be the more liberal in their offering, when they saw how many things were to be done.

Ver. 20. *And all the congregation of the children of Israel.*] Whom he had summoned to meet together, (ver. 1.)

*Departed from the presence of Moses.*] When he had reported to them what orders he had received from the Divine Majesty in the mount, (ver. 4, 5, &c.)

Ver. 21. *And they came.*] Being dismissed to their own tents, they went thither only to fetch an offering to the Lord; which they came and brought immediately.

*Every one whose heart stirred him up.*] Whose mind was raised to a free and cheerful readiness. The Hebrew words are, *lifted him up;* that is, had *animum excelsum, a noble mind;* or was of a generous spirit; as the following words import, *Every one whom his spirit made willing.*

*And they brought the Lord's offering.*] An offering to the Lord, as Moses exhorted, (ver. 5.)

*To the work of the tabernacle.*] For the building a sanctuary, wherein God might dwell among them, (xxv. 8.)

*And for all his service.*] For all that belonged to the furniture of it, both within and without, which are mentioned in the verses beforegoing.

*And for the holy garments.*] That the priests might minister there in their office, (ver. 19.)

Ver. 22. *And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted.*] Who seem to have been the greatest part of the congregation.

*And brought bracelets, and ear-rings, and rings.*] They were no less forward to offer to the service of God, than they had been to the making the golden calf, (xxxii. 2, 3.) for which offence they now make some sort of satisfaction; being more liberal in contributing to this work, than they were to that. For we read there only of their *ear-rings*, which they brake off from their ears and brought to Aaron; but here of their *bracelets* also, and *rings*, with other things. For though they may be supposed to have parted with a great deal, on that wicked account; it did not make those who were touched with what Moses said, less willing to give afresh to a holy use.

*Tablets.*] The Hebrew word *comaz*, or *camaz*, is of very uncertain signification; for some make it an ornament of the arms, and others of some other part: but the Chaldee takes it for something about the breast; a *fascia* (saith Elias) wherewith women tied up and compressed their breasts, to make them appear more beautiful, by being round. This Bochartus approves, in his Canaan. lib. ii. cap. 5.

*All jewels of gold.*] All the four forenamed sorts of ornaments were of gold.

*And every man that offered, offered an offering of gold unto the Lord.*] The first oblations that were brought, either by the women or the men, were all of gold: and then followed meaner things, which the people of lower condition brought to the Lord.

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Ver. 23. *And every man with whom was found blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen,* &c.] The common sort of people also offered such as they had, yarn, and fine linen, goats' hair, and skins. (See xxv. 4, 5.)

Ver. 24. *Every one that did offer an offering of silver and brass,* &c.] Those of a middle condition offered silver, and brass, and shittim-wood. All which were necessary for several uses: for the ark and the table were to be overlaid with gold; of which the candlesticks and several other things were to be made. (See chap. xxv.) The inward cutains were to be made of the yarn; and the outward of goats' hair, and the covering of both of skins. The foundations of the tabernacle were of silver; and the taches of the curtains and altar of burnt-offering of brass; and shittim-wood was used about the boards of the tabernacle, the ark, table, &c. (See chap. xxv. xxvi. xxvii.)

Ver. 25. *And all the women that were wise-hearted, did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun,* &c.] Not only the men, but the women also, brought materials for the house; and more than that, such as were skilful among them spun both yarn and thread; which was the proper work of women, not of men. Unto which work alone they were bound to apply themselves, if by the custom of the place no other work (such as knitting, and sewing with their needle, &c.) was usually performed by them, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. de Uxor. Hebr. cap. 10. where he treats of all the employments of their women.

Ver. 26. *And all the women whose heart stirred them up.*] Whose minds were elevated to excellent contrivances.

*In wisdom, spun goats' hair.*] With great art spun goats' hair; which was not so easy as to spin wool and flax. For though their goats were shorn in those countries, as sheep are here (their hair being longer than ours), yet there was a great deal of skill required to work it into a thread, and to make stuff of it. (See Bochart. Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 51.) In old time also women were wont to weave as well as spin, as appears not only out of the sacred books, but out of Homer, Plato, Cicero, and many other authors, mentioned by Braunius, in his book de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 17, where he observes (N. 33.) out of Herodotus, that he, shewing the Egyptian customs to be different in many things from those of other nations, mentions this among the rest, that their men κατ' οἴκους ἐόντες ὑφαίνουσι, *sat at home and weaved,* while their women went abroad and bought and sold, (lib. ii. cap. 35.)

Ver. 27. *And the rulers brought onyx-stones, and stones to be set for the ephod, and for the breast-plate.*] The great men also offered suitable to their quality; such things as the people could not furnish, *viz.* precious stones, for uses mentioned xxv. 7. xxviii. 9. 17, 18, &c.

Ver. 28. *And spice, and oil for the light, and for the anointing oil,* &c.] Such principal spices (as we translate it) mentioned xxx. 23. 34, together with oil for the light, (xxvii. 20.) which was so pure, that ordinary persons had it not. For there were several sorts of olives (as Fort. Scacchus shews, Myrothec. Sacr. Elæochrysm. par. i. cap. 4, 5.) some of which were not so common as the other, and therefore of greater value.

Ver. 29. *The children of Israel brought a willing offering,* &c.] To sum up all in a few words, they brought whatsoever was necessary, *for all manner of work which the Lord had commanded to be made.*

*By the hand of Moses.*] Whom he employed to deliver these commands to his people.

Ver. 30. *And Moses said, See, the Lord hath called by name,* &c.] Hath principally made choice of Bezaleel to undertake and perform this work. This he said, that they might not be solicitous about artists, to make all that was propounded; for they knew that there were none among them bred to such employments. Moses therefore informs them, in the first place, that God had provided himself of a master workman, as he told him xxx. 1, 2, &c.

Ver. 31. *And he hath filled him with the spirit of God in wisdom,* &c.] This verse is explained before, xxxi. 3. 6. only I shall add, that the extraordinary skill which any man had without teaching, in common arts, was by the heathens ascribed to their gods. There are several instances of it observed by Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. xxii. where he argues, that it should not be thought strange, if a man be made virtuous by a Divine inspiration, when some have no other ways become admirable artists. Among which he mentions Demodocus, a musician, whom Homer introduces speaking thus of himself:

Αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμὶ, θεοὶ δέ μοι ὤπασαν ὁμφήν.

*I was never taught by any body, but the gods bestowed on me the gift of singing.* The latter end of which verse is a little otherwise in Homer, as we now have him, (Odyss. x.) but to the same sense, and it is Phemius, not Demodocus, who there speaks, as Petrus Petitus hath observed, in his Miscell. Observ. lib. i. cap. 19.

Ver. 32. *And to devise curious works.*] The Hebrew word *chaschab* signifies to *devise* and *excogitate;* whence *macheschaboth,* which we translate *curious works* (and in the end of the next verse *cunning works*), is as much as ingenious inventions, devised with much art. Such were the engines made by king Uzziah, which are said to be invented by cunning men, or excellent engineers, as we now speak, (1 Chron. xxvi. 15.) See xxxi. 4. where this verse hath been explained.

Ver. 33. *And in the cutting of stones,* &c.] See xxxi. 5.

Ver. 34. *And he hath put in his heart that he may teach.*] Instruct others in his arts. For this was a gift of God, as much as any of the rest, to be able to inform others dexterously, in those things which he knew himself: as it was, to be able to comprehend what Moses told him God had ordered, and put it in execution. For God gave Moses the pattern, according to which all things were to be wrought: and as it was a peculiar gift of God, which enabled him to represent to Bezaleel what had been set before him; so it was by an extraordinary operation on his mind, that he conceived presently what was represented, and had skill to perform it according to direction.

Ver. 35. *Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of work,* &c.] This is repeated so often, and such particular mention is here made again of their skill in every thing, though of ever so difficult contrivance, to assure the Israelites that they were so well qualified for the work, that they might be entrusted with the offerings they had made. And accordingly they were, (xxxvi. 3.)

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## CHAP. XXXVI.

Ver. 1. *THEN wrought Bezaleel and Aholiab, and every wise-hearted man,* &c.] This verse is only a general account of what follows more particularly, concerning the execution of that which God had commanded, and for the effecting of which the people had liberally contributed. It is not said where they wrought, but some think it was in that very space of ground where the tabernacle was set up when perfected.

Ver. 2. *And Moses called Bezaleel and Aholiab, and every wise-hearted man, in whose heart the Lord had put wisdom.*] It appears by this, that all the lower artificers, who were taught by the master-workmen, Bezaleel and Aholiab, were also disposed by God to learn; he giving them a quickness of apprehension and sagacity beyond what was natural to them.

*Even every one whose heart stirred him up, to come unto the work to do it.*] Yet this signifies, they had also a natural genius, which inclined and prompted them to such employments.

Ver. 3. *And they received of Moses all the offerings which the children of Israel had brought for the work of the sanctuary,* &c.] Into the hands of all these artists, Moses delivered the offerings that had been made; and directed them what to do with them.

*And they brought yet unto him free-offerings every morning.*] The hearts of the people were so enlarged, that every day they brought new contributions unto Moses; who sent them (as appears by the next verse) to the workmen, as soon as he received them.

Ver. 4. *And all the wise men, which wrought all the work of the sanctuary, came every man from his work which he made.*] After they had continued some time at their work, they all agreed to desist awhile, and go to Moses, to let him know that there needed no further offerings, for they had sufficient already; nay, more than enough, as it follows, ver. 5.

Ver. 5. *And they spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring much more than enough for the service of the work,* &c.] A wonderful instance of integrity, that there should not be one man found among them (for the words in the Hebrew are very emphatical, *isch, isch* [*man, man*], that is, none excepted) who was inclined to purloin any thing for his own proper use: but by common consent, they left their work, to put a stop to all further contributions. A sign they were men endued with extraordinary virtue, as well as skill in their employments.

Ver. 6. *And Moses gave commandment.*] To those that attended on him; or perhaps to Bezaleel and Aholiab, and the rest.

*And they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the camp.*] By some under officers, who, it is likely, were wont to execute such commands.

*Saying, Let neither man nor woman make any more work for the offering of the sanctuary.*] It seems some men prepared and made ready some of the things which they offered; as the women spun yarn and hair, and brought them to Moses. For it was not hard to plane boards (for instance) though the joining them together, as God appointed, was beyond the skill of common people.

Ver. 7. *For the stuff they had was sufficient,* &c.] There were materials of all sorts, for every thing that was to be made, beyond what was necessary.

Ver. 8. *And every wise-hearted man among them that wrought the work of the tabernacle,* &c.] They began first (as was but fit) with the house of God, before they made the furniture. For that was first ordered in general words, (xxv. 8.) though the structure of it be not directed till the twenty-sixth chapter. Where every thing mentioned in this is explained; and therefore there will need no more to be done here; but to point to a few things which are explained elsewhere, particularly in the foregoing chapter.

Ver. 14. *He made curtains of goats' hair for the tent over the tabernacle.*] What is here meant by *tent,* see xxxv. 11.

Ver. 19. *He made a covering for the tent.*] This curtain covered the *tent,* as the curtain of which the tent was made covered the *tabernacle.* (See xxvi. 14. xxxv. 11.)

*Of rams' skins died red.*] The particle *mem* here is cut off before *skins;* as it is in several verses of this chapter, (8. 34, 35. and others.)

*Covering of badgers'-skins.*] I observed on xxvi. 14. that *thacas* doth not signify a badger, but a certain colour, and alleged that place in Ezek. xvi. 10. for the proof of it; where God setting forth his kindness to Israel, under the figure of a most loving husband, who denies his wife nothing, though never so costly, saith, he shod her with *thacas;* which I since find translated by an anonymous author, *with purple shoes.*

## CHAP. XXXVII.

IN this chapter Moses gives an account of the making of all the furniture of the tabernacle, with such exactness, as he describes the making of the tabernacle itself, in the foregoing chapter: to shew that God's directions about the making every thing was punctually observed; nothing being omitted or added, but all made according to the pattern in the mount, (xxv. 9. 40.) In which chapter most of the things here mentioned are explained; and there needs little to be added here.

Ver. 1. *And Bezaleel made the ark of shittim-wood,* &c.] Abarbinel fancies, that though other things were made by inferior artificers, whom Bezaleel directed; yet the ark, because of its dignity and pre-eminence, above all other things, was made by him, without the help of any other. And so Rambam also; from whence the Jews commonly called it (as Buxtorf observes), the *ark of Bezaleel.* But this hath no good foundation; for he is said to have made also every thing else in the tabernacle; the table, and all its vessels: in short, every thing mentioned in this chapter, and in the next also, and in the foregoing, (ver. 10, 11, &c.) He therefore is said to have made the ark, &c. because he gave directions to the under workmen, and saw them make it.

Ver. 10. *And he made the table of shittim-wood,* &c.] Next to the ark, the mercy-seat, and the cherubims which belong to it, the table and the vessels appertaining to it were the principal things within the tabernacle. See xxv. 23, &c. where all the things mentioned between this verse and the seventeenth are explained.

Ver. 17. *And he made the candlestick,* &c.] The orders

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which Moses received for the making this, the branches and the lamps thereof, and every thing appertaining to it, are set down xxv. 31, 32, &c. which Bezaleel exactly followed.

Ver. 25. *He made the incense-altar,* &c.] This, and all that follows in the three next verses, see explained, xxx. 1, &c.

Ver. 29. *And he made the holy anointing oil,* &c.] See xxx. 31, &c.

*And the pure incense,* &c.] See xxx. 34, &c.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

Ver. 1. *AND he made the altar of burnt-offering,* &c.] Having given an account of the making of all the furniture of the house, he proceeds to shew how all things were made without doors with the same exactness, according to the Divine prescriptions. All which Bezaleel could not make with his own hands; but he was chief director in these things as well as the rest of the work.

*Five cubits was the length thereof,* &c.] See xxvii. 1, 2, &c. where this, and the six following verses are explained.

Ver. 8. *And he made the laver of brass,* &c.] See xxx. 18. where order is given for the making of this laver, and its situation directed: but neither there nor here are we told the figure or dimensions of it; but have a particular remark, in this place, concerning the materials out of which it was made, in the following words.

*Of the looking-glasses.*] So we interpret the Hebrew word *maroth;* because now such things are commonly made of *glass;* but anciently of *polished brass:* which they looked upon as far better than silver, for that made a weaker reflection, as Vitruvius informs us, (lib. vii. cap. 3.) And the best of these *specula* were, among the ancient Romans, made at Brundusium, of brass and tin mixed together, as Pliny tells us, (lib. xxxiii. 9. xxxiv. 17.) This shews the *laver* was made of the finest and most pure brass.

*Of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] The Hebrew word *Hattzobeoth* signifies that they came by troops to make this present to the Lord. And the LXX. and Chaldee understanding it of such women as came together to serve God, by fasting and prayer, (for there is the same word used in 1 Sam. ii. 22.) most interpreters think, they that made this oblation were very devout women, who were wont to spend much time at the tabernacle, where the presence of God was. For Moses's tent served instead of the tabernacle of the congregation, and was so called, till this tabernacle was built, (xxxiii. 7, &c.) Thus Aben Ezra also observes, upon these words; that these women making a free-will offering of the looking-glasses, wherein they were wont to behold the beauty of their faces, and to dress and adorn their heads, it seems to argue their very religious mind, despising the vanity of the world, and delighting far more in the service of God.

Ver. 9. *And he made the court,* &c.] All that follows from this place to ver. 21. is explained in the twenty-seventh chapter, from ver. 9. to ver. 20. except two or three words, which I shall here take notice of.

Ver. 17. *The chapiters of silver.*] There is no mention of *rashim (chapiters)* in the twenty-seventh chapter; but only of *vauim* (or *hooks)* which were of silver, ver. 10. and 17. But this verse shews that those hooks were in the chapiters, or heads of the pillars, out of which those arose, as an ornament to them.

Ver. 18. *And the height in the breadth,* &c.] This is a Hebrew phrase, signifying the height of the hanging itself: whose breadth, when it lay along, was called its height when it was hung up. And that was *five cubits;* proportionable to the hangings of the court, which was five cubits high, (xxvii. 18.)

Ver. 21. *This is the sum of the tabernacle, even of the tabernacle of the testimony,* &c.] Some will have this relate to the forenamed things, mentioned in this and in the foregoing chapters. But I take it rather to be a preface to the account which Moses ordered to be taken of all the gold, silver, and brass that was employed in building of the tabernacle. Which being summed up, amounted to so many talents as are mentioned, ver. 24, &c.

*For the service of the Levites.*] Rather, *by the ministry of the Levites;* whom Moses appointed to take the account of all the expenses.

*By the hand of Ithamar, son to Aaron the priest.*] Under the conduct of Ithamar, the youngest son of Aaron; whom he appointed to preside over the Levites, in taking this account.

Ver. 22. *And Bezaleel, the son of Uri, made all that the Lord commanded Moses.*] Which gold, silver, and brass was committed into the hands of Bezaleel (though in the presence of all the rest of the workmen, xxxvi. 2, 3.) as the principal person, who was to see it employed in making every thing which the Lord commanded Moses.

Ver. 23. *And with him was Aholiab,* &c.] Unto whom God joined Aholiab as his associate in so great an undertaking; who made use of several others, whom they taught in those arts, which God, by an extraordinary inspiration, had made them to understand, (xxxv. 30, 31. 34, 35.)

Ver. 24. *All the gold which was occupied for the work,* &c.] About the ark, the table, the candlestick, and all belonging to them, (xxxvii. 2. 11. 17. 24. 26.) and about the holy garments mentioned xxxix. 5, &c. 15. 25. 30.

What was not employed about this work (for the people brought more than enough, xxxvi. 5. 7.) it is very probable was laid up in the treasury, for sacred uses, as there should be occasion.

*Twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty shekels.*] It hath been noted before, that a shekel is near half-a-crown of our money: now it is evident (from ver. 25, 26.) that there were three thousand shekels in a talent; so that a talent of silver, as Dr. Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, computes it (in his learned treatise of Scripture Weights and Measures, chap. 4.) amounts to three hundred and fifty-three pounds, eleven shillings, and some odd pence, in our money. And a talent of gold (reckoning gold to be above fourteen times in value) to five thousand and seventy-six pounds, three shillings, and tenpence.

Ver. 25. *And the silver of them that were numbered of the congregation was a hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels,* &c.] There being six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty men, that offered each of them half a shekel (as the next verse tells us), they make three hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-five thousand shekels. Which, amounting to a hundred talents, with one thousand seven

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hundred and seventy-five shekels more, demonstrates that a talent contains three thousand shekels. For no number (as the same learned bishop hath shewn) but three thousand, dividing three hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-five, will produce a hundred, and leave one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five in remainder.

Ver. 26. *A bekah for every man, that is, half a shekel,* &c.] See xxx. 13. Some may possibly think it unaccountable, that so great treasures should be found among the Israelites in the desert; and especially that they should be furnished with such precious stones, as are mentioned in the next chapter, ver. 10, &c. as they were before, xxviii. 17, 18, &c. But such persons should consider, that their ancestors were very great men, and had gathered great riches, before they came into Egypt; where Joseph, it is likely, left them no small treasures: and though Pharaoh perhaps squeezed them (as I said upon chapter the first) yet they preserved most of their riches, and were reimbursed what they lost, by what they borrowed of the Egyptians. From whose dead bodies thrown on the sea-shore, we may well suppose they got still more; as they did also from the Amalekites, who being a people near to Arabia (from whence a great part of the precious stones came), we may likewise suppose were not unfurnished with them. And besides all this, they had shittim-wood good store in the wilderness; (as I noted chap. xxv.) and some of the Jews, particularly Abarbinel, think it not improbable, that they traded with the neighbouring nations, who bordered upon the wilderness, while they continued in it.

Ver. 27. *And of the hundred talents of silver were cast the sockets of the sanctuary,* &c.] It appears by the twenty-sixth chapter, that there were just a hundred of these sockets, which were the foundation of the house of God, (ver. 19. 21. 25. 32.) To the making of every one of which there went a talent of silver.

Ver. 28. *And of the thousand seven hundred seventy-five shekels, he made,* &c.] A hundred talents being spent in making the sockets, the remainder, which was one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels, (ver. 25.) was laid out upon hooks, and chapiters, and fillets, about the pillars. Which make up the whole account of the silver.

Ver. 29. *And the brass of the offering,* &c.] This verse gives an account of the value of the brass, which the people offered; as the former verses of the gold and silver.

Ver. 30. *And therewith he made the sockets to the door of the tabernacle, and the brazen altar,* &c.] This verse and the next gives an account how the brass was employed, according to God's order beforementioned, (xxvi. 37. xxvii. 2—4.)

Ver. 31. *And the sockets of the court,* &c.] See xxvii. 10. 17—19. Here is not such a particular account given upon what things the gold was employed, (but only in general, *in all the work of the holy place,* ver. 24.) because all things that were not made of silver and brass were made of gold; and a great deal, it appears by the next chapters, was employed in making Aaron's glorious attire.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

Ver. 1. *AND of the blue, and purple, and scarlet.*] These artificers proceeded, in the most natural order, to make all that God commanded. For, first, they made the house itself, in which he was to dwell, (chap. xxxvi.) then all the furniture belonging to it, (chap. xxxvii.) and then the outward court, and all that was therein, (chap. xxxviii.) and now Moses relates how they made the priestly garments, without which they could not minister to God in this house.

*They made.*] This shews how all that goes before (where it is said *he made*) is to be interpreted. Bezaleel and Aholiab, and all that were employed under them, had a hand (as we speak) in these garments; the principal artists directing, and the rest working all that is here mentioned.

*Clothes of service.*] To be put on when they ministered unto God, in the priest's office, (xxviii. 4. xxx. 10. xxxv. 19.) not to be worn abroad, but only in the sanctuary. As Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 11. p. 145. where he looks upon the following words, *to do service in the holy place* (or, to serve in the sanctuary), as determining them to be used here, and no where else.

Ver. 2. *And he made the ephod,* &c.] Gave direction for the making it of such materials as here follow. (See xxviii. 6, &c.)

Ver. 3. *And they did beat the gold into thin plates,* &c.] The under workmen, by Bezaleel's direction, did first beat the gold into very thin plates, and then slice them into wires, or small threads of gold. For in those days they had not the art which we have now, of drawing a piece of gold into round wires or threads of what length we please; but, as Moses here describes it, they beat it first into broad thin plates, and then cut off lesser and narrower wires (as we call them), which were not round, but of a very small breadth; which they wove with the other materials here mentioned. But nothing is here said of silver thus wrought; for they had not the art of weaving silver in this manner, in ancient times, as Salmasius observes upon Vopiscus, in the life of Aurelian; in whose days the art of making *silver* into threads, and weaving it with their garments, was not known; but was much in use in the time of the latter Greek emperors.

*To work it in blue, and in purple,* &c.] The manner of it was thus (as Maimonides saith): "They took one thread of wire of gold, and joined it with six threads of *blue,* and twisted all seven into one. And so they mingled the like thread of gold with six of *purple;* and another with six of *scarlet;* and another with six of *fine linen:* so that there were twenty-eight threads in all." Which R. Solomon Jarchi expresses thus upon xxviii. 8. These five kinds (blue, purple, scarlet, fine linen, and gold) were twisted into one thread. For the gold being stretched into a thin plate, and threads cut out of it, they weaved a thread of gold with six threads of *blue* (and so they did with the rest), after which they twisted all these threads into one. (See Joh. Braunius de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 17. n. 26.)

*Cunning work.*] See xxviii. 6,

Ver. 4, 5.] See xxviii. 7, 8.

Ver. 6. *They wrought onyx-stones.*] See xxviii. 9.

Ver. 7. *For a memorial.*] See xxviii. 12.

Ver. 8. *He made the breast-plate,* &c.] See this explained, and all that follows to ver. 22. in xxviii. 15, 16, &c. only observe, that there is not a word here said of his making *urim* and *thummim:* which confirms what I said there, that they were not distinct things from the precious stones in the breast-plate.

Ver. 22. *And they made the robe of the ephod,* &c.]



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See this and the two following verses explained, xxviii. 31—33.

Ver. 24. *And twined linen.*] In the Hebrew there is only the word *twined:* but the Masora rightly observes, that *schesch* is to be understood; which we have therefore justly supplied in the word *linen.* And so the LXX.

Ver. 25. *Bells of pure gold,* &c.] See xxviii. 33, 34. where this and the next verse are explained.

Ver. 27. *And they made coats of fine linen.*] Coats were ordered to be made for Aaron and his sons, xxviii. 40. but the matter of them not mentioned: which is here therefore ordered to be of *fine linen.* For white garments, being pure, bright, unmixed, and also splendid and stately (for anciently the greatest persons were so clothed, as appears by Joseph, when he was honourably arrayed by Pharaoh, Gen. xli. 42.) were used by all nations in the service of God. And what was most suitable to nature, God thought fit to continue in his service, though used perhaps by idolaters before this time. Only his priests wore these garments no where but in the sanctuary; whereas the priests of Isis (for instance) went every where clothed in white.

*Of woven work.*] Not sewed with a needle; for such coats may be made without any seam; and Braunius hath shewn the manner of weaving them, lib. i. de Vestitu Sacerdot. Hebr. cap. 16.

Ver. 28. *Mitre of fine linen.*] See xxviii. 39. And of bonnets and breeches. (See there, ver. 40. 42.)

Ver. 29. *And a girdle of fine twined linen,* &c.] See xxviii. 39.

Ver. 30. *And they made the plate of the holy crown.*] See xxviii. 36. To which I shall only add, that the priests, both men and women, among the gentiles, had ordinarily the epithet of στεφανοφόροι, from the crowns they wore upon their heads; which were sometimes of gold, sometimes of laurel. (See Cuperus, in his Harpocrates, p. 137.)

Ver. 31. *A lace of blue,* &c.] See xxviii. 37.

Ver. 32. *Thus was all the work of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation finished,* &c.] Every thing belonging to the house of God (which he commanded Moses to make) was completed exactly according to his directions: though they were not yet set in their place, which God orders in the next chapter.

*Tabernacle of the tent,* &c.] See xl. 2.

*And all the children of Israel did according to all that the Lord commanded Moses, so did they.*] This hath a more particular respect to the workmen; yet all the materials being brought by the body of the people, they are also comprehended in this expression.

Ver. 33. *And they brought the tabernacle unto Moses, the tent, and all its furniture,* &c.] In this and the following verses he makes a recapitulation of all the particulars, mentioned in the foregoing chapter: which they brought to Moses, that they might see whether they were made according to his order. It is probable that the whole congregation, or the heads of them, accompanied Bezaleel and the other artificers, when they brought these things to Moses for his approbation.

Ver. 34. *And the covering of the rams' skins,* &c.] Of this covering, and of the next, see xxvi. 14. xxxvi. 19.

*And the veil of the covering.*] See xxvi. 36.

Ver. 37. *The pure candlestick.*] Of pure gold, as we read xxv. 31. xxxvii. 17.

Ver. 42. *So the children of Israel made all the work.*] Here again the whole body of the people are said to have made all the work forementioned, (see ver. 37.) because they contributed to it, and also helped to prepare some materials for the workmen, (xxxv. 25. xxxvi. 6.)

Ver. 43. *And Moses did look upon the work.*] Took a solemn view of it; and examined it carefully whether it was performed according to the order they had received.

*And behold, they had done it as the Lord commanded.*] This is the tenth time that Moses, in this one chapter, saith all was done *as the Lord commanded,* ver. 1. 5. 7. 21. 26. 29. 31, 32. 42. and here in this last verse; to shew how exact they were in their obedience; and that nothing was done according to their own reason and opinion, but all according to the Divine precept, without addition or detraction. They are the words of the author of Sepher Cosri, (par. iii. n. 23.) who well observes, that all was done and brought to perfection by two things, which are the pillars of the law: the one is, that *the law is from God;* and the other, that *it be accepted by the church with a faithful heart.* And thus was the tabernacle ordered by the Divine precept; and it was made by the whole church or congregation, (xxv. 2.)

*And Moses blessed them.*] Both the workmen, who had done their work faithfully; and the children of Israel, who had contributed the materials, and also now, together with Bezaleel and the rest of the artificers, presented the whole to him.

## CHAP. XL.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] After he had taken a survey of all the work beforementioned, God gave him the following command, in the latter end (it is probable) of the twelfth month.

Ver. 2. *On the first day of the first month.*] Of the second year after their coming out of Egypt, (ver. 17.) which was a complete year (within fourteen days) after that great deliverance.

*Shalt thou set up the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation.*] This is a full description of the place, which was made for a habitation of the Divine Majesty, (xxv. 8.) and therefore called *mischchan,* which we translate *tabernacle,* but properly signifies a *dwelling.* It was a moveable house, to be set up and taken down as there was occasion; and therefore called *ohel,* a *tent;* such as shepherds dwell in, (Gen. iv. 24. See xxix. 11. of this book.) Or, the word *tabernacle* may be thought to signify, the inward part of this house; as *tent,* the outward part, which covered the inward. (See ver. 17. 19. 29.)

Why it is called *ohel moed* [the *tent of the congregation*] see xxix. 44.

Ver. 3. *And thou shalt put therein the ark of the testimony.*] This was the principal end of building this house, that God (as was said before) might dwell among them; and his residence was over this ark. Which therefore is ordered, in the first place, to be brought into the holy of holies, prepared for it as soon as the house was erected. Why called *the ark of the testimony,* see xxvi. 20, 21.

*And cover the ark with the veil.*] Which hung before it; that nobody (not the priests themselves) might see it (xxvi. 33.)

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Ver. 4. *And thou shalt bring in the table,* &c.] When the ark was placed in the holiest of all, then the table, with all belonging unto it, and the candlestick (whose lamps were to be lighted) are ordered to be set in the sanctuary, which was divided by the veil from the other, (xxvi. 35.)

Ver. 5. *And thou shalt set the altar of gold for the incense before the ark of the testimony.*] See xxx. 6.

*And put the hangings of the door to the tabernacle.*] See xxvi. 36, 37. This is ordered to be hung up, when the table, candlestick, and altar of incense, were put into the holy place, because there were no more things but these three to be there.

Ver. 6. *And thou shalt set the altar of burnt-offering,* &c.] In this and the two following verses, he is ordered to place the altar of burnt-offering, and the laver, as he had been before directed, (xxx. 18.) and to set up the outward court, and the hanging at the gate of it, in order to place the altar and the laver there, (xxvii. 9, &c.)

Ver. 9. *And thou shalt take the anointing oil.*] Mentioned xxx. 23, &c. Every thing being disposed in its proper place, now follows their consecration. For they were not consecrated separately, before the house was erected, and its furniture brought in: but after every thing was set in the order which God appointed.

*And anoint the tabernacle and all that is therein,* &c.] As was before directed, and now ordered to be put in execution, xxx. 26—29. where this and the two following verses are explained.

Ver. 12. *And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons to the door of the tabernacle.*] The laver being sanctified, (ver. 11.) many think that the sanctification of Aaron and his sons (*i. e.* their separation to their office) began in their being washed with water. But I look upon this as a mistake, there being a washing prescribed, before the laver was ordered, (xxix. 4.) where they were to wash only when they went in to minister, (xxx. 19—21.)

Ver. 13. *And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments.*] Mentioned in the twenty-eighth chapter.

*And anoint and sanctify him,* &c.] See xxx. 30, 31.

Ver. 14. *And thou shalt bring his sons and clothe them with coats.*] See xxvii. 40, 41.

Ver. 15. *And thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst their father.*] See concerning this xxix. 7. where both their anointing and their father's is explained.

*For their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood,* &c.] Not only consecrate them to the priest's office as long as they live; but consecrate their posterity also, who shall need no other anointing in succeeding generations: but minister to God by virtue of this anointing, as long as that priesthood lasted. So the Hebrews interpret it. None of them needed in aftertimes, saith R. Levi ben Gersom (upon 1 Kings i.) to be anointed, but only the high-priest; whose successors were to be anointed, as they gather from Levit. vi. 22. "The priest of his sons, who shall be anointed in his stead," &c. (See Selden de Succession. in Pontificat. lib. ii. cap. 9.)

Ver. 16. *Thus did Moses; according to all that the Lord commanded him, so did he.*] He took the same care in erecting the tabernacle, and disposing every thing in its place, that the workmen had done in making all things according to God's mind, (xxxix. 43.)

Ver. 17, 18, &c. *And it came to pass, in the first month,* &c.] This and the following verses to ver. 34. give an account of the execution of what God commanded, in the foregoing part of this chapter. But it is not easy to resolve, whether every thing was executed at this very time, or no. For full understanding of which, it will be necessary to mark diligently the order wherein God requires all the foregoing commands to be performed. And first he bids him set up the tabernacle, and put every thing belonging to it in its place, ver. 2, 3. and so forward to ver. 9. And next, to consecrate it, and all the vessels thereof, with the altar of burnt-offerings and its vessels, &c. (ver. 9—11.) And then to proceed to consecrate Aaron and his sons, (ver. 12—15.) Now it is expressly here affirmed, that Moses did perform the first of these, that is, set up the tabernacle, and put every thing appertaining to it in its right place, on the first day of the first month of the second year after their coming out of Egypt. At which time we must suppose also he began to consecrate it, and spent seven days in the consecration of it and of the altar of burnt-offering, as is appointed xxix. 37. But the difficulty is to determine, when he consecrated Aaron and his sons, as he is here required, in which seven days were also spent, as we read Lev. viii. Some think there were but seven days in all set apart for this work, and consequently they were consecrated together. So Torniellus in his Annals, and Abulensis before him, who follow Seder Olam and other Jewish writers, who are of this opinion. The ground of which is, that the tabernacle being erected on the first day of the month beforementioned, and its consecration finished on the eighth, there was a solemn Passover kept upon the fifteenth, (Numb. ix. 1, 2, &c.) which could not be held, they suppose, unless there were priests to offer the Passover: who therefore were consecrated at the same time with the tabernacle; because on the eighth day another business began, which was the offering made by the princes of the tribes, every one in their day, (Numb. vii. 1.) But the principal ground is, that, in Lev. viii. 10, 11, &c. Moses speaks of the *anointing* (*i. e.* consecrating) *the altar,* and of *consecrating Aaron and his sons,* as done both at the same time. But there is a weighty objection against all this; which is, that in the consecration of Aaron and his sons, there were three sacrifices offered upon the altar, one for a sin-offering, another for a burnt-offering, and the ram of consecration for a peace-offering, (Lev. viii. 4. 18. 22.) None of which could be acceptable for their sanctification, till the altar itself was made holy. And therefore the seven days appointed for that purpose were ended, before the consecration of the priests began, which continued seven days more; and then the next day was the feast of unleavened bread. Which was famous on a double account; first, because it was the first day of unleavened bread; and then it was the octaves of the consecration. And this appears more plainly from Lev. i. 1 where we find the following commands were given to Moses out of the tabernacle by the Divine Majesty; who therefore dwelt there, when he commanded the priest to be consecrated, which he did not till the tabernacle was solemnly consecrated to be his habitation. There the priests also are commanded to abide during the seven days of their consecration, (Lev. viii. 33.) which shews that all things belonging to its sanctification were finished, before their consecration began. As to that which is



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alleged from Lev. viii. 10, 11, &c. I shall consider it there.

Ver. 19. *And he spread abroad the tent over the tabernacle.*] The *ohel*, which we translate *tent*, sometimes signifies the whole house of God, (see ver. 19.) but here only the external part of it, which covered that which was properly called *mischchan* [the *tabernacle.*] Which Moses having erected with all its sockets, boards, bars, and pillars, ver. 18. (and hung it, we must suppose, with the inward hangings, which were the richest), he spread abroad over them the curtains of goats' hair, called the *tent*, (xxvi. 11.) to be a covering over the tabernacle, (xxvi. 7. xxxvi. 14. 19.) So the tabernacle was a house within a house, inclosed with strong walls (as we call them) to secure it from the injury of the weather.

*And put the covering of the tent upon it.*] Mentioned in xxvi. 14.

Ver. 20. *And he took and put the testimony into the ark.*] The two tables of stone, as he had been commanded, xxv. 16. which he mentions again in the repetition of the law, (Deut. x. 5.) Hence the ark is called the *ark of the covenant* or *testimony*, in the next verse, and ver. 3. of this chapter.

Ver. 21. *And he brought the ark into the tabernacle.*] It is probable that he had placed the ark, after it was made, in his own tent, which for the present was called *the tabernacle of the congregation*, and had the glory of the Lord in it, (xxxiii. 7. 9.) but now he brought it into this tabernacle, which by God's order was prepared for it.

*And set up the veil of the covering*, &c.] See ver. 3.

Ver. 22. *And he put the table in the tent of the congregation.*] Here the whole house is called the *ohel* (or *tent*), as I observed upon ver. 19. But immediately the word *mischchan* (which we translate *tabernacle*) is used, as the most proper expression for the inside of the house, as the other most properly denotes the outside of it. All is made more clear in the thirty-fourth verse; where we read that *the cloud covered the tent of the congregation*, that is, the outside of the house; and the glory of the Lord *filled the tabernacle* within. Though afterward, (ver. 38.) the cloud is said to be *upon the tabernacle*, as (ver. 36.) it is said to be *over the tabernacle*, because it was over the tent which covered it.

Ver. 25. *And he lighted the lamps before the Lord*, &c.] In this, and all that follows, of burning sweet incense, (ver. 27.) offering the burnt-offering and meat-offering, (ver. 29.) Moses acted as a priest, appointed by an extraordinary commission from God, only for this time; that he might consecrate the house of God, and the priests that were to minister therein; which being done, his priesthood ceased. And he did all that is mentioned in these verses, when the tabernacle was consecrated, and the glory of the Lord had filled it; testifying the Divine presence to be there.

Ver. 31. *And Moses, and Aaron, and his sons, washed their hands*, &c.] This shews that Moses acted now as a priest, and therefore washed himself before he went to sacrifice at the altar, as the priests afterward were always bound to do, (xxx. 19—21.) But it must be understood, that neither this washing here spoken of, nor his offering sacrifice, mentioned ver. 29. was till some days after this. (See ver. 17.)

Ver. 33 *So Moses finished the work.*] And then anointed the tabernacle, and all contained in it, according to God's order, (ver. 9—11.) The execution of which, though now not here mentioned in so many words, is expressly said to be on the same day that he had completely set up the tabernacle, (Numb. vii. 1.)

Ver. 34. *Then a cloud* (or, then *the cloud*) *covered the tent of the congregation.*] After it was anointed and sanctified for the Divine residence (and the princes, perhaps, had also finished that large offering which we read, Numb. vii. was made on this day), God was pleased to fill this place with his glorious presence. For the cloudy pillar, which descended upon Moses's tent, and stood there before the door of it, (xxxiii. 9.) removed now from thence, and came hither; not standing at the door of it in the form of a pillar, but spreading itself all over the outside of the tabernacle, so that it was covered with it, as we read also Numb. ix. 15.

*And the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle.*] See ver. 22. What God promised, (xxv. 8. 22.) he now performed, notwithstanding their revolt from him, by worshipping the golden calf. Which made him withdraw himself from them, (xxxiii. 7, &c.) till, upon Moses's earnest intercession for them, and their repentance, he graciously consented to return to them, and abide among them, (ver. 14, 15, &c.) As he now did by settling his glorious presence in this tabernacle, which was set up in the midst of them. For, whereas the other tabernacle of Moses was removed a mile or two from their camp, (xxxiii. 7.) this tabernacle was pitched (a month after this, Numb. i. 1.) in the midst of their camps, as we read Numb. ii. 2. 17.

Ver. 35. *And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation.*] For the glory of the Lord shone so bright and so strong, beyond all that it had ever done, that no eye could look upon it. And it filled not only the most holy place, but the whole body of the tabernacle; so that he durst not adventure to come within it till he was called, (Lev. i. 1.) After which time he seems to have had liberty to go in unto God when he pleased, (Numb. vii. 89. ix. 8, 9.) For after this great day, the glory of the Lord retired into the most holy place, within the veil; and resided constantly there, over the ark of the testimony: from whence he spake to Moses, when he came to consult him in the holy place. (See the forementioned Numb. vii. 89.) Whence he is said *to dwell between the cherubims;* though, on some occasions, this glory appeared without upon the tabernacle, (but over the ark, it is likely, Numb. xvi. 42.) And so perhaps it did, (xi. 17. 25.) and sometimes at the door of the tabernacle, (Deut. xxxi. 14, 15.)

*Because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the house.*] The cloud and the glory of the Lord were not two different things; but one and the same, as the pillar of cloud and of fire were. For outwardly it was a cloud, and inwardly a fire: and, accordingly, here the external part of it covered the tabernacle without; while the internal part shone in full glory within the house. Thus it was upon Mount Sinai, where Moses is said to "draw near to the thick darkness where God was," (xx. 21.) that is, the glory of the Lord was in that thick darkness. And so we read before, that "the glory of the Lord appeared in the cloud," (xvi. 10.) And so those words are to be interpreted, xxiv. 16. "The glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it (that is, covered *the glory of the Lord*, not *the mount*) six days." After which, on the

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seventh day, the glory of the Lord broke through it, and appeared like *devouring fire*, in the sight of all the people, (ver. 17.)

Ver. 36. *And when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward in their journeys.*] That is, the Lord (whose glorious presence was in this cloud) led and conducted them in all their removals. And therefore they are said to have *journeyed at the commandment of the Lord:* because when the cloud (wherein the Lord was) was taken up, then they journeyed, (Numb. ix. 17, 18. 20. 23.)

Ver. 37. *But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up.*] They were wholly governed by its motions, and followed its directions.

Ver. 38. *For the cloud of the Lord.*] So it is called also in Numb. x. 34. because the glory of the Lord was in it.

*Was upon the tabernacle by day.*] And so it was by night, but then had another appearance, as it here follows.

*And fire was on it by night.*] The *fire* and the *cloud* (as I said ver. 35.) were not different things; but the same pillar which was dark by day, when there was no need of light, shone like fire by night, when the dark part of it could not be seen, to lead and conduct them. It appeared, therefore, like a cloud by day, and turned the light side to them (which was as bright as fire) by night, that they might march, if there were occasion, by its direction, both day and night. And thus it is described, xiii. 21, 22. Numb. ix. 15, 16, &c. And so this verse may be translated, *the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and the fire was* [*bo*] *in it (i. e.* in the cloud) *by night.* For so they are elsewhere described, as one within the other: (Deut. v. 22.) "The Lord spake unto all your assembly out of the midst of the fire of the cloud, and of the thick darkness."

*In the sight of all the children of Israel, throughout all their journeys.*] The whole congregation had constantly this comfortable token of God's presence among them, by the cloud in the day-time, and fire in the night: which never left them all the time they were in the wilderness, but brought them to Canaan.

THE

# THIRD BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

# LEVITICUS.

## CHAP. I.

THE Greeks and Latins give it this name of LEVITICUS, not because it treats of the ministry of the Levites, properly so called (of which the book of Numbers gives a fuller account than this book doth), but because it contains the laws about the religion of the Jews, consisting principally in various sacrifices; the charge of which was committed to Aaron the Levite, (as he is called Exod. iv. 14.) and to his sons, who alone had the office of priesthood in the tribe of Levi: which the apostle therefore calls a *Levitical priesthood*, Heb. vii. 11.

Ver. 1. *And the Lord called unto Moses.*] That is, bade him draw near, and not be afraid, because of the glory of that light which was in the tabernacle, (Exod. xl. 35.) For this is a word of *love*, as the Hebrew doctors speak: who observe, that God is not said to call the prophets of the gentiles; but we only read that God *jikar, met Balaam;* not *jikra, called* to him, as he did here to Moses. Who, as Procopius Gazæus hath well observed upon this word, appointed no service of God, in his house which he had lately erected, without his order: whereas the worship performed in the honour of demons, was without any authority from him. Nay, there were magical operations in it, and invocation of demons; and certain tacit obligations which their priests contracted with them. For which he produces Porphyry as a witness.

*And spake unto him out of the tabernacle.*] Hitherto he had spoken to him out of heaven, or out of a cloud; but now out of his own house. Into which, it is not here said he bade him come (as he did afterwards when the glory of the Lord dwelt only in the inner part of the house, over the ark), but he stood, it is likely, without the door of the tabernacle, till the sacrifices were appointed (as it here follows), and the high-priest entered into it with the blood of expiation. I can find no time in which this can so probably be supposed to have been done, as immediately after the consecration of the tabernacle, as soon as the glory of the Lord entered into it. And so I find Hesychius understood it, who, observing this book to begin with the word *And*, which is a conjunction used to join what follows with that which goes before, thence concludes, that the beginning of this book is knit to the conclusion of the last; and consequently what is here related was spoken to Moses on the same day he had set up the tabernacle, and the glory of the Lord filled it. When Moses might well think (as the Jerusalem Targum explains it), that if Mount Sinai was so exalted by the Divine presence there for a short space, that it was not safe for him to approach it, much less come

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up into it, till God commanded him; he had much more reason not to go into the tabernacle, which was sanctified to be God's dwelling-place for ever, till God called to him by a voice from his presence: nay, he durst not so much as come near the door, where I suppose he now stood, without a particular direction from the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them.*] The tabernacle being erected, it was fit, in the next place, to appoint the service that should be performed in it: which consisted in such sacrifices as are here mentioned in the beginning of this book. There could not be a more natural order, in setting down the laws delivered by Moses, than this which is here observed.

*If any man of you bring.*] It is the observation of Kimchi, that in the very beginning of the laws about sacrifices, God doth not require them to offer any, but only supposes they would; having been long accustomed to it, as all the world then was. To this he applies the words of Jeremiah, vii. 21. and takes it for an indication, that otherwise God would not have given so many laws concerning sacrifices, but only in compliance with the usage of the world; which could not then have been quite broken, without the hazard of a revolt from him. And therefore they are directed to the right object, the eternal God; and limited to such things as were most agreeable to human nature.

*An offering unto the Lord.*] The Hebrew word *korban*, which we translate an *offering*, and the Greeks translate a *gift*, is larger than *zebach*, which we translate a *sacrifice*. For, as Abarbinel observes in his preface to this book, though every *sacrifice* was an offering, yet every *offering* was not a sacrifice. A *sacrifice* being an offering that was slain; but there were several *offerings* of inanimate things (as those mentioned in the beginning of the second chapter of this book), which therefore were not properly sacrifices; but were accepted of God as much as the offering of beasts, when they had nothing better to give. And therefore the same Abarbinel will have the name of *korban* to be given to these offerings, because thereby men approached to God. For it is derived from a word which signifies to *draw near:* from whence he thinks those words in Deuteronomy, iv. 7. "What nation is there that hath God so nigh unto them," &c.

*Ye shall bring.*] He speaks in the plural number, say some of the Hebrew doctors (who have accurately considered these things), to shew that two men might join together to offer one thing.

*Your offering of the cattle.*] I do not know what ground Maimonides had to assert, in his More Nevochim, (par. iii. cap. 46.) that the heathen in those days had brute beasts in great veneration, and would not kill them (for it is no argument there was such a superstition in Moses's time, because there were people in the days of Maimonides, as there are now, who were possessed with such opinions). But he thinks God intended to destroy this false persuasion, by requiring the Jews to offer such beasts as are here mentioned; that what the heathen thought it a great sin to kill, might be offered to God, and thereby men's sin be expiated. By this means, saith he, men's evil opinions, which are the diseases and ulcers of the mind, were cured; as bodily diseases are by their contraries. Yet in the thirty-second chapter of that book, he saith, God ordered sacrifices to be offered, that he might not wholly alter the customs of mankind, who built temples, and offered sacrifices every where; taking care (it may be added) at the same time, that they should be offered only to himself, at one certain place, and after such a manner, as to preserve his people from all idolatrous rites: which if they had considered, who contemned this book of Leviticus (as Procopius Gazæus tells us some did) because it treated too much of sacrifices, they would not have thought it unworthy the Creator of the world, especially if they had looked further to the wisdom hidden under these things; which were *examples, shadows, and patterns of heavenly things,* as the apostle speaks, (Heb. viii. 4. ix. 13.) And so was the tabernacle itself, a figure (as we read ver. 9.) "for the time present, of a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands."

*Even of the herd and of the flock.*] That is, bullocks, sheep, and goats. For under the word *tzon* (which we translate *flock*) both *sheep* and *goats* are comprehended. And so Moses expounds himself, ver. 10. These were the principal sacrifices, and most acceptable to God, as Abarbinel observes in the forenamed place. For though *doves* and *turtles* were accepted when men were not able to bring the other; yet in public sacrifices these birds were never allowed: but only the three sorts of four-footed beasts beforementioned. Which were therefore chosen (as he proceeds) because these were the most excellent of all brute creatures, on several accounts; and because they were not hard to be found, but easily procured: and therefore no wild beasts were required to be offered, because God would not impose upon his people (as his words are) so great a burden, as to bring him that which could not be got without some difficulty. For which cause, also, young pigeons and turtles were only offered among birds. He gives other reasons for this, which seem to me very far-fetched, and therefore I shall not mention them. But this I may further add, that as they were the most ready at hand, and in common use among men at their tables (which he should have noted as the plainest reason of all), so they had been in most ancient use among religious people in their sacrifices. (See Gen. xv. 9.) And it is very likely they were restrained peculiarly to these, that they might not follow the customs of the gentiles; as they would have done, had they not been abridged in their liberty. Now though we find in Homer mention made of hecatombs (which were a sacrifice of a hundred oxen), and of perfect lambs and goats, whereby Achilles hoped Apollo might be appeased, and moved to cease the plague he had sent upon the Greeks; yet there was no more ancient sacrifice among the heathen, if we may believe themselves, than that of swine. Which made that learned Roman, Varro, derive the word *ὄς* (which is the Greek word for that creature) from *σῦς, i. e.* from a sacrifice, because it was most anciently offered to their gods; there being no more delicious food at their own tables than swines' flesh. (See Petrus Castellanus de Esu Carnium, lib. ii. cap. 1.) And afterward they also sacrificed not only harts to Diana, but horses to the sun, wolves to Mars, nay, dogs to Hecate; whereby they destroy the very nature of sacrifices, or at least of sacrifical feasts; in which people had communion with the gods whom they worshipped, by partaking at their table. For who would endure to eat of such meat as horse-flesh, and the flesh of wolves, nay asses, which were offered to Priapus?

Ver. 3. *If his offering be a burnt-sacrifice.*] Having pre-

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scribed what sort of creatures should be offered, he first directs them about their *holocausts*, as the Greeks call them, which were wholly burnt upon the altar; and were the most ancient sacrifices that had been in the world. They are often mentioned by the Greeks, particularly by Xenophon in his Cyropædia, lib. viii. where he saith, ὡλοκαύτωσαν τοὺς ταύρους, &c. *they sacrificed whole burnt-offerings of oxen to Jupiter, and afterward of horses to the sun.* (See Bochart. lib. ii. Hierozoic. cap. 33. par. i.) Sometimes, indeed, the heathen burnt only a part, and reserved the rest to feast upon, as he there observes: but among the Jews no man ever partook of these offerings. For there being four sorts of sacrifices prescribed by the law, (Abarbinel observes in his preface to this book, cap. 2.) the *whole burnt-offerings*, the *sin-offerings*, the *trespass-offerings*, and the *peace-offerings;* there was this difference made between them; that, of the first of these, whether it was a public or a private *whole burnt-offering*, nobody partook, no, not the priests themselves; but it was entirely consumed except the skin. Of the second, some part was burnt; the rest the priests had, and were to eat it in the court of the tabernacle (though there was one sort of *sin-offering* which was wholly consumed, as the burnt-offerings were). The third sort, which were *trespass-offerings*, were only offered for private persons; some parts of which, as in the former, were burnt upon the altar, and the rest eaten by the priests. As for the last (the *peace-offering*), some parts of such sacrifices were burnt on the altar, the priest had the breast and the right shoulder; and the remainder, he that brought the sacrifice ate with his friends. I shall add no more, but that these *whole burnt-offerings* seem to have been simple acknowledgments of God, the Creator of the world, and testifications that they owned him to be their Lord, and continued in covenant with him, and implored his blessing upon them. And therefore, with respect to the first and last of these considerations, the gentiles were permitted to bring these sacrifices (as the Jews tell us), but no other whatsoever, to be offered unto God.

*Of the herd.*] As burnt-offerings were the principal sacrifices, and therefore mentioned in the first place, so those of beeves were the chief of all burnt-offerings, both among the Jews and among the gentiles. Whence βουθυτεῖν, *to sacrifice oxen*, became a proverb for a magnificent entertainment.

*Let him offer a male.*] These were accounted the best, and therefore principally appointed. And so they were among the heathen; insomuch, that the Egyptians offered only ἔρσενας τῶν βοῶν, (as Herodotus tells us, lib. ii. cap. 41.) and thought it unlawful to offer females. Which shews that Moses did not conform his laws to their customs, for he admitted the sacrifice of females, (iii. 1.) Nay, it was particularly prescribed in some cases, (Numb. xix. 2.)

*Without blemish.*] Or *perfect*, as the Hebrew word *tamim* signifies. Which word Homer expressly uses, when Achilles speaks about the sacrifice to Apollo,

——ἀρνῶν κνίσσην αἰγῶν τε τελείων.

For to the gods (as Eustathius there observes) who are most perfect, προσάγειν χρὴ τέλεια, *the most perfect things ought to be offered.* The like passage a very learned friend of mine, now with God (Dr. Outram), observes out of the scholiast upon Aristophanes's Acharnenses, (lib. i. de Sacrificiis, cap. 9. sect. 3.) where more may be seen to the same purpose. Now that is perfect in which there is no defect in any part, and is not decayed by age. For which reason, Abarbinel observes, great care is taken in the law, that this sort of creatures were to be offered before they were three years old; and the other sorts before they were two.

*He shall offer it of his own voluntary will.*] In this translation we follow the opinion of the Jews, who refer this to the persons that brought this offering; which they might do when they pleased. The like expressions we read xix. 5. xxii. 19. But the LXX. thought it hath respect to God; and so the phrase may be interpreted, he shall bring it *for his acceptation, i. e.* that he may find a favourable acceptance with God.

*At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Where the altar of burnt-offering was placed, (Exod. xl. 6. 29.) And this was so necessary, that it is required upon pain of death to be brought hither, and offered in no other place, (xvii. 3, 4, &c.) For which cause, it is likely, *the door of the tabernacle* is here mentioned rather than the *altar;* that it might be understood to be unlawful to offer at any other altar, but that which stood at the door of the tabernacle.

*Before the Lord.*] With their faces towards that holy place where the Divine Majesty dwelt: unto whom the sacrifice was brought, and at the door of the tabernacle received by the priest, from the hand of the offerer.

Ver. 4. *And he shall put his hand upon the head of the burnt-offering.*] Both his hands; as some gather from xvi. 21. and (as Maimonides saith) he was to do it with all his might. This was a right belonging to *peace-offerings*, as well as to *burnt-offerings*, (iii. 2.) and to *sin-offerings* also, (iv. 4.) The meaning of which, in this sort of offerings, seems to have been, that he who brought the sacrifice renounced all his interest in it, and transferred it wholly to God, unto whose service he entirely devoted it. It being like to the old ceremony among the Romans, who laid their hands upon their servants when they gave them their liberty, and abdicated their own right in them, saying, "Hunc hominem liberum esse volo," *I will that this man be free:* which is called manumission. In other offerings it had another meaning, as I shall observe in due place: and it was imitated by the gentiles, though not without the addition of impious superstitions. For they writhed back the head of the beast upward, when they sacrificed to the gods above; and thrust down its head towards the ground, when they sacrificed to their infernal deities; as J. Brentius hath observed in his preface to this book.

*And it shall be accepted for him to make an atonement for him.*] It shall be so acceptable, as to recommend him to the favour of the Divine Majesty. For so the Hebrew word *caphar* seems here to signify, not properly to make an atonement (which was the business of a *sin-offering*), but to own him to be in a state of reconciliation with God: unto whom he was supposed to give up himself wholly, as he did this beast. The Jews, indeed, who stick to the literal signification of the word, fancy that these *burnt-offerings* expiated evil thoughts and desires: but there is no ground for this in Scripture; and the most that can be made of it is, that God accepted his prayers which he made in general, for the forgiveness of all his sins, when he laid his hand upon the head of this sacrifice. For it must be

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here observed, that laying on of hands was always accompanied with prayer, as appears by Jacob's laying them on the head of Manasseh and Ephraim, (Gen. xlviii. 14. 16. 20.) and the high-priest's laying them on the *scape-goat*, (xvi. 21. of this book.) Insomuch, that *laying on of hands* signifies sometimes in the New Testament *to pray*, (Matth. xix. 15. Mark v. 23.) and other places. But if a man had committed any sin, there are other sacrifices peculiarly appointed by the law for their expiation; which he was bound to offer with confession of sin, and prayer to God for pardon.

Ver. 5. *And he shall kill the bullock.*] That is, the man himself who brought it, as Rasi interprets it; or one of the Levites, as others understand it: for they killed the paschal lamb at that great Passover mentioned 2 Chron. xxx. 17. as Bochart observes. But he should have added the reason of it, which Rasi there gives; that a great many of the congregation having not sanctified themselves (as we read in that place), *therefore the Levites had the charge of the killing of the passover, for every one that was not clean, to sanctify them unto the Lord.* Otherwise every man might kill his own passover, (Exod. xii. 6.) as they might do all their other sacrifices. For certain it is, this was none of the work of priests, as Maimonides shews in a passage mentioned by Dr. Cudworth (in his book concerning the Lord's Supper, p. 27.) out of Biath Ammikdath: where he quotes this very place to prove, that "the killing of the holy things might lawfully be done by a stranger; yea, of the most holy things: whether they were the holy things of private persons, or of the whole congregation." The common objection to this is, that none might come into the court where the altar was but the priests. To which the answer is plain, that upon this occasion other persons might come so far within the court, because it was indispensably necessary that the man who brought the sacrifice should lay his hand upon the head of it; which was to be done at the altar when it was to be slain.

*Before the Lord.*] See ver. 3.

*And the priests, Aaron's sons, shall bring the blood.*] Now begins the work of the priests: the receiving of the blood and that which immediately followed, belonging to their office. They received it in a bason, (Exod. xxiv. 6.) as the manner also was among the heathen; which our learned Sheringham observes upon Codex Joma (p. 85.) out of Homer's Odyss. lib. iii. where Thrasymedes is represented as cutting the ox asunder with a cleaver; and Perseus as receiving the blood in a bason, which he calls ἄμνιον. A word used in Crete, as Eustathius notes, for such kind of vessels; which some think was originally ἀῖμνιον, from the receiving of the blood.

*And sprinkle the blood round about upon the altar,* &c.] That this might be done readily, one priest received the blood, and another took it from him, and sprinkled it about the altar; or, as the Jews understand it, on every side of the altar; which they performed by two sprinklings, at the opposite corners of it. Which was a rite also used in peace-offerings and trespass-offerings: but in sin-offerings the blood was poured out at the foot of the altar: (see vii. 2.) Thus the heathen also themselves took care the blood of their sacrifices should not run upon the ground, but be received, as I said, in vessels prepared for that purpose; and then poured upon their altars, and so offered and consecrated to their gods. So Lucian, in his book of sacrifices, represents the priest, τὸ αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ περιχέων, *as pouring the blood upon the altar.* (See Dilherrus Disput. Philolog. tom. ii. p. 253.)

Ver. 6. *And he shall slay the burnt-offering.*] Next followed the taking off the skin; which God ordered to be given to the priests, (vii. 8.) Though the heathen burnt skin and all, in some places, as Bochart observes out of Plutarch and Lucian in the forenamed place, (Hieroz. par. ii. lib. i. p. 324.) But whose work it was to slay the beast, is not here expressed. The Jews say it belonged not to the priests to do this, but to the man himself, who brought the beast to be offered. For (to shew in brief what belonged to the *owners of the sacrifice, and what to the priests*) it may be fit to note out of Abarbinel, that each of them had five things to do. The owner of the sacrifice laid his hand upon it, killed, slayed, cut it up, and washed the inwards: and then the priest received the blood in a vessel; sprinkled the blood; put fire on the altar; ordered the wood on the fire; and ordered the pieces of the sacrifice upon the wood. And that the beast might more easily be slayed, there were eight stone pillars (as the Jews tell us in Middoth, cap. 3.) and beams laid over them; in each of which there were three iron hooks fixed; that the greatest beasts might hang upon the highest, the lesser upon the middlemost, and the least of all on the lowest: and so be more commodiously stripped of their skins. Concerning this excoriation both Homer and Virgil speak, as the aforenamed Dilherrus hath observed in the same book, p. 255.

*And cut it into pieces.*] This followed the excoriation among the gentiles also, as the same author shews. And it was done with such accuracy, that Homer saith they dissected the sacrifice ἐπισταμένως and περιφραδέως: from whence some great men have thought St. Paul borrowed the word ὀρθοτομεῖν, to express the care the ministers of the gospel should have, in dividing rightly the word of truth, (2 Tim. ii. 15.) These *pieces* were not the very same in bullocks and goats, that they were in sheep, as will appear afterward; and therefore the greater care was to be used in the *cutting* of them; especially when, besides those parts which were offered to God, the priests and the people were to have their share also.

Ver. 7. *And the sons of Aaron the priest shall put fire upon the altar.*] This, as I said before, was one of the works of the priests: who did not put fire daily upon the altar, (for being once kindled, they were to keep it always burning, vi. 13.) but stirred it up, and blowed the coals. Which is meant by *giving fire*, as the phrase is in the Hebrew; that is, disposing it so that it might burn quick. Yet, if the fire were taken off from the altar, as when they removed the camp, (Numb. iv. 14.) none might lay it on again but the priest. Or, if it were extinct, as it was in the days of Ahaz, who shut up the door of the house of God, which was not opened till Hezekiah reigned, (2 Chron. xxviii. 24. xxix. 34.) none but they might kindle it again.

*And lay the wood in order upon the fire.*] This the priests did every morning and every night, that the fire might be preserved from going out. And when the time of the morning and evening sacrifice came, they brought new wood, and laid it in such order upon the fire, that it might the better consume the parts of the sacrifice that were laid thereon.

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Ver. 8. *And the priests, Aaron's sons, shall lay the parts, the head and the fat.*] The Hebrew word *peder* doth not simply signify the *fat* (for which they have another word, *cheleb*), but that fat which is separated from the rest of the flesh. So it is to be understood here, and in iii. 9. iv. 35. Which being gathered together, and thrown into the fire, fed the flame, and made it burn more fiercely: by which means the other parts, into which the sacrifice was divided, were the more easily and the sooner consumed. Particularly, St. Jerome takes it for that fat which adhered to the liver: and both Solomon Jarchi and David Kimchi observe, that this *peder* was thrown upon the *head* of the sacrifice (when it was cast into the fire), just in the place where the head was cut off from the body; because, otherwise, the gore which issued from it might have extinguished the flame. (See Exod. xxix. 17.)

*In order upon the wood,* &c.] That they might lie upon the wood, so as to have the same situation in the altar that they had in the beast when it was alive. So Maimonides in Maase Korban, cap. 6.

Ver. 9. *But his inwards and his legs shall he wash in water.*] These parts were not to be burnt upon the altar till they were well cleansed by washing them in water. For which end there was a private room afterward, in the court of the temple (as now, it is likely, there was in the tabernacle), called the *washing-room,* (as we find in Codex Middoth, cap. 5. sect. 2.) There they having washed them privately, and freed the inwards from their filth, they brought them into the court, where there were two marble tables, between the pillars beforementioned, (ver. 6.) and there they were washed more exactly, as we read in the same book, (cap. 3. sect. 5.) Where Const. L'Empereur observes, out of R. Hobadia, the reason why they used to lay the flesh upon such tables, was, because marble made it cold and stiff, and preserved it from stinking in very hot weather.

*And the priest shall burn all on the altar.*] From whence this sacrifice is called *ischeh,* an offering made by fire (from *isch,* which signifies *fire),* because it was altogether consumed in the fire; and no part of it left, so much as for the priest to eat of it.

*Of a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] *i. e.* Most acceptable. For it is a form of speech taken from men, who are delighted with the good scent and taste of meat and drink. But none can reasonably imagine it was the mere sacrifice that was pleasing unto God, but, as Conrad. Pellicanus well notes, the devotion, faith, obedience, and sincerity of their minds who made the oblation.

Ver. 10. *And if his offering be of the flocks, namely, of the sheep or of the goats,* &c.] If a man were not able to bring a bullock for a *burnt-sacrifice* (which could not be so well spared, being of great use in agriculture), he might bring one of these creatures, which were of less value; only perfect in their kind, as it here follows.

*He shall bring it a male without blemish.*] See Exod. xii. 5. What the blemishes were, that made any animal unfit to be offered on the altar, Moses tells us in this book, xxii. 22—24. where he mentions twelve, which shall be there considered.

Ver. 11. *And he shall kill it on the side of the altar northward.*] The greater sacrifices, which the Jews call the *most holy things,* had this peculiar place assigned them, where they were to be killed, *viz.* all the *burnt-offerings* (whether of bullocks, sheep, or goats), and all *offerings for sin,* (vi. 25.) and all *trespass-offerings,* (vii. 2.) But all the other sacrifices, which they call the *lesser holy things* (such as the *peace-offerings* of particular men, the *paschal lamb,* the *first-born,* and that which was *tithed),* might be killed in any part of the court, where the altar stood; there being no peculiar place appointed by the law for that purpose, but only at the entrance of the tabernacle. Yet a *peace-offering* for the whole congregation, was looked upon as belonging to the things *most holy;* and so was slain (as Maimonides tells us) at the north side of the altar: where there were certain rings fixed, to which the head, or, as some say, the feet of the beast, was tied, in order to its being killed. But they were not perfect rings, as L'Empereur observes, being rather half-segments of rings, one part of which was fastened to the pavement, and by the other the neck of the beast was tied to it. (See Codex Middoth, cap. 3. sect. 5.) The reason of this difference seems to be, only to make a distinction between these and other sacrifices. And all this is to be understood of the four-footed beasts beforementioned, not of birds; which were sacrificed after another manner, as appears from ver. 15.

*And the priests shall sprinkle his blood round about upon the altar.*] See ver. 5. and vii. 2.

Ver. 12. *And he shall cut it into his pieces, with his head and his fat,* &c.] This verse hath been sufficiently explained, ver. 5, 6. 8.

Ver. 13. *And he shall wash the inwards and the legs,* &c.] See ver. 9. where this also is explained.

*It is a burnt-sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] As much as to say, this is as acceptable to the Lord as the sacrifice of a bullock, when offered with a pious mind.

Ver. 14. *And if the burnt-sacrifice for his offering to the Lord be of fowls.*] It is well observed by Maimonides, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46. that when a man was not able to go to the charge of a *sheep* or a *goat* (much less of a *bullock),* God was so merciful as to accept of a bird; only he prescribes of what sort they should be. Nay, he that was not able to be at this expense, was accepted if he offered *bread,* however prepared, whether in an oven or a pan, according to the custom of those times. And he to whom this was too great a burden, might worship God, by bringing only fine flour, as will appear in the next chapter.

*Then he shall bring his offering of turtle-doves, or of young pigeons.*] The same author observes, that there was a vast plenty of these birds in the land of Canaan; and consequently they were so cheap, that it would put the poorer sort to no great charge to bring this oblation. These were also very anciently sacrificed, (Gen. xv. 9.) and of a gentle nature, (as Procopius and others observe.) And *pigeons* being best when they are young, and *turtles* when full grown, accordingly they are appointed to bring them, when they were most esteemed. These are but seldom mentioned in the sacrifices among the gentiles, who offered *cocks* to Æsculapius, and *geese* to Isis, as we read in several of their authors.

Ver. 15 *And the priest shall bring it into the altar, and wring off his head.*] Pinch it off with his nail (as the Jews say) at one of the corners or horns of the altar: *viz.* the *whole burnt-offering* at the south-east corner, and the *sin-offering* at the north-west, as Maimonides saith in his trea-



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tise called Korbanoth, cap. 5. But their heads were so to be wrung or pinched as not to be separated quite from the body, but to be left still hanging to it. For so it is ordered in that sacrifice mentioned v. 8. and therefore they suppose it was so in all.

*And the blood thereof shall be wrung out, at the sides of the altar.*] This is the reason that the priest alone might kill the bird, (though others might kill the beast, see ver. 5.) because the sprinkling of the blood, which none might do but the priest, was immediately conjunct with the wringing off its head.

Ver. 16. *And he shall pluck away his crop.*] Or the stomach; that the sacrifice might be clean, and free from all filth.

*With his feathers.*] Which were no more to be offered, than the skin of the beasts, (ver. 6.)

*And cast it beside the altar on the east part.*] As far as might be from the most holy place, which was in the west.

*By the place of the ashes.*] See iv. 12.

Ver. 17. *And he shall cleave it with the wings hereof, but shall not divide it asunder.*] The wings were to be so cloven, as not to be quite separated from the body, but still to remain hanging to it: and so salt being sprinkled upon the whole body, it was thrown into the fire. So Maimonides observes in the forenamed treatise: where he takes notice, also, that it was otherwise in *fowls* offered for sin; of which nothing but the blood belonged to the altar; the flesh of them being eaten by the priests and their sons. Whence it was, that no *sin-offering* of birds was accepted, unless it were accompanied with a whole *burnt-offering;* that the altar might not be without a feast, when they that ministered there were entertained. Thus it is required in several cases, mentioned v. 7. xii. 6. 8. xiv. 22. xv. 15. 30. and Numb. vi. 11. The same Maimonides likewise observes, that this sacrifice of birds was one of the most difficult works in the sanctuary; whereby the mind of the priest was kept as intent upon the poorest sacrifice, as upon the most splendid.

*And the priest shall burn it upon the altar, upon the wood that is upon the fire.*] This was in part said before, but here repeated more distinctly, to shew there was no difference to be made between the sacrifices of the meanest and of the greatest.

*It is a burnt-sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] The same is said of this, as of all other holocausts, (ver. 9. 15.) to shew that whether the oblation was of the greater animals or of the less, or only of birds, it made no difference in its acceptance with God: who graciously ordered these various sorts of offerings, that the poor as well as the rich might be capable to express their devotion to him, and be confident to find favour with him.

## CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. *AND when any will offer a meat-offering unto the Lord.*] Here is a merciful provision for those, who were neither able to offer beasts of any sort, nor birds, whom God ordered to bring meal, (as was observed before on the first chapter, ver. 14.) which was called in the Hebrew language *mincah*, and by us translated a *meat-offering:* for it was a *korban*, or gift, as well as the foregoing, though of a lower sort. And R. Levi Barzelonita thinks this sort of mean present (as we may call it) had the name of *mincah*, because such offerings were very often merely voluntary; from whence whatsoever is not due among men from another is called *mincah*, a *gift*. Some of which were constant and stated, and also of a determinate quantity; being an appendix to the daily burnt-sacrifice, morning and evening, as we read Exod. xxix. 38, 39, &c. But these here spoken of were voluntary, when any man's devotion inclined him to acknowledge God, and implore his Divine blessing. And no certain quantity was prescribed; only the Jews say, not less than an ephah was accepted, but as much more as they pleased. See Dr. Outram in his excellent book De Sacrificiis, p. 90.

*His offering shall be of fine flour.*] *viz.* Of wheat-flour. For all the offerings of this kind, whether for the whole congregation, or particular men, were of pure wheat-flour, sifted from the bran; except only the omer of first-fruits of their harvest, (xxiii. 13, 14.) and that which was called the *mincha of jealousy*, (Numb. v. 15.) which were of barley. Of these voluntary offerings there were five sorts, as appears by this chapter: for they were either of raw meal (mentioned in this verse), or meal made into cakes, baked in an oven, (which was of two sorts, ver. 4.) or baked in a pan, (ver. 5.) or in a frying-pan, (ver. 7.) The first of which was the most ancient, as appears from Gen. iv. 3. and from what the heathen say of it; particularly Plato, lib. vi. de Legibus, and Pliny, lib. xxx. Nat. Hist. cap. 5. where he saith Numa ordered the Romans *Deos fruge colere*, &c. And Pausanias, in his Attica, tells us, in the porch of the most high Jupiter there was an altar, where they did not offer the sacrifice of beasts, but only of fine flour. The same he repeats in his Arcadica, and says this was ordained by Cecrops, that they should sacrifice only πέμματα ἐπιχώρια, which the Athenians in his time called πέλανοι. And accordingly Triptolemus, another of their most ancient lawgivers, enacted this as one of his principal laws, that they should worship their gods *with the fruits of the earth*. For these three laws of his, Porphyry saith, were preserved to his days, Γονεῖς τιμᾶν, Θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, Ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι: (lib. iv. περὶ Αποχ) *to honour their parents, worship their gods with the fruits of the earth, and hurt no living creature.* Which last St. Jerome (lib. ii. contra Jovin.) translates, *not to eat flesh.*

*And he shall pour oil upon it.*] Which was done to give this sort of offering a grateful relish, as Maimonides observes, par. iii. More Nevochim, cap. 46. The heathen used oil in their sacrifices, but not mixed with flour; but poured upon the flesh of the beast that was sacrificed, to make it burn the better upon the altar. So that of Virgil shews, (Æneid. vi.)

" Pingue superque oleum fundens ardentibus extis."

*And put frankincense thereon.*] To make a sweet odour in the court of the tabernacle, which otherwise would have been offensive, by reason of the flesh that was burnt there daily, as the same Maimonides speaks in the place beforenamed. When they came into the land of Canaan, where they were required (Numb. xv. 2, 3, &c.) to take care that this *mincah*, or meat-offering, should attend all the free-will-offerings of beasts, as well as the daily morning and

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evening sacrifice, there is no frankincense appointed; but a certain quantity of wine, which perhaps was instead of it (having a fragrant smell), and was not required in the offering here mentioned. Both these were common in the sacrifices of the gentiles, as appears by this single passage in Ovid. lib. v. de Tristibus, Eleg. 5.

"Da mihi thura, puer, pingues facientia flammas,
Quodque pio fusum stridat in igne merum."

Ver. 2. *And he shall bring it.*] In a silver dish, or of some other metal, (as R. Levi of Barcelona expounds it, Præcept. cxvi.) wherein he delivered it to the priest, who carried it to the altar, and presented it to God by lifting it up over his head; and, as the Jews generally say, turning it about to all the four quarters of the world, in token that it was offered to the Possessor of heaven and of earth.

*To Aaron's sons, the priests.*] To one of them that ministered at the altar that day this offering was brought, as appears by the next words.

*And he shall take thereout his handful of the flour thereof.*] As much as he could take up between his fingers, saith the forenamed R. Levi.

*And of the oil thereof.*] Which was mingled, as I said before, with the flour.

*With all the frankincense thereof.*] None of which was to be reserved for the priest's own use; but entirely burnt upon the altar. Which was contrary to the way of the gentiles, who called frankincense προσφιλέστατον τοῖς θεοῖς, (as Diodorus Siculus speaks, lib. ii.) *a thing most beloved of the gods*, but yet offered only so much as they could take up with two fingers, or, as others say, three. (See Cuperus's Apotheosis Homeri, p. 74, &c.)

*And the priest shall burn the memorial thereof upon the altar.*] As a grateful acknowledgment unto God, that they held all they possessed of him their sovereign Lord; whom they supplicated also hereby, that he would still be mindful of them, that is, be gracious to them. For this offering seems to have something of the nature of a holocaust, or whole burnt-offering: though others will have it to be an expiatory sacrifice, because part of it was eaten by the priests. But it being said in the next words, to be an *offering made by fire*, (which is the phrase for a whole burnt-offering, in the foregoing chapter, ver. 9. 13. 17.) I take the other to be the truer.

*Of a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] The very same being said of this sort of offering, which is of the foregoing, that was more chargeable, (i. 9. 13. 17.) Procopius Gazæus had great reason here to observe (which cannot be too oft repeated), "that true piety is not demonstrated by the greatness of its presents. The way of piety is open and easy unto all: for God's commandment is exceeding broad. And he that maketh the smallest signification of it, if it be sincere, differs nothing from him, who shews it by the largest gifts," &c. So vain were the reasonings of the heathen, who disputed which were the most acceptable sacrifices to their gods, those of living creatures, or of things inanimate. Julian contended that τιμιώτερα τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ τὰ ἔμψυχα, &c. *the sacrifices of living creatures were more esteemed, than of those without life;* because they were *nearer of kin to the living God, and the Author of life.* But his great doctors, Pythagoras and Porphyrius (as St. Cyril observes, lib. x. contra Julianum), condemned these sacrifices of beasts, as hateful to their gods; who they fancied were pleased only with those that were made διὰ καρπῶν καὶ λιβανωτοῦ, *of fruits of the earth, and of frankincense.* But they might have learnt from Moses, if they had pleased (Julian and Porphyry being acquainted with his books), that these things were alike acceptable, God having respect to the mind of him that offered, not to his gifts.

Ver. 3. *And the remnant of the meat-offering shall be Aaron's and his sons'.*] To be eaten by them. But that meat-offering which was offered for the priests themselves, was to be wholly burnt, and no part eaten, (vi. 22, 23.)

*It is a thing most holy of the offerings of the Lord made by fire.*] Nothing is more known than the distinction which the Jews make between things *most holy* and the *lighter holy things* (as their phrase is), which I took notice of before. The *most holy* were such, as none whatsoever might eat of; or none but the priests, and the sons of priests; and that only in the sanctuary, and no where else: (see vi. 16. 26.) such were all whole burnt-offerings, all the sin-offerings, and all the peace-offerings for the whole congregation. The *lighter holy things* were such, as might be eaten by those who were not priests, in any place within the city of Jerusalem (to which their camp now answered), and such were all the peace-offerings of particular persons, the paschal lamb, the tenth and the firstlings of cattle.

Ver. 4. *And if thou bring an oblation of a meat-offering baken in the oven.*] This is the first sort of baked *minchas*, for the preparing of which there was an oven in the court of the tabernacle, as afterward there was in the court of the temple, (1 Chron. xxiii. 28, 29. Ezek. xlvi. 20.)

*It shall be unleavened cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, or unleavened wafers anointed with oil.*] If the cakes were thick, then the oil was kneaded together with them: but if they were thin (like a wafer) then it was only spread upon it, before it was baked, (see Exod. xxix. 2.) or, as some will have it, after it came out of the oven. Concerning its being unleavened, see below, ver. 11.

Ver. 5. *And if thy oblation be a meat-offering baken in a pan.*] Or in a *flat plate*, as we translate it in the margin. For Maimonides says, this was the difference between *macabath* (which is the Hebrew word in this place) and *marchesheth*, that the former was a *pan* or *plate* without any rim about it; and the other had one, as our frying-pans have. And so Abarbinel, in his preface to this book, observes out of Jarchi, that there was a vessel in the temple, which was only flat and broad, but had no rising on the sides of it: so that the oil being poured upon it, when it was set on the fire, ran down and increased the flame, and made the cake hard.

*It shall be of fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil.*] This sort of cake seems to have been both kneaded with oil, and to have had oil also poured upon it, after it was laid upon the plate.

Ver. 6. *Thou shalt part it in pieces*, &c.] This, according to Abarbinel, was done as it lay baking upon the plate. Or, if this division was made after it was taken off, the reason was the same; because part of it was to be given to God, and the rest to the priests.

*And pour oil thereon.*] Upon the pieces; that they might by this new addition of fresh oil be made more savoury.



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*It is a meat-offering.*] And therefore to be eaten with oil, (ver. 1.)

Ver. 7. *And if thy oblation be a meat-offering baken in the frying-pan.*] This vessel was not flat, but deep, (as Abarbinel observes, see ver. 5.) because that which was baked in it was moist and fluid.

*It shall be made of fine flour with oil.*] The oil was not kneaded with this sort of *mincha*, but put into the pan, so that it mixed with the flour; which might be shaken and moved up and down, as things are which are baken in liquors. So Abarbinel's words are in his preface to this book.

Ver. 8. *And thou shalt bring the meat-offering that is made of these things unto the Lord*, &c.] This relates to all the baked meat-offerings beforementioned, which were to be brought to the Lord at his house, and there presented to the priest; who was to bring them to the altar, when they were prepared as before directed. (See ver. 1, 2.) And this variety of *minchas* was allowed, that the table of the Lord (*i. e.* the altar) might be furnished, and his ministers that waited on him entertained with all sorts of provisions.

Ver. 9. *And the priest shall take from the meat-offering a memorial thereof.*] A part of the cake (of whatsoever sort it was) was separated from the rest of the Lord's portion; to whom it was offered as an acknowledgment of his supreme dominion over them, and in commemoration of his goodness to them.

*And shall burn it upon the altar.*] Before the other parts were eaten by the priests; as was directed before about the fine flour, (ver. 2.)

*It is an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] See ver. 2.

Ver. 10. *And that which is left of the meat-offering shall be Aaron's and his sons'*, &c.] All this verse has been explained, ver. 3.

Ver. 11. *No meat-offering which ye shall bring unto the Lord shall be made with leaven.*] These words [*which ye shall bring unto the Lord*] seem to have a peculiar emphasis in this place; importing, that no meat-offering, part of which was offered upon God's altar, should be leavened. For no part of that leavened bread which was offered in eucharistical sacrifices, (vii. 13.) nor the two loaves offered in the feast of Pentecost (which some mistake for an exception to this precept), were offered upon the altar, but given entirely to the priests, as their portion.

*Made with leaven.*] There are many moral reasons given, both by Jewish and Christian writers, why none of the cakes beforementioned should have any leaven in them, which I shall not here set down. There is some probability in their opinion, who think this was ordered to refresh their memory, by putting them in mind of their deliverance out of Egypt. But Maimonides seems to me to have given the best account of this, in his More Nevochim, (par. iii. cap. 46.) where he saith, God prohibited this to root out the idolatrous customs in those days, as he found in the books of the Zabii, who *offered to their gods no bread but leavened.* Next to this, the account which Abarbinel gives of it is not to be disregarded, who thinks it was forbidden, because it would have made delay, if they had waited at the tabernacle till the fermentation was perfected.

*For ye shall burn no leaven, nor any honey, in any offering of the Lord made by fire.*] Neither mixed with bread, nor alone by themselves. For honey was a kind of leaven, and it is certain was used by the heathen in their religious rites: as appears not only from Maimonides (who tells us in the place forenamed, that *they chose sweet things for their offerings, and anointed their sacrifices with honey*), but from a great number of other authors, who make mention of it: particularly Plato, who saith, (in his de Legibus vi.) that anciently men did not sacrifice living creatures, but only fine flour, καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδευμένοι, *and fruits moistened with honey.* And so Phylarchus tells us, (in Athenæus's Deipnos. lib. xv.) that the Greeks sacrificed honey to the sun (which was the great God among the gentiles) but poured no wine upon his altars. Which Polemon (in Suidis) calls Νηφάλιον θυσίαν, *a sober sacrifice;* because there was no wine in it, but honey and water mixed together. Nay, there was scarce any god among the heathen to whom honey was not offered, as Bochartus hath shewn at large in his Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 12. But one testimony may serve for all, which is from Pausanias (in his Eliaca), where, having reckoned up at least fifty altars in the temple of Jupiter Olympius unto several deities, and some of them common to them all, he saith, they sacrificed upon every one of them once a month, after an ancient manner (ἀρχαῖόν τινα τρόπον), *frankincense and wheat mingled with honey.* Which being so common and ancient a thing among the gentiles in their idolatrous worship, was the reason, it is likely, that God forbade it to be used in his sacrifices. And under the name of honey, the Jews think figs and dates, and all other sweet fruits, are comprehended. For the famous composition among the Egyptians called Κῦφι, which was burnt every day, morning and evening, on their altars, consisted of such things, as well as of myrrh, calamus, and cardamum. So Plutarch tells us (in his book de Iside et Osir.) and mentions honey in the first place, with wine and raisins: Τὸ μὲν Κῦφι μίγμα, &c. μέλιτος καὶ οἴνου καὶ σταφίδος, &c.

Ver. 12. *As for the oblation of the first-fruits, ye shall offer them unto the Lord, but they shall not be burnt on the altar for a sweet savour.*] There were several sorts of first-fruits, (as I observed Exod. xxiii. 19.) That which is here spoken of was of the corn unground, only a little parched at the fire, which was to be presented unto God; but not burnt on the altar, because they belonged to the priests.

Ver. 13. *And every oblation of thy meat-offering shalt thou season with salt.*] All the forenamed *minchas*, which were *korbans* (as they are often here called), were to be thus seasoned, because salt was a thing never wanting at any table; and all meat is unsavoury without it.

*Neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat-offerings.*] It is called the *salt of the covenant of God*, as some think, because required by this law, which they covenanted with God to observe, as much as to offer sacrifices; which were not acceptable without salt, as appears from the repetition of it three times in this one verse. But there is a plainer reason than this, which is, that the sacrifices being God's feasts, and they that did partake of them being his guests, who did in a manner eat and drink with him at his table; the salt that was cast upon all sacrifices (as appears by the words following) is called *the salt of the covenant*, to sig-

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nify, that as men were wont to make covenants by eating and drinking together (where salt is never wanting at their tables, but a necessary appendix at every feast), so God by these sacrifices, and the feasts upon them, did ratify and confirm his covenant with those that did partake of them. For salt, as is commonly observed, being a constant concomitant of all feasts, and covenants being made by eating and drinking at the same table, where salt was ever used; thence salt itself was counted by the ancients to be the *symbol of friendship*, and proverbially used among the Greeks to express it. By which other places may be explained, about which some have bestowed vain labour, Numb. xxiii. 19. 2 Chron. xiii. 5. where the same words are used, but inverted; it being called *a covenant of salt* (instead of the *salt of the covenant*), because covenants, as I said, were established by eating together, where salt is never wanting.

*With all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt.*] Not only with the *minchas*, or meat-offerings, mentioned in this chapter, but with all other sacrifices whatsoever. Which is so solemnly enjoined (as Maimonides says in the place beforenamed), because the heathen did not use any salt in their sacrifices. Which is not unreasonable to think, since honey (with which salt doth not well agree) was in such constant use among them. And therefore, saith he, *God prohibited us to offer leaven or honey, and commanded us, with great seriousness, to use salt in all our sacrifices.* That is, as R. Levi of Barcelona explains it, (Præcept. cxvi.) the flesh of all sacrifices was to be salted; and the meal of all *minchas*. For which he gives these two reasons; because nothing is grateful to the palate without salt; which also preserves things from corruption, as the sacrifices did their souls from perishing. Abarbinel saith the same. And therefore, whatsoever the custom might be in ancient time among the heathen, in after-ages they learned from Moses to use it in all their sacrifices: as appears from Pliny and Ovid (and many other authors), the first of which says, that salt was so necessary, that no sacrifices were offered *sine mola salsa:* which every one knows the Greeks called οὐλὰς and οὐλοχύτας. And, among the Jews, this salt was not brought by him that offered the sacrifice, but was provided at the public charge; there being a chamber in the court of the temple (as we read in Middoth, cap. 5. sect. 2.) called *the chamber of salt.* Which was one of the three rooms on the north side of the court (as there were three others on the south side, for other uses), where the flesh of the sacrifices was powdered, as the *minchas* were seasoned at the very altar. And this was so necessary, that though a sacrifice was not looked upon as null, if the priest neglected to salt it; yet the want of it in the *minchas* (as the Hebrew doctors say) made them void; because it is here so expressly required in this verse, *Thou shalt not suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking in thy meat-offering.* And whosoever offered any sacrifice without salt, or with honey or leaven, was beaten, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13.

Ver. 14. *And if thou offer a meat-offering of thy first-fruits unto the Lord, thou shalt offer for thy meat-offering,* &c.] This is very different from the oblation of first-fruits mentioned ver. 12. For there they are called *resith*, which signifies the first-fruits at harvest-time: but here *bichurim*, which properly imports the first ripe fruits, before the rest were ready. And therefore the manner of their oblation was different from the former, which follows in the conclusion of this verse. And first he describes what he means by the first-fruits, which he calls *abib, i. e.* full ears of corn, but as yet *green and moist:* which he saith therefore in the next place must be dried by the fire; and then bruised and beaten in a mortar, or with a mill: and they were to be brought out of the richest or fattest of their fields: for so the last words seem to signify *garesh carmel* (which we translate *corn beaten out of full ears*), for *carmel* sometimes signifies a *fruitful field,* (Isa. xxxii. 15.) and therefore may very well be thought in this place to import, *the largest ears of tender corn.* And the intention of its contusion seems to have been, that it might be reduced into flour; as it might easily be, after it had been dried by the fire. And therefore differed from that meat-offering mentioned ver. 1. only in this; that the former was flour of old corn, this of new: and that was fine flour sifted from the bran; this had nothing taken out of it, but remained as it came from the mortar or the mill. And so the LXX. seem to have understood it. There are those, indeed, who think it was only thrashed out of the husk, and so offered; and fancy also that from this word *geresh*, the goddess called *Ceres* had her name among the gentiles. Which last conceit is the stranger, since they endeavour to have it thought that the Jews derived this custom of offering first-fruits from the gentiles; and not the gentiles from the Jews. Whereas the gentiles had no such custom, that I can find, as this, to offer the first-fruits of green corn; but only the first-fruits of their harvest, which they called *novas fruges*: of which the Romans thought it unlawful to taste, "antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent," *before the priests had offered the first-fruits,* as Pliny tells us, lib. xviii. cap. 2. and Censorinus saith the same, cap. 1. de Die Natali. Or if they did offer any first-fruits before corn was ripe, they boiled them in a pot; but did not roast them in the fire, as is here directed. For so Hesychius seems to say, that in the feast called Θαργήλια (which was in the month that answers to our April), they offered τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν φαινομένων, καὶ περικομίζουσι, *the first-fruits that appeared out of the ground, which they carried about, i. e.* in pots, as other authors tell us. And Hesychius himself saith, that Θάργαλος signified *a pot full of sacred decoction.*

Ver. 15. *And thou shalt put oil upon it,* &c.] See ver. 1.

Ver. 16. *And the priest shall burn the memorial of it, part of the beaten corn thereof, and part of the oil, and all the frankincense.*] All the rest that was not burnt was the priest's portion, except the frankincense, which is here ordered to be entirely offered to God, (see ver. 2.) and made this, and such-like offerings, be called an *offering of a sweet savour unto the Lord,* ver. 2. 9. 12.

*It is an offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] See upon ver. 9.

## CHAP. III.

Ver. 1. *AND if his oblation be a sacrifice of peace-offering.*] Having given orders about *whole burnt-offerings,* in the first chapter, and *meat-offerings* (which had something of that nature in them) in the second; he proceeds to *peace-offerings,* which in the Hebrew are called *schelamim,* from the

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word *schalam*, either as it signifies *retribution*, or *peace* and *concord*. They that take it in the first sense, think the reason of the name to be from this; that God, the offerer, and the priest, had each of them their portion assigned to them of this sacrifice. And they that follow the second sense do not much differ, when they say, that these sacrifices were symbols of friendship between God, and the priests, and those that brought them; for all these feasted at a common table, as R. Levi ben Gersom expresses it. For part being offered on the altar, and the priest having taken his share, the rest was given to him that offered the sacrifice. So that it was called a *peace-offering*, saith Abarbinel (in his preface to this book), *because it made peace* (or rather declared peace) *between the altar, the priest, and the owner*. But they seem to me to have given the best account of this, who, because *peace* in their language signifies *prosperity* and *happiness*, think these were called *peace-offerings*, because they were principally thankful acknowledgments of mercies received from God's bounty. For there being three sorts of them mentioned vii. 15, 16. that of *thanksgiving* is the first, called *tothah*, acknowledgment of some benefit received.

The gentiles called such sacrifices χαριστήριοι, as appears from many places of Dionys. Halicarn. (lib. vi. and lib. viii.) where there are these words, θυσίας τε χαριστηρίους τοῖς θεοῖς ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ἦσαν ἅπαντες ἐν ἑορταῖς καὶ εὐπαθείαις. Plutarch calls them, εὐαγγέλια, particularly in the life of Agesilaus, where he saith, ἔθυσεν εὐαγγέλια, καὶ διέπεμπε μερίδας τοῖς φίλοις ἀπὸ τῶν τεθυμένων· which is a perfect description of such sacrifices as are here appointed; with part of which they entertained their friends. They are also called by those writers ἐκβατήρια, especially when they had respect to any great danger they had escaped; for which they offered these thankful acknowledgments. The LXX. call such sacrifices σοτήρια.

*If he offer it of the herd, whether it be a male or female.*] A *whole burnt-offering* was to be only of a *male:* for being wholly God's, and offered purely for his honour, it was to be of the very best, (i. 3.) But *peace-offerings* being also for the profit of him that offered them, who had the greatest share of them; it was at his liberty whether he would offer a *male* or a *female*. Directly contrary to the Egyptian customs, if they were the same now, that they were in the time of Herodotus, who saith expressly, θηλείας οὔ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, *it was not lawful among them to sacrifice females*, (lib. ii. cap. 41.)

*He shall offer it without blemish*, &c.] See i. 3.

Ver. 2. *And he shall lay his hand upon the head of his offering.*] The man who brought the offering was to lay his hand upon the head of it; as was ordered in the *whole burnt-offering* and *sin-offering*, (see ch. i. ver. 4.) It might not be done by a deputy, unless he was heir to one that had vowed this sacrifice, and died before he had performed it; in which case the heir was to do what the man himself should have done, if he had been alive, as Maimonides observes. In this sacrifice, *laying on of hands* seems to have been done, not only with prayer to God, that he would accept the oblation (which the Jews say always accompanied this action), but with acknowledgment of those mercies which were the occasion of it. So Conr. Pellicanus well glosses upon i. 4. (which may be best applied to the use of this rite in *peace-offerings*): "Laying on of hands signifies devotion and faith, with acknowledgment of the Divine benefits; for which we cannot offer any thing of our own, but rather return and restore to him what we have received; that we may understand giving of thanks to be the greatest of our sacrifices."

*And kill it.*] See chap. i. ver. 5.

*At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] These being the *lesser holy things*, as the Jews call them, were not offered as the *whole burnt-offerings* and *sin-offerings* were, on the north side of the altar, (see chap. i. ver. 11.) but any where else near to the entrance of the tabernacle; which was in the east, where the ashes were thrown out, and therefore a less holy place. Only in laying on of hands, every man was bound, wheresoever the sacrifice was killed, to turn his face westward, towards the sanctuary; because then, as I said, he made certain prayers and acknowledgments to the Divine Majesty, which was always to be done in that posture.

*And Aaron's sons, the priests, shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about.*] See chap. i. ver. 5.

Ver. 3. *And he shall offer.*] One of the priests then in waiting at the altar.

*Of the sacrifices of the peace-offerings*, &c.] After the sacrifices were flayed and cut up, as is directed i. 6.

*The fat that covereth the inwards.*] That is, the *omentum* as the Latins call it, and hath much fat in it. (See Exod. xxix. 13.)

*And all the fat that is upon the inwards.*] All the fat which adheres to the mesentery, and other entrails.

Ver. 4. *And the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them.*] The kidneys are noted by Aristotle to have more fat about them than any of the other bowels: Ἔχουσι δὲ οἱ νεφροὶ μάλιστα τῶν σπλάγχνων πιμελήν, (lib. iii. de Animal. cap. 9.) being so covered with it, that, in dissecting of a body, the kidneys, at first sight, are not to be perceived, as anatomists observe; particularly our own countryman, Dr. Highmore.

*Which is by the flanks.*] The Hebrew word *cesilim* signifies the *loins*, (as Bochart hath demonstrated in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45.) which have *collops of fat* upon them, as Eliphaz speaks, (Job xv. 27.) and thence are easily inflamed, (Psalm xxxviii. 7.)

*And the caul above the liver.*] The Hebrew word *jothereth* signifies the greatest lobe of the liver. (See Exod. xxix. 13.)

*It shall he take away.*] Separate from the rest of the flesh, to be offered on the altar. For all the fat here mentioned was God's portion of the sacrifice: the priest had the breast and the right shoulder; and he that brought the offering had the rest; as will appear more fully, vii. 15, &c. 31, 32, &c.

Ver. 5. *And Aaron's sons.*] Some of those that minister that day.

*Shall burn it on the altar upon the burnt-sacrifice.*] By the *burnt-sacrifice* seems here to be meant the daily sacrifice, which was burnt every morning: after which this was to be offered, but not before it.

*Which is upon the wood that is on the fire.*] The same wood, upon which the burnt-sacrifice had been offered, would serve to burn this fat. Which being entirely consumed, as the holocausts were, it is called in the following words, "an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord." (See chap. i. ver. 9.) That is, God was pleased graciously to accept their pious acknowledgments: the offerings of these inwards being, as if he that brought them had said, *I will pour out my soul unto the Lord* in thanks

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and praise for the benefits he had received. So Abarbinel explains it in his preface to this book.

Ver. 6. *And if his offerings*, &c. *be of the flock.*] *i. e.* Of sheep or goats, which are both comprehended under the word *flock*, (as was noted before, chap. i. ver. 2.)

*Male or female.*] See ver. 1. where I observed a difference between these sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings, in this respect; that either *male* or *female* were accepted for peace-offerings, but *male* alone for the other. To which may be added, that birds were allowed for *whole burnt-offerings*, (i. 14, 15, &c.) but not for *peace-offerings:* which were only of the *herd* or *flock; i. e.* of bullocks, sheep, or goats. The reason seems to be plain; because *peace-offerings* being to be divided between God, the priest, and him that brought them, the portion of each would have been so small, that it would have made the feast upon it so very meagre and jejune, that it would have been contemptible.

*He shall offer it without blemish.*] It was at his choice whether he would bring it from the *herd* or the *flock:* but in its kind it was to be perfect. (See chap. i. 3. 9.)

Ver. 7. *If he offer a lamb for his offering.*] Though a bird was not accepted for a peace-offering, yet a *lamb* was; though not of such value as a fat sheep, or a goat.

*Then shall he offer it before the Lord.*] This seems to be meant of the man's presenting it to be offered at the altar.

Ver. 8. *And he shall lay his hand upon the head of his offering*, &c.] This whole verse is only a direction to do with a *peace-offering* of a lamb or sheep, as they were to do with that of a bullock, (ver. 2.)

Ver. 9. *And he shall offer of the sacrifice of the peace-offering, an offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] As was directed in the offering of a bullock, (ver. 3.)

*The fat thereof, and the whole rump.*] The whole fat being to be offered (as was ordered also before) he enumerates the particulars; because in this was more fat, than in other sacrifices of this kind. For the *whole rump* of a sheep was to be offered to God, though not of a bullock, nor a goat. And the reason was, because in those countries the tails of their sheep are so vastly big, that (as Golius and others assure us) the least of them weigh ten or twelve pounds; and some exceed forty pounds weight: and they are so very fat, that they melt the fat and keep it to butter their rice, and for other uses, as Bochartus observes in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45.

*It shall he take off hard by the back-bone.*] The Hebrew word *atzah*, which we translate the *back-bone*, denotes that part which is next to the tail or *rump:* and therefore must signify that which Galen calls κόκκυξ. Which is a bone at the extremity of the broad bone, called *os sacrum*; consisting of three cartilaginous parts, as he describes it.

*And the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards.*] See ver. 3.

Ver. 10. *And the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them*, &c.] This verse is explained above, (ver. 4.)

Ver. 11. *And the priest shall burn it upon the altar.*] As he did the fat of the bullock, (ver. 5.)

*It is the food of the offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] That which was offered upon the altar was accounted God's *mess*, as appears from Malachi i. 12. where the altar is called his *table*, and the sacrifice upon it his *meat:* as here it is called his *bread* or *food;* to represent in a lively manner to them, that God dwelt, and (as we say) kept house among them; and that they who partook of these sacrifices, feasted with him upon his provision. (See upon Exod. xxv. 8. 30.)

Ver. 12. *And if his offering be a goat*, &c.] The law concerning this sacrifice is the very same with the former (except what is ordered about the *rump* of a sheep), and this and the following verses (13—15.) need no farther explication.

Ver. 16. *And the priest shall burn it upon the altar: it is the food of the offering*, &c.] See before, ver. 11.

*All the fat is the Lord's.*] That is, all the *fat* beforementioned; which may more properly be translated the *suet.* For that *fat* which was a part of the flesh might be eaten, (as appears from many places, particularly Deut. xxxii. 14.) but not that which only lay upon it, and might be separated from it; which was burnt upon the altar, when they sacrificed either a bullock, sheep, or goat. And when they killed any of these, or other clean creatures, for their food at home, still they were to forbear to eat the *suet;* partly out of reverence to God, whose portion it was at the altar; and partly because it was heavy and too strong a food, as Maimonides takes it, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 48.) And it seems therefore to have been offered upon the altar, because it was so unctuous, that it would easily burn, and make the flesh also consume the sooner. But from its being God's part, it came thence to signify, the very best and most excellent of any kind of thing. As the best of the tithe is called the *fat of the tithe*, Numb. xviii. 17. and the best corn is called the *fat of the wheat*, Psal. lxxxi. 16. and rich and powerful men are called the *fat upon earth;* as the chief and principal part of the people, Psal. xxii. 29.

Ver. 17. *It shall be a perpetual statute.*] In force as long as this law about sacrifices shall last.

*For your generations.*] For their posterity, as well as them who received this law in all succeeding ages.

*Throughout all your dwellings, that ye eat neither fat nor blood.*] This confirms what was said before, that they might not eat such fat as is beforementioned, at home, at their ordinary food; because it is said, *throughout all your dwellings ye shall eat no fat.* And *fat* being joined with *blood*, is another argument, that they might no more eat the *suet* of beasts that were killed at home, for common use, than the blood of such beasts. From which they entirely abstained, for the foregoing reasons, as Maimonides observes in the book forenamed; and for another also which he mentions in the forty-sixth chapter of it. Where he saith, "The ancient idolaters, called Zabii, were wont to eat the blood of their sacrifices, because they imagined this to be the food of their gods; with whom they thought they had such communion, by eating of their meat, that they revealed to them things to come." And in this R. Moses bar Nachman concurs with him, as Dr. Cudworth observes in the conclusion of his treatise of the Right Notion of the Lord's Supper. For though he saith that blood was forbidden, because it served for expiation (in which he differs from Maimonides), yet he adds also, that it was used superstitiously by the heathen in their idolatrous worship; where "they partook of the blood with their demons, as being their guests, and invited to eat with them at their table. And so were joined in federal society with them; and by this kind of communion enabled to prophesy and foretell things to come."

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## CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Having directed him about *whole burnt-offerings*, and *meat-offerings* (which constantly attended some of them), and *peace-offerings*, which supposed men to be in a state of favour with God; he now proceeds to give order about the expiation of their sins, when they had offended him, by doing contrary to his commands; which he continues to the fourteenth verse of the fifth chapter. And this law about *sin-offerings*, seems to have been delivered to Moses at a different time from the former; being about a different matter; but by a voice speaking to him out of the tabernacle, as before, (chap. i. 1.)

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a soul shall sin through ignorance*, &c.] There are three conditions expressed in this verse, of the sin for which the following sacrifice was admitted. First, It was to be committed *ignorantly;* not wittingly and presumptuously. Secondly, It was for sin against a *negative* precept (as the Jews call them), *i. e.* such a commandment as forbade something to be done. So it is said here expressly, *concerning things which ought not to be done.* As for the omission of such things as were commanded to be done, they might be performed some other time, when men had better bethought themselves; which was much more acceptable to God, than offering sacrifice for the omission. And thirdly, It was for *facts* committed, not for *words* or *thoughts;* so the last words are, *and shall do against any of them.* As for the sins which men might imprudently commit in *word* and in *thought*, they were so many, that the whole flocks and herds would not have sufficed for their expiation, nor the altar contained all such sacrifices. The Jews add a fourth condition, that the sacrifice here appointed was such *facts*, as if they had been committed wittingly, a *cereth*, i. e. *cutting off*, was threatened to them by the law: which they gather from Numb. xv. 30. But that phrase, *with a high hand*, seems not to signify any *sort* of sin, but a certain *manner* of sinning: as when a man despised God's commandments, and brought contempt upon the law by his sins, as a very learned friend of mind, now with God, hath observed. And, therefore, it is probable all sins committed ignorantly were expiated by the following sacrifices, save only those which are appointed to be expiated by other sacrifices, or after another manner. (See Dr. Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. i, cap. 12. n. 2—4.)

Ver. 3. *If the priest that is anointed do sin.*] And first he prescribes the sacrifice which he who was to make the great expiation for all the people, should offer for himself, *viz.* the high-priest: who only, of all the priests, was constantly anointed at the entrance of his office. And if, after he was put out of his office, he committed any such sin as is here mentioned, he was to make this offering for his expiation, as much as if he had continued in it. So Mr. Selden observes out of the Misna, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 15. n. 14.

*According to the sin of the people.*] In the manner beforementioned. Or, as R. Solomon interprets it, if he hide any thing from the people, whereby they err. For so the words run in the Hebrew, if he sin *to the guilt of the people* (or to the making them guilty), either by misinforming them, or drawing them into error by his example; so that they take a thing to be clean, which is indeed unclean, or the like.

*Then let him bring for his sin which he hath sinned, a young bullock without blemish.*] It is observed by some, that in great offences the sacrifices were small; lest they should imagine their pardon was procured by their great expense. For here the word is *par ben bachur, a young bullock*, that was but a little bigger than a calf. And so this sacrifice is called (*par*) in the following verses. Whereas that of the *peace-offering* is called (ver. 10.) *shor*, an *ox* (though we translate it also *bullock*), one that was grown to its full bigness, and consequently of greater value.

*For a sin-offering.*] How *chattah*, which we translate *sin-offering*, differs from *ascham*, which we translate *trespass-offering*, I shall examine afterward, when Moses came to speak of the latter; and now only observe, that *chattah* is the name both for *sin*, and for the *sin-offering:* as the word *piaculum* was among the heathen; which signified both a great crime, and the expiatory sacrifice for it. By which those words in the New Testament may be explained, "Christ was made sin for us;" that is, a sacrifice to expiate our sins. And so the word ἁμαρτία, *sin*, certainly signifies, Rom. viii. 3.

Ver. 4. *And he shall bring the bullock unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the Lord.*] This, as I take it, was to be done by himself; who was to present the sacrifice to the Divine Majesty, and desire it might be accepted for the purpose to which it was to be offered.

*And shall lay his hand upon the bullock's head.*] As every one that brought other offerings was bound to do, (see chap. i. 4. iii. 2, &c.) but here for another purpose; *viz.* to confess their sins unto the Lord, and beseech him to forgive them. (See v. 5.) There is a good gloss upon this, in a very bad book called Nitzachon, not long ago published by the learned Wagenseil: where that author saith, (p. 11.) "When a man sacrificed a beast, he was to think in his mind, I am more a beast than this here present. For I have sinned, and for the sins I have committed, I offer this: but it were more just that he who hath sinned should suffer death, than this beast (which hath not offended): therefore thus a man, by the help of this sacrifice, began to repent."

*And kill the bullock before the Lord.*] This seems to have been done by him that laid his hand on the head of the bullock, that is, by the hand of the high-priest himself. For the greatest men, in old time, did not think such work below them; but rather esteemed every thing that served to the worship of God, to be noble and honourable. So Homer represents king Agamemnon as killing the lambs himself; by the blood of which he was to seal the treaty he made with the Trojans; (Iliad. 3.) yet in this case, it is likely, the high-priest himself did not kill the sacrifices, but some of the other priests that then ministered. For he that did this seems to be distinguished, by the next words, (ver. 5.) from the *priest that is anointed; i. e.* the high-priest. Nor was this sacrifice killed in the ordinary place where *sin-offerings* were killed, (see 24.) being an extraordinary sort of offering, as that which follows also was.

Ver. 5. *And the priest that is anointed.*] Whoever killed the sacrifice, the high-priest himself, for whom it was offered, did what follows.

*Shall take of the bullock's blood.*] In a bason.

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*And bring it to the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Into the very sanctuary; where, as it follows, he was to dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle it seven times before the Lord.

Ver. 6. *And the priest shall dip his finger in the blood.*] Or rather, *dip it into the blood.*

*And sprinkle of the blood seven times before the Lord.*] This was peculiar to his sacrifice for sin, and done in no other but that for the whole congregation. To signify, perhaps, that their offences were more heinous, and could not be so easily expiated, as those of other men. The number *seven*, every one knows, was of great account, and thought most powerful in religious actions, even among the heathen. For as Elisha bade Naaman go and wash *seven times in Jordan*, to cure him of his leprosy; so Apuleius, in the beginning of the eleventh book of his Metamorphosis, speaks of dipping the head *seven times* in the sea for purification, and gives the reason for it; "Quod eum numerum præcipue religioni aptissimum divinus ille Pythagoras prodidit;" because the *Divine Pythagoras* (as he calls him) *taught this number to be above all other most proper in religion.* Which, in all probability, Pythagoras learnt from the truly Divine Moses: to whom God revealed the creation of the world, in six days, and his consecrating the seventh day, on which he rested; which made the number *seven* so much used in sacred matters. For not only in this sacrifice, but in making the water of separation by burning a red heifer, this rite was used, (Numb. xix. 4.) and in purging a leper, (Lev. xiv. 7.) in dedicating the altar, (Exod. xxix. 37.) when the oil was sprinkled on it seven times, (Lev. viii. 11.) and at the consecration of the priests; (Exod. xxix. 35.) and, to say no more, as every seventh day of the week was holy, so every seventh year the land rested; and after seven times seven there was a *jubilee*, (Levit. xxv.) They that would see more of this number, and of its *sacramenta*, as St. Jerome speaks, may read him upon Amos v. 3. and Drusius on this place, and on Josh. vi. 4. and Wolfius upon Nehemiah viii.

*Before the veil of the sanctuary.*] Which parted the *holy place* from the *most holy*. For that is peculiarly called by the name of *porocheth*, which is the word here used, (xxvi. 31. 33. 35. Lev. xvi. 2, &c.) as the other veil, which was before the door of the tabernacle, is constantly called *masach*, (Exod. xxvi. 36, 37.)

Ver. 7. *And the priest shall put some of the blood upon the horns of the altar of sweet incense*, &c.] This also was peculiar to his sacrifice; and to that for the whole congregation, (ver. 17.)

*And shall pour out all the blood of the bullock.*] That is, all the rest of the blood which remained after the sprinkling before the mercy-seat; and the tipping of the horns of the altar with it.

*At the bottom of the altar of the burnt-offering.*] Where, after the building of the temple, there were two holes; one on the west side of the altar, the other on the south, (as the Jews tell us in Middoth, cap. 3. sect. 2.) by which it is conveyed into a *canal* under ground, through which it ran into the brook Kidron. And there was only this difference (they say) about these two holes, that the blood of the sin-offering (any part of which was carried into the most holy place) was poured out only into that on the west side of the foundation of the altar. And, if we may believe the Jews, the gardeners bought this blood of those that were the treasurers of the temple, to enrich their ground with it, as Constantine L'Empereur there observes. And while they were in the wilderness, and all the time they had only a moveable tabernacle, it is most likely there were receptacles made under ground, with conveyances to some distant place, where it sank into the earth, or was covered with dust, as other blood is commanded to be, (xvii. 13.) For Maimonides thinks the pouring out the blood (so that it might not remain in one place) which is constantly and strictly required by the law, was in opposition to an idolatrous custom of the old Zabii; who made a collection of the blood in a vessel, or in a little pit, about which they sat, and ate the flesh, imagining their gods feasted upon the blood; as I noted before out of Maimonides, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46.)

*Which is at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] For there was the place of it, as hath been observed, Exod. xl. 6.

Ver. 8. *And he shall take off from it all the fat of the bullock for the sin-offering*, &c.] All that follows in this and the two next verses, (ver. 9, 10.) is the same that was ordered to be done about peace-offerings, as appears from ver. 10. See therefore the foregoing chapter, ver. 3—5.

Ver. 11. *And the skin of the bullock, and all his flesh, with his head, and with his legs, and his inwards*, &c.] This sacrifice was so laborious, to work in them a greater detestation of sin; which was aggravated by the quality of the person that committed it. And Nachmanides hath an observation, which (in some parts of it, at least) is very remarkable; "That all a man doth, being performed in words, in works, or thoughts, God commanded them, when they brought an offering for sin, that they should lay their hands on it, which had respect to the works they had done; and make confession over it, which had respect to their words; and burn the inwards and kidneys, which are the organs of thoughts and desires; the legs, also, had a respect to a man's hands and feet, by which he doth all his work; and the blood that was sprinkled on the altar signified his own blood. So that while a man did all these things, he was put in mind how he had sinned against God, both in soul and body, and deserved to have his blood shed, and his body burnt; unless the mercy of the Creator had accepted a price of redemption for him, *viz.* a sacrifice; whose blood was for his blood, and its life for his life; and the principal members of the sacrifice, for the members of his body." By which it appears, that the best sort of Jews had a sense, that the sacrifices for sin were offered to God in their stead, as a ransom for them. And so we Christians are to understand the sacrifice which Christ made of himself, who "gave himself a ransom for us all," as the apostle speaks, 1 Tim. ii. 6. and our Lord saith the same, Matt. xx. 28. Mark x. 45. Such sacrifices the heathens themselves had, which they called *Lustralia*, from the word *lustrare*, which signifies to *expiate* among the Romans; and that by *paying a price*. For the ancient poet Ennius (as our excellent Mr. Thorndike hath observed), translating into Latin a Greek tragedy called Ἑκτοροςλύτρα (being taken out of Homer, where he speaks of Priamus ransoming of Hector's corpse from Achilles), entitled *Hectoris lustra*, (which shews this is the Latin of λύτρον,) *ransom* or *redemption:* and that ἀπολυτρόω signifies



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in the New Testament *to deliver by paying a ransom*, see his Epilogue, book ii. chap. 27.

Ver. 12. *Even the whole bullock shall he carry forth without the camp.*] It was not dissected, as the *peace-offerings* were, because nobody was to partake of any part of it; being a sacrifice for the priest's own sin. And therefore it was to be carried (though not by himself, but some other person) to be burnt without the camp, to express the abominableness of the sin. This rite, and the carrying the blood within the tabernacle, to be sprinkled before the Lord, were used only in these two cases; of the sin of the high-priest, and of all the people. For of other sin-offerings the priest might eat, (vi. 26.) but of this, being for himself, he was not to taste at all, because he was in a state of guilt.

*Into a clean place, where the ashes are poured out.*] On the east part of the tabernacle there was a place for the ashes to be thrown into, when they are taken from the altar; which afterward were carried into a clean place, without the camp. And so they were carried out after the temple was built at Jerusalem, at the east gate of the city, into a valley which lay between Jerusalem and Mount Olivet.

*And burn him on the wood with fire.*] Not upon an altar, but in a fire made with wood upon the ground, to shew the odiousness of the sin, as Maimonides thinks. For as the whole *burnt-sacrifices* were burnt on the altar, because they were an *offering of sweet-smelling savour* unto God; so this was burnt without the camp upon the ground, to shew that the *odour of it was ungrateful and abominable;* More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46. where he also observes, that the burning of the beast entirely, being the destruction of it, so that nothing of it remained, it signified in like manner the utter deletion of sin, so that it should be remembered no more. And the bullock being burnt without the camp, I take it to denote, that the people should not suffer for the sin of the priest, which was abolished together with his sacrifice.

The same Maimonides hath another observation upon the title Zebachim, that there were three places constituted for the burning of holy things. The first was in the sanctuary, as every one knows; the second was in the mount of the house (as they called the place round about the court of the sanctuary), where, if any blemish happened to a bullock or a goat, they were brought out of the sanctuary, and burnt in a place called Bira; the third was in this place of the ashes, without the city.

*Where the ashes are poured out, there shall he be burnt.*] This is repeated, that none might presume to take the liberty to burn the bullock in any other place.

Ver. 13. *And if the whole congregation of Israel sin through ignorance.*] The Jews generally understood by the *whole congregation*, the great Sanhedrin, who represented the whole people of Israel. So Maimonides in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41. and in his treatise of Sacrifices; and R. Levi, of Barcelona, Præcept. cxviii. For they sometimes erred in judgment; and thereby misleading the people, they were bound, when they found their error, to offer this sacrifice. Yet the Talmudists have raised many disputes upon this point, and made various cases: in some of which the house of judgment was bound to offer the sacrifice here appointed, and not they who followed their sentence: and others there were, in which they who followed their sentence were bound, and not the judges themselves. But if Moses's words be well considered, it will appear, that he speaks of a sin committed by all the people, in doing something which God had forbidden; by making wrong constructions of the law, or by common false opinions, or popular customs. For the *whole congregation* is here plainly distinguished from the *elders of the people*, (ver. 15.) which is certainly the name for their judges and governors. It was Mr. Selden's intention to have treated largely of the sense and notion of this law, as appears by what he saith of it, lib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 14. n. 4. where he refers his reader to the third book on that subject for an account of this place. In the beginning of which (cap. 1. n. 1.) he signifies his intention to explain what the office of the Sanhedrin was, in offering expiatory sacrifices for the *whole congregation*. Which he repeats again, (cap. 10. n. 1.) with this addition, that they made this sacrifice in the name of all the people, when they offended as a community. But he did not live to pursue his intentions, being diverted by long digressions about other matters: yet he shews sufficiently his opinion was, that this sacrifice was not offered *for* the *Sanhedrin*, but *by* them for the *people*.

*And the thing be hid from the eyes of the assembly.*] They are not sensible of their mistake for the present; but afterward discover it, either by themselves or by their rulers.

*And they have done somewhat against any of the commandments of the Lord, concerning things which ought not to be done.*] Have offended against some of the *negative* precepts (as the Jews speak) which forbid such things to be done. (See ver. 2.)

*And are guilty.*] Are sensible of their guilt.

Ver. 14. *When the sin which they have sinned against it is known.*] When they have discovered what precept they have violated.

*Then shall the congregation offer a young bullock for the sin.*] Without blemish, as was required for the sin of the high-priest, (ver. 3.)

*And bring him before the tabernacle of the congregation.*] *i. e.* Cause the bullock to be brought thither, by some of his people, in the name of all the rest.

Ver. 15. *And the elders of the congregation shall lay their hands upon the head of the bullock*, &c.] They were to do this as representatives of the people. (See ver. 13. and the end of *laying on their hands*, v. 4.)

*And the bullock shall be killed before the Lord.*] Either by some of them, or some of the people whom they appointed. (See ver. 4.)

Ver. 16. *And the priest that is anointed.*] That is, the high-priest: (see ver. 5.) All the rest that follows, to ver. 22, is exactly the same that is prescribed in the foregoing offering, for the high-priest himself. Only R. Solomon Jarchi hath a nice observation on the next verse, that it is not said in this case (as it is in the former) he shall sprinkle of the blood seven times *before the veil of the sanctuary*, but only *before the veil*, without the addition of *hakkodesh*, of the sanctuary, as it is ver. 6. Because, saith he, if the high-priest only sin, the holiness doth not depart: but if all the congregation sin, then it doth depart. As, if a province rebel against a prince, his family stands; but if there be a general defection, he must fall. He hath

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the like observation upon ver. 22, 23. but it seems too subtle: for in the eighteenth verse Moses only saith, he shall put some of the blood upon the *horns of the altar*, without adding of *sweet incense*, (as before, ver. 7.) and yet it is manifest he means the same altar; and what was done in this sacrifice was as acceptable as what was done in the other.

Ver. 22. *When a ruler hath sinned, and done somewhat through ignorance against*, &c.] The word *nasi*, which we translate *ruler*, signifies the *head of a tribe* in Numb. i. 4. 16. vii. 2. But the Jews commonly understand it peculiarly of the *head*, or *prince of the great Sanhedrin;* who, when they were under the government of kings, was the king himself. Thus the Misna gathers from these words in the text, *when he sinneth against any of the commandments of the Lord his God*, which signify him, say the doctors, that hath no superior but the Lord. And so the Gemarists understand it also, as Mr. Selden shews, lib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 16. p. 666. But I think it is most reasonable to extend this to all great officers and judges, who had a peculiar relation to God; and therefore were called by his name.

*Concerning things which should not be done.*] See ver. 2.

*And is guilty.*] Acknowledges that he hath offended God by the sin which he hath committed.

Ver. 23. *Or if his sin wherein he hath sinned come to his knowledge.*] If we retain this translation (and do not render the first word *and*, but *or*), then the foregoing words in the latter end of ver. 22, *veashem*, must be translated (not *is guilty*, but) *and acknowledges his guilt*. Which seems to be the true sense; for when men sin they are guilty, though the sin was committed ignorantly; but they do not acknowledge their guilt till they see it; as Moses here supposes they might, when they considered better, or somebody informed them aright. So these words signify, *or his sin is made known unto him*. Thus L'Empereur very judiciously translates this whole passage, *And he acknowledges himself guilty, or his sin be shewn to him:* otherwise there is no room for this disjunctive particle. (See his Annot. upon Bava kama, cap. 7. sect. 1. and cap. 9. sect. 4, 5.) And thus we ourselves translate the first part of this disjunction (in the latter end of the foregoing verse), Hosea v. 15. *acknowledge their offences.*

*He shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats.*] His sacrifice was of less value than the two former. From which Mr. Selden concludes, that the high-priest was not always the head of the Sanhedrin, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 16. p. 653.) For their sacrifices were very different, which argues a difference in their persons. And the Misna says, if the high-priest were put out of his office, his sacrifice was still the same, *viz.* a bullock without blemish: but it was not so with the *nasi*, or ruler, who offered only the sacrifice of a private man if he lost his office.

*A male without blemish.*] It was to be the best of this kind; though not equal to the sacrifice for the high-priest and the whole congregation. (See ver. 28.)

Ver. 24. *And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the goat.*] Of this see ver. 4.

*And kill it in the place where they kill the burnt-offering before the Lord.*] Where that was, see chap. i. ver. 11. Neither of the two forementioned offerings (for the high-priest, or the whole congregation) are ordered to be killed here; but only *before the Lord*, (ver. 14, 15.) that is, in any part of the court but that which was proper to the *burnt-offering*, and the common *sin-offering*, as it here follows.

*It is a sin-offering.*] And therefore was to be killed where the burnt-offering was: for so it is ordained (vi. 25.) that all *sin-offerings* should be there slain. Which doth not imply that the two former were not sin-offerings, but that they were not of the common sort; as appears by the carrying of their blood into the sanctuary, and burning their flesh without the camp, which are not ordered either in this or in the following sacrifices.

Ver. 25. *And the priest shall take of the blood of the sin-offering with his finger.*] By dipping his finger into it, (ver. 6. 17.)

*And put it upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offering.*] Whereas the blood of the two former was put upon the horns of the golden altar in the sanctuary, (ver. 7. 18.)

*And shall pour out his blood at the bottom of the altar of burnt-offering.*] See ver. 18.

Ver. 26. *And he shall burn all his fat upon the altar*, &c.] See chap. iii. 9. It is not here said what should be done with the flesh; which in the two foregoing offerings is ordered to be burnt without the camp, (ver. 12. 21.) But in chap. vi. 26. 29. and xviii. Numb. 9, 10. the law of the sin-offering is set down to be this, that the priest and his sons should eat it, in the sanctuary, and no where else; provided also that they were free from uncleanness, (xxii. 4.)

*And the priest shall make an atonement for him, as concerning his sin.*] By this sacrifice his guilt was expiated; which must be understood to be the effect of the sacrifice for the high-priest, though it be not expressed, as it is in that for the whole congregation, (ver. 20.)

*And it shall be forgiven him.*] So that he should not be liable to the punishment of *cutting off*, as the Jews understand it; who fancy such sins to which that is threatened are here spoken of. (See ver. 1.) Rather, he was restored to communion with the people of God, from which he was separated while he remained in a known guilt.

Ver. 27. *And if any one of the common people sin through ignorance.*] Commit the same offence that a ruler or public officer doth.

*And be guilty; or if his sin which he hath committed come to his knowledge.*] See how this ought to be translated, ver. 22, 23.

Ver. 28. *Then he shall bring his offering; a kid of the goats, a female without blemish.*] Being a common person, less was required of him than of a prince; who was to offer a *male*, (ver. 23.) which in all creatures was of greater value than a *female*, as Maimonides observes: who reckons up three-and-forty offences of this sort, that might be committed imprudently (in his treatise called Schegagoth), in one of which, *viz.* worshipping an idol ignorantly, the sacrifice was the same for a private man as for the king, or the high-priest, or the priest anointed for war: but in all the other forty-two a *female* goat or lamb sufficed for a private man, (cap. 1. sect. 4.) And this sacrifice they call *stated*, or fixed, because no man offered more or less, whether rich or poor, man or woman; except only those who ate holy things, or entered into the sanctuary; whose sacrifices were higher or lower, as they speak. And there were three things, if we may believe them, which, though committed by error, were expiated by no sacrifice, *viz.*



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blasphemy, neglect of circumcision, and not keeping the Passover. (So R. Levi of Barcelona, Præcept. cxix.) Which seems to be an unreasonable opinion, since idolatry committed ignorantly, they say, was comprehended within this law.

Ver. 29. *And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin-offering*, &c.] This verse and the following, with the beginning of ver. 31. contain nothing but what was ordered about the foregoing sacrifice, (ver. 24—26.)

Ver. 31. *And the priest shall burn it upon the altar, for a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] This is a phrase used concerning *burnt-offerings*, (i. 9. 13.) and *peace-offerings*, (iii. 5. 16.) but it is not said of any of the foregoing sin-offerings, that the burning of them, or their fat, was for *a sweet savour unto the Lord*. The reason of which I am not able to give, unless it were to comfort the lowest sort of people with hope of God's mercy, though their offering was mean, in comparison of those offered by others. Abarbinel gives this reason for it: because a sin of ignorance being a less fault in a common man, it was a sign of great probity in him to bring a sacrifice for the expiation of it: but for the high-priest, or senate, or ruler of the people, to be ignorant of the law, was such a high crime, that it was no commendation to them to bring a sacrifice for their purgation.

Ver. 32. *And if he bring a lamb for a sin-offering*, &c.] For which reason God was pleased to accept a *lamb*, and that a *female*, of those who were not able to bring a young kid.

Ver. 33. *And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin-offering, and slay it*, &c.] This and the next verse differ not from the foregoing, and therefore need no explication.

Ver. 35. *And the priest shall burn them upon the altar, according to the offerings made by fire unto the Lord.*] Or rather *upon* the offerings, or *after* the burnt-offering. (See iii. 5.)

*And the priest shall make an atonement for his sin*, &c.] And if by the same error he had committed several sins, there was a distinct atonement to be made for every one of them: so that if he had committed ignorantly the forty-three offences beforementioned, though it were by one and the same error, he was bound to offer as many expiatory sacrifices, (as Maimonides resolves in the forenamed treatise Schegagoth, cap. 4.) This, and such-like things, made this law "a yoke which they were not able to bear," as St. Peter speaks, Acts xv. 10.

## CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *IF a soul sin.*] In the manner following.

*And hear the voice of swearing, and is a witness.*] Being adjured in the name of God, when he is called to be a witness in a cause, to speak the truth. For judges had power to use such adjurations, that they might either draw a confession from an accused person, or a faithful testimony from a witness. Of the former of which there is a solemn form remaining in Scripture, (1 Kings xvii. 16. 2 Chron. xviii. 15.) as Grotius hath observed upon Matt. xxvi. 63. And Dr. Hammond, upon the same place, hath observed instances of the latter, (1 Kings vii. 31. Prov. xxix. 24.) And Micah's mother seems by her own authority to have adjured her family, as they dreaded the vengeance of the Divine Majesty, to discover if they knew any thing of the eleven hundred shekels of silver, which had been stolen from her, (Judg. xvii. 2.) In all which cases, men were bound to answer, as much as if they had taken a solemn oath so to do. Insomuch, that our blessed Lord himself, being thus adjured, made an answer to the court of judgment, though before he had stood silent.

*Whether he hath seen or known of it.*] Whether he can say any thing of the matter in question; either from his own knowledge, or from the information of credible persons.

*If he do not utter it.*] Declare what he knows, being thus adjured.

*Then he shall bear his iniquity.*] Let him not think it is no offence to suppress the truth, when he is so solemnly admonished to declare it; but offer such a sacrifice for his sin, as is prescribed ver. 1. which belongs to all the following cases. The Jews make four sorts of oaths in their courts, or commerce one with another; as Mr. Selden hath observed out of their writers; (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 11. n. 8.) which are, *rash oaths*, *vain oaths* (of which they also make four sorts), *oaths about trusts*, (mentioned vi. 2, 3.) and this, which they call *the oath of testimony*; which they say every man was bound to give before the Sanhedrin when he was required. With this distinction between capital and pecuniary causes, that in the latter a man was not bound to come and testify, unless he was cited by the plaintiff, or by the court; but in capital causes, and in such things as the law prohibited (as if a man saw another smite his neighbour), he was bound to come of his own accord, without any summons, and give his testimony in court. Yet in this they make some difference, as may be seen in R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cxx. They who would see more of these several sorts of oaths among the Jews, may find them considered in Sam. Petitus's Var. Lectiones, cap. 16. And such a law as this there was anciently in other countries, that he who saw a crime committed, if he could not hinder it, should be bound, at least, to prosecute the malefactor. So the Egyptian lawgiver saith concerning *theft*, which a man saw committed, μηνῦσαί γε πάντως ὤφελε τοὺς λῃστὰς, καὶ ἐπεξιέναι τὴν παρονομίαν, *to prosecute the law against that crime*. So Plato uses the same word ἐπεξιέναι, lib. iv. de Legibus, saying, that he who knew of such a fact, or had certain information of it, καὶ μὴ ἐπεξιὼν, *and doth not prosecute the person that did it*, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνεχέσθω νόμοις, *let him be liable to the same punishment*. (See Hen. Stephanus's Præfat. ad Fontes Juris Civilis.)

Ver. 2. *Or if a soul touch any unclean thing, whether it be a carcass of an unclean beast*, &c.] The Hebrew doctors expound this of such persons, as, having touched any of the unclean things, which are mentioned in this verse and in the next, came into the sanctuary, or did eat of the holy things. Which they gather out of vii. 20, 21. and Numb. xix. 20. where *cutting off* is threatened to those, who knowingly were so guilty. For otherwise, it was sufficient for a man's expiation, who touched any unclean thing, to wash himself; and his uncleanness lasted only till the evening. (See chap. xi. and Numb. xix.) But why may it not be meant of those who neglected to wash themselves, who were to expiate that neglect by a sacrifice?

*He also shall be unclean and guilty.*] Obliged to offer the sacrifice prescribed (ver. 6.) for eating that which is holy (saith Rasi) or coming into the sanctuary.

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Ver. 3. *Or if he touch the uncleanness of man,* &c.] Such uncleannesses as are mentioned in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth chapters of this book.

*And if it be hid from him, when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty.*] The words may be translated, *Whether he did it ignorantly, or had some knowledge of it,* and yet offended, he shall be obliged to offer the sacrifice mentioned, ver. 6.

Ver. 4. *Or if a soul swear.*] This the Hebrew doctors expound of that sort of oath which they call *futile,* or *rash:* when a man saith he hath done, or will do, or not do, a thing that is in his power to do.

*Pronouncing with his mouth.*] It was to be uttered in words, and not merely thought in his mind.

*To do evil or good.*] That he hath done a thing, or not done it, of whatsoever kind it be; or that he will, or will not do it. For these four kinds of oaths, of this sort, the Hebrew doctors make, two about things past; and two about things to come, (see Selden de Synedr. lib. ii. cap. 11. n. 8.) As if he swear that he did eat, or he did not eat of such a meat; did talk, or did not talk with Reuben or Simeon, &c. Rasi thinks by *doing good* is meant something for his own advantage, and, consequently, by *doing evil,* we are to understand *afflicting* himself, or *punishing* his servant, &c. But it may as well be understood generally of all things whatsoever, which are comprehended under the name of *good and evil.*

*And it be hid from him.*] He did not rightly understand, or consider the thing about which he sware; whether it was in his power, for instance, to do what he swore he would do; or, whether he could lawfully do it; or if through forgetfulness he omitted to do what he might have done. Some interpret these and the following words, as those of the foregoing verse.

*He shall be guilty in one of these.*] Obliged to offer a sacrifice (as it follows, ver. 6.) if he have sworn rashly in any of the foregoing instances.

Ver. 5. *And it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing.*] When he laid his hand upon the head of his sacrifice, this confession of his offence, it is likely, was made; without which his sacrifice would have been of no avail: so all the Hebrew doctors understand it; particularly Abarbinel, upon the sixteenth chapter of this book, saith, that *confession was necessary to be added to every sacrifice for sin.* For what is here commanded in this case, they resolve belongs to all *sin-offerings,* and *trespass-offerings* also. And, indeed, it was a notion among the heathen themselves, that an offering without prayer was to no purpose: "Quippe victimas cædi sine precatione, non videtur referre, nec Deos ritè consuli," as Pliny speaks, (lib. xxviii. Nat. Hist. cap. 2.) and every one knows that confession was a part of prayer. (See Dr. Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 15. n. 9.)

Ver. 6. *And he shall bring his trespass-offering unto the Lord.*] There is a difference between a *sin-offering* (called *chattah*) and a *trespass-offering* (called *ascham*), as is plain in the latter part of this chapter, compared with this. But here in this place they are not distinguished, for the name of *trespass-offering* is given to that which was really a *sin-offering:* as appears from the latter end of this verse, and from the two next, where this offering is expressly called a *sin-offering.*

*For his sin which he hath sinned.*] In any of the four forementioned cases; either by polluting the sanctuary, or eating holy things, or a rash oath, or by refusing to give his testimony, being adjured by the court of judgment to do it. Thus R. Levi of Barcelona explains this, (Præcept. cxxi.)

*A female from the flock, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering.*] As the Hebrews call the *sin-offering,* mentioned in the foregoing chapter, (ver. 27.) a *fixed sacrifice;* so they call this *higher or lower,* being brought according to every man's faculty or ability; some more, some less, as the forenamed author, and many other of their doctors observe; and is plain of itself from the following verses.

*And the priest shall make an atonement for him, concerning his sin.*] By sprinkling the blood, and burning the fat of the sacrifice, as is directed, iv. 34, 35.

Ver. 7. *And if he be not able to bring a lamb.*] See the mercy of God, saith the same R. Levi, who was pleased to exact such small punishments for these sins, *because it was very easy for men to fall into them.* For we are more prone to offend in word than in deed: and without great caution it was scarce possible not to fall into such legal pollutions, as required this expiation.

*Then he shall bring for his trespass, which he hath committed, two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, unto the Lord.*] Who, though he would not exact a heavy punishment of them for these offences, yet would not suffer them to escape altogether unpunished; that they might not be presumptuous, but use due care and caution in their words and actions. So the same R. Levi represents the sense of this law, as if the Lord had said, "I would not have such things done; but if any man by frailty commit them, let him repent with all his might, and set a guard upon himself; and let him offer a sacrifice, which may imprint the remembrance of his guilt upon his heart; and preserve him that he may not hereafter offend."

*The one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering.*] First, he was to have his peace made with God, by a *sin-offering;* and then his *burnt-offering,* or his gift, might be accepted, as Rasi observes; and is expressly ordered in the next verse, *the priest shall offer that which is for the sin-offering first.*

Ver. 8. *And wring off his head from his neck,* &c.] Or rather, nip it off with his nail, (as the Jews explain it, see i. 15.) so as not quite to separate it from the body. For that had been to make the sacrifice contemptible, (as R. Levi, of Barcelona, gives the reason of it, Præcept. cxxviii.) the bird looking more handsome with its neck still joined to the body, than without it. And it was fit the sacrifice, even of a poor man, should be as decent as possible; it being sufficient he thus suffered, without increasing his affliction by the mean and abject form of his sacrifice.

Ver. 9. *And he shall sprinkle of the blood of the sin-offering,* &c.] Some of the blood, which ran out of itself, as the priest held it by the neck, where he nipped it, he was to sprinkle upon the side of the altar. And then he was to press out the rest of the blood (when as much was ran out as would of itself, by that nip) at the bottom of the altar; where they were wont to pour out the blood of the sin-offering, (iv. 7. 18. 25. 34.)

*It is a sin-offering.*] Therefore the blood was there pressed out: whereas, in *burnt-offerings* of a bird, we read only of pressing or squeezing out the blood at the side of the altar,

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(i. 15.) It is not said what was to be done with the flesh; but it is plain, from vi. 26. that the priest was to have it; the blood only being offered to God.

Ver. 10. *And he shall offer the second for a burnt-offering, according to the manner.*] Prescribed in the first chapter, ver. 15.

*And the priest shall make an atonement for him,* &c.] Some gather from hence, that the *burnt-offering* was also an expiatory sacrifice. But it is so plainly distinguished from it, that these words seem to me to relate only to the foregoing offering, (ver. 8, 9.) Though this may be concluded from hence: that the *sin-offering* was not accepted for his expiation; unless this *burnt-offering* followed, as a thankful acknowledgment made to God for his goodness.

Ver. 11. *But if he be not able to bring two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons.*] This was still a more merciful provision for the poor; who were not to be so ambitious of offering a beast or a bird, as not to content themselves with offering the smallest thing that God would accept. So R. Levi, of Barcelona, observes, that God having such compassion on men's poverty, it did not become them to strain themselves to offer more than they were able; for so they might have been tempted to steal. Yet, if, after a man had set aside a little money to buy this quantity of fine flour, his estate was bettered, he was then bound (as Maimonides saith, in the treatise called Schegagoth) to add so much to it, as would buy the birds before prescribed. And in like manner, if he had designed to buy birds, and on a sudden grew richer, he was to procure a lamb or a kid. On the contrary, if a man had set apart money to buy a bullock for his sin-offering, and unexpectedly grew poor, he might buy two turtles, or young pigeons, and by them redeem his money so consecrated, &c. (cap. 10.)

*Then he that hath sinned shall bring for his offering a tenth part of an ephah of fine flour,* &c.] Neither more nor less; which was but a small quantity, (see Exod. xvi. 36.) because God would not have his creature oppressed, as the same author observes, (Præcept. cxxix.)

*He shall put no oil upon it, neither shall he put any frankincense thereon.*] In commiseration of his poverty, God required only a little flour, which every one might easily get, to offer without any oil to it, which was more costly; and also had something of magnificence in it (kings and priests being anointed), and therefore not becoming the meanness, or the grief and humility, of the person that brought this offering. For which reason *frankincense* was also omitted, being a pleasant thing; and not fit to be added to an offering for sin: which was offensive to God. To this purpose the same R. Levi, in the same place. And we find this imitated also by the heathen; for Pliny saith, in his preface to Vespasian before his Natural History, "Mola tantum salsa litant, qui non habent thura."

Ver. 12. *Then shall he bring it to the priest.*] Confessing his sin to him (as is ordered, ver. 5.) for which he desired this offering might be accepted.

*And the priest shall take his handful of it, even a memorial thereof.*] For an acknowledgment of his fault, and as a caution to him hereafter.

Ver. 13. *And the priest shall make an atonement for him, as touching the sin that he hath sinned in one of these.*] With one of these three forementioned sacrifices: either with a lamb, or with two turtles or young pigeons, or with fine flour. For, as Rasi hath observed, there are three sorts of men; rich, poor, and very poor: and so three sorts of offerings are prescribed in this chapter, suitable to each of their abilities.

*And the remnant shall be the priest's, as a meat-offering.*] See chapter the second, ver. 2, 3. where the whole *meat-offering* (except one handful) is given to the priest: who had nothing at all of some of the *sin-offerings,* mentioned in the foregoing chapter, (ver. 12. 21.) which were entirely consumed.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying*] Here begin the orders which were given to Moses about another sort of sacrifice, near of kin to the former: but delivered, it is likely, at some other time; after he had written down the foregoing laws about *sin-offerings.* (See iv. 1.)

Ver. 15. *If a soul commit a trespass.*] In the Hebrew this is a different phrase from what hath been hitherto used, signifying another sort of guilt.

*And sin through ignorance, in the holy things of the Lord.*] By applying to his own private use any thing that was dedicated to God, (as Maimonides expounds it in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46.) which might be committed in the payment of tithes, and in first-fruits, and the first-born of cattle, or meddling with that part of the sacrifice which belonged to the priest alone. Which things he that committed *presumptuously,* was to be cut off, (Numb. xv. 30.) but if *ignorantly,* he was to do as here is directed in this verse. But these words seem to be particularly restrained to the last of those things now mentioned, (eating any part of the sacrifice which belong to the priest alone, xxii. 14.) and the end of this law (as R. Levi Barzelonita speaks, Præcept. cxxii.) was to excite fear and reverence in all those who approached unto holy things.

*Then he shall bring for his trespass unto the Lord, a ram without blemish out of the flocks.*] As a sheep was a more noble species among creatures than a goat; so a *ram* was of a greater value among sheep, than a female: and therefore this sacrifice was more costly than the *sin-offering* mentioned ver. 6.

*With thy estimation.*] Besides his sacrifice, he was to make satisfaction in money, according as the priest should esteem the damage. For that is the meaning of *with thy estimation;* according to the value thou shalt set upon the thing, which he applied to his own use.

*By shekels of silver.*] At least two shekels, as the Jewish doctors resolve.

*After the shekels of the sanctuary.*] See Exod. xxx. 13. The Jews were thus confined to these rites, and such as are mentioned ver. 8, 9. in the rest of these prescriptions, that there might be no room for idolatrous ceremonies; nor might men among themselves be left at liberty to invent impious or frivolous ways of worship: and that the obedience of good men might be also exercised in these minute matters; and the contempt of wicked people be the more apparent, in refusing to comply with these known laws of God.

*For a trespass-offering.*] The Hebrew word *ascham,* which we translate *trespass-offering,* is so near of kin to *chattah,* which we translate *sin-offering,* that one of them is sometimes used for the other, as I observed upon ver. 6. yet there is a real difference between them: though it be not easy to determine wherein it consists. For the greatest men differ in their opinion about the quality of the offences,

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for which these two kinds of sacrifices were to be offered: some saying that the offences for which *ascham* was offered, were inferior to those for which *chattah* was offered; which is the opinion of Maimonides in his More Nevochim, (par. iii. cap. 46.) Others, on the contrary, think, that the offences which were expiated by *ascham*, were more grievous than those expiated by *chattah*; which is the opinion of no less a man than the deservedly-admired Bochartus, in his Hierozoicon, (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 33.) Where he adds, that the former sort of sins were committed knowingly; the other only ignorantly. For so the LXX. translate *chattah* by ἁμαρτία, which seems to denote a fault committed by error and mistake: but *ascham* by πλημμέλεια, which carries in it the notion of something premeditated and designed. But this is directly contrary to the very words of Moses here in this verse; which expressly speak of a *trespass* committed through ignorance. Aben Ezra therefore distinguishes these two much better, making *chattah* to signify a *sacrifice* which was made for the purging offences, committed through ignorance of the law; and *ascham* for such as were committed through forgetfulness of the law. But as he gives no proof of this, so he was sensible it was liable to exception; there being one of this sort of sacrifices mentioned ver. 17. which he saw could not be comprehended under this rule. Others therefore think, the former hath respect to offences against God; and the latter to those against men; not observing, that the very same sort of sin, which when it was known is called *chattah*, when it was doubtful is called *ascham*. From whence a very learned person of our own (now with God), who had much and long considered this matter, concludes, that an offence was peculiarly called *ascham* (which is a name for the sin, as well as for the sacrifice, as *chattah* also is) about which either a man was dubious (as in the following verse), or did a manifest damage to other men. There being no *ascham* (or *trespass-offering*) commanded to be offered by the law, but for such offences as were so committed against God, that their neighbours also were injured by them. As in the case of those who did eat holy things, here mentioned, whereby the priests were damaged: and of those mentioned vi. 2—4. and such as lay with a bondwoman betrothed to another, (xix. 20, 21.) Which are all the cases belonging to this matter; excepting that of the Nazarite defiled by the dead, (Numb. vi. 12.) and of the leper, (iv. 12.) who were to be purged with a *sin-offering*, as well as with a *trespass-offering:* and therefore not to be considered in this matter. See Dr. Outram, lib. i. de Sacrificiis, cap. 13. n. 8. and Samuel Petitus's Variæ Lectiones, cap. 22. who hath said the same, but not so fully and distinctly. If this do not satisfy, yet it is plain the sacrifices which go by this name of *trespass-offerings*, and the rites also about them, were so different, that they are sufficient to distinguish them from the other. For none but *rams* and *male-lambs* were admitted for *trespass-offerings*, which were not used at all in any *sin-offerings*. And the blood of the *sin-offerings* was put upon the horns of the altar, (as was noted in the foregoing chapter, ver. 7. 18. 25.) but that of the *trespass-offerings* was sprinkled round about upon the altar, (vii. 2.) *Sin-offerings* also were offered for the whole congregation of Israel, (iv. 13.) but *trespass-offerings* only for private persons, which made Bonfrerius (I suppose) after a long discussion of this matter, to conclude, that the difference between *sin* and *trespass* consisted only in the sacrifices which were offered for them. See him upon the fourth chapter of this book, ver. 1.

Ver. 16. *And he shall make amends for the harm he hath done in holy things, and shall add a fifth part thereunto,* &c.] Besides the compensation mentioned in the foregoing verse, for the damage that was done, according to the valuation made by the priest, there was a *fifth* part more to be added thereunto, and given to the priest who had suffered the damage.

*And the priest shall make an atonement for him with the ram of the trespass-offering, and it shall be forgiven him.*] The atonement was not made, nor forgiveness obtained, till full satisfaction for the wrong had been made.

Ver. 17. *And if a soul sin, and commit any of these things,* &c.] *i. e.* Did eat any of the holy things beforementioned, which God forbade any but the priest to eat.

*Though he wist it not.*] *i. e.* Be not certain whether they were holy or no. For the Hebrews generally call this *ascham talui*, a *dubious* trespass-offering: being in a matter about which a man was in suspense, whether he had offended or not.

*Yet he is guilty, and shall bear his iniquity.*] He shall be obliged to offer this sort of sacrifice. Which was ordained (saith R. Levi Barzelon. Præcept. cxxiii.) to make men cautious, and fear to sin; and to attend diligently in all their actions, that they transgressed not the laws of God.

Ver. 18. *And he shall bring a ram without blemish, out of the flock, with thy estimation,* &c.] The offering before appointed, (ver. 15, &c.) with this difference only, that no *fifth part* was in this case to be added, because it was not certain whether he had transgressed or no.

*The priest shall make an atonement for him, concerning his ignorance wherein he erred, and wist it not.*] Did not know whether he had offended or not: which distinguishes this from the sin of ignorance mentioned ver. 15.

*And it shall be forgiven him.*] But if he afterward came to have a certain knowledge of his offence, he was not excused by this *dubious offering* (as Rasi observes), but was bound also to offer a *sin-offering*.

Ver. 19. *It is a trespass-offering.*] In this case a sacrifice must be offered, as well as in a certain trespass.

*He hath certainly trespassed against the Lord.*] The words in the Hebrew are, *ascham ascham lajhova;* which, I think, should be translated, *a trespass-offering certainly unto the Lord.* That is, in this doubtful case, let him take a sure course, by offering the sacrifice here prescribed. For though neither this sort of sacrifices, nor *sin-offerings*, were to be voluntary (which was proper only to *whole burnt-offerings* and *peace-offerings*), yet the very suspicion of a guilt required a sacrifice. As for all those offences which might be committed by men who had no sense or suspicion of them, they were expiated by the sacrifices which were offered for the whole congregation, at certain stated times: but no particular person was to offer either *sin-offering* or *trespass-offering* of his own accord, unless he knew or feared he had contracted some guilt.

I cannot think fit to conclude this chapter, without taking notice how Jonathan paraphrases these last words of it; who, instead of saying he hath trespassed (as it is commonly translated) *against the Lord*, saith, *against the name of the Word of the Lord.* Which is an observation that

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might have been made in my notes upon the two foregoing books of Moses, where many such passages occur, which I did not mention. And I should not have done it now (being unwilling to swell this commentary with any thing that doth not tend to the explaining the sense of the text), did not the impious pamphlets that have lately been spread abroad against the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, make it necessary for me to take this occasion to assert, that this doctrine was not unknown to the ancient Jews, as appears even from the frequent mention of the *Word of the Lord* in the Chaldee paraphrasts, where the Hebrew hath only Jehovah (or the Lord): for which I can see no reason at all, if there had not been a notion among them of more persons than one who was Jehovah. It doth not always, indeed, carry this signification in it; but there are very many places where, by the *Word of the Lord*, cannot be meant a *word spoken by the Lord*, or any thing else, but a *person speaking or acting*, &c. *who is the Lord*. There is a famous instance of it in Gen. xxviii. 20, 21. where Jacob's vow is thus translated by Onkelos: *Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If the Word of the Lord will be with me, and keep me*, &c. *then shall the Word of the Lord be my God*. Where the *Word of the Lord* is so plainly made the object of his adoration, that it evidently shews they had a notion in those days when Onkelos lived (which was about our Saviour's time), of more persons than one who was the Lord. The Jerusalem Targum also speaks this so clearly, that one cannot but be something amazed to meet with such expressions in it, as those upon Gen. iii. 22. *The Word of the Lord said, Behold, Adam whom I have created, is my only-begotten in this world; as I am the only-begotten in the heavens above*. Which may fairly induce a belief that St. John used the known language of those times, when he declared our blessed Saviour's Godhead under the name of the Word, *who was in the beginning with God, and was God*, (John i. 1.)

## CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] What here follows belonging unto the same with that which went before, it is likely, was spoken at the same time. And these words signify, that the Lord *further spake unto Moses*, what concerned *trespass-offerings*.

Ver. 2. *If a soul sin, and commit a trespass.*] The same sort of expression is used in the beginning of this law, concerning the trespass-offering, ver. 15. Which some translate *prevaricate*, or act insincerely.

*Against the Lord.*] The Sovereign of the world; who was peculiarly affronted by the following sins; especially by swearing falsely, which was calling him to bear witness to a lie.

*And lie unto his neighbour in that which was delivered him to keep.*] Deny the trust which was committed to him; and that when he was brought upon his oath to deliver the truth, as appears by the next verse. For this is the instance of that sort of oath, which the Jews call *the oath about a thing deposited*, (see v. 1.) For there being no witness of what was done between two friends or neighbours, who trusted one another in such matters, but God alone; they appealed unto him, from whom nothing could be hid. And this oath, the Jews say, was governed by another, which they call *the oath of testimony*: which a man was not bound to give, unless he were adjured to it by the court of judgment: and so it was in the oath about the things deposited; he was not guilty who was adjured by private persons, and denied it; but he that denied it before the court. So they resolve in Halicah Olam, par. iv. cap. 2.

*Or in fellowship.*] To carry on a common trade, in joint-stock; or (as others understand it) in any thing for which he gave his hand unto another: for so the Hebrew words are, *putting of the hand*, as contracts are oft-times made: which if a man afterward denied, he fell under the guilt here mentioned. And there is some reason to think, that this is much of the same nature with the former; because, when he speaks of restitution, (ver. 4.) this is not repeated. And therefore it seems to be included in that which was deposited with another: whether it were money, called here *pikkadon*; or any other goods, called *tesumah jad*. They that would see more opinions about these words, *putting of the hand*, may consult Const. L'Empereur, in his annotations on Bava kama, cap. 9. sect. 7.

*Or in a thing taken away by violence.*] That is, by robbery or stealth, as the word *gazel* signifies. For theft not being punished among the Jews with death, they tendered an oath to those who were accused or suspected of it, to clear themselves from the imputation, (Exod. xxii. 11.)

*Or hath deceived his neighbour.*] Wronged him by false accusation, as the Hebrew word *hoschok* seems to import. Which St. Jerome always translates *calumny*; as the word *haschak* he translates *to calumniate*. It signifies also *extortion*; and Rasi takes it for defrauding a hireling of his wages.

Ver. 3. *Or have found that which was lost, and lieth concerning it.*] Deny that he found a thing lost; which in truth came to his hand.

*And sweareth falsely.*] They put men to their oath in this case also, when there was a just cause of suspicion; as they did in matters of theft.

*In any of all these.*] In any of these sorts of things; as the Hebrew may be translated.

*That a man doth.*] Wherein one man dealeth with another: or which *frequently happen*, as Grotius thinks this phrase signifies, in his annotations upon 1 Cor. x. 13.

*Sinning therein.*] By these means contracting a guilt.

Ver. 4. *Then shall it be, because he hath sinned, and is guilty.*] The last words should rather be translated, *and acknowledges his guilt*. For so this word *ascham*, guilty, ought to be expounded, as I shewed iv. 22, 23. to make a clear sense of the law there mentioned. And it would otherwise be superfluous here: for when a man hath sinned so grievously as the foregoing verses suppose, who could doubt of his guilt? The true meaning therefore is, *when he hath sinned* (so the first words may be translated) by committing any of those things forementioned, *and acknowledges his guilt*, he shall restore that which he took away violently, &c. And this most plainly reconciles the contradiction, that otherwise would be between this law and that in Exod. xxii. 1. 7. 9. where a man that stole an ox is condemned to restore five oxen, and four sheep for one; and if he delivered money to another to keep, and it was stolen, the thief was to pay double; whereas here, one simple resti-

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tution is exacted, with an addition of a fifth part. The reason is, because in Exodus he speaks of those thieves who were convicted by witnesses in a court of law; and then condemned to make such great restitution: but here of such as, touched with a sense of their sin, came voluntarily and acknowledged their theft, or other crime, of which nobody convicted them, or at least confessed it freely when they were adjured; and therefore were condemned to suffer a lesser punishment, and to expiate their guilt by a sacrifice. See L'Empereur upon Bava kama, cap. 7. sect. 1. and cap. 9. sect. 1. 5. 7. where he observes very judiciously, that this interpretation is confirmed by Numb. v. 7. where the first words may be translated, *If they shall confess their sin that they have done*, &c. And this seems to be more reasonable than the account which Maimonides gives of this matter in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41. where, expounding these words, *which he took violently*, of an open robber, he gives these reasons why he was not punished so much as a thief, but restored only the principal, with a fifth part; because rapine happens seldom, but theft often; for it cannot be committed so easily as theft; and is done openly and manifestly, whereas theft is committed more secretly: so that a man may be aware (he imagines) of a robber, and defend his goods against him, better than against a secret thief. Yet this is better than the account of R. Johannes f. Zachei, (mentioned by J. Coch upon the Gemara of the Sanhedrin. cap. 7. p. 271.) that a mere thief fears man more than God; but a robber fears both alike.

Ver. 5. *Of all that about which he hath sworn falsely, he shall even restore it in the principal.*] The same numerical thing which he took away, if it still remain in his possession unaltered; or else the just price of it: as R. Levi Barzelonita expounds it, Præcept. cxxv. And the Jews pretend to such scrupulosity in this matter, that they say a man, who was to have a share in his father's estate, from whom he had taken something by robbery, was to restore it before the division was made, and not by detaining it to make his share greater than it ought to be. (See Bava kama, cap. 9. sect. 9.)

*And shall add the fifth part more thereto.*] The Jews have many subtilties about this, as may be seen there, sect. 6, 7. The plain sense is, that he should compensate the loss which the right owner might have sustained (by wanting the use of his goods so long as the other had detained them in his hand), by adding a full fifth part of the principal, as an amends for the wrong. Yet, if he had really forgotten that he had found such a thing as he was charged withal, at the time he denied it upon oath, he was not bound to pay the fifth part more, nor to offer the expiatory sacrifice, though he really was possessed of the thing; as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 11. p. 506.

*And give it unto him to whom it appertaineth.*] If he hath stolen from a man the smallest piece of money, which the Jews call *peruta*, and had forsworn it, they fancy he was bound to restore it to the owner himself; though he lived as far off as Media: and it would not suffice to give it to his son, or his attorney, whom he had left to act for him. Yet they are something humorsome in these absurdities, for they do not tie a man to go so far to pay the fifth part; though in a case where it was more than a peruta. (See Bava kama, cap. 9. sect. 5, 6.)

*In the day of his trespass-offering.*] Or, *in the day of his trespass;* that is, as soon as he acknowledgeth his guilt, as this word I shewed ver. 4. is to be interpreted. And this agrees with what our blessed Saviour requires; (Matt. v. 23.)

Ver. 6. *And he shall bring his trespass-offering unto the Lord, a ram without a blemish.*] This the Hebrews call an offering for a *certain guilt;* as that v. 15, was for *a dubious.*

*With thy estimation*, &c.] R. Levi of Barcelona interprets it, a *ram worth two shekels*, (Præcept. cxxiv.)

Ver. 7. *And the priest shall make an atonement for him*, &c.] The offender was not to think he was cleared by making restitution, and adding the fifth part, whereby his neighbour might well be satisfied: but withal, this sacrifice was necessary for his expiation, without which no satisfaction was made to the Divine Majesty. The Jews themselves also think that this was prescribed, to make them more sensible of their sin, and to render it more odious unto them; as the same author observes.

Ver. 8. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Here the Hebrews begin a new section of the law, as well as a new chapter (as we call it), for the first seven verses plainly belong to the matter of the foregoing chapter. And it is reasonable to think, that the following precepts were given at a distinct time from the former, (see iv. 1.) being about a different matter. For having declared what offerings the people should bring to the Lord, he now gives instructions to the priests, how they should manage the several offerings that were brought.

Ver. 9. *Command Aaron and his sons, saying.*] As before he bade Moses speak unto the *children of Israel*, (Lev. i. 2. iv. 2.) because the laws he then gave concerned them: so now he bids him command *Aaron and his sons* what to do; and acquaints them with the laws, that is, the rites they should observe in offering the several sacrifices before directed to be made.

*This is the law of the burnt-offering.*] He mentions that first, which was first delivered, and was the principal offering, being purely in honour of God; whereas the other was occasioned by men's sins, or the benefits he had bestowed on them.

*It is the burnt-offering.*] He explains what *burnt-offering* he chiefly means, *viz.* the daily sacrifice: which was the principal burnt-offering, according to which all other offerings of that kind were to be regulated.

*Because of the burning upon the altar all night unto the morning.*] Or, *for the burning upon the altar*, &c. This was the reason of its name, because it was burning on the altar from the evening (at which the Jews began their day) till the morning. For which purpose the priests watched all night, and put the sacrifice upon the altar piece by piece, that it might be consumed by a slow and gentle fire. As for the *morning sacrifice*, it is not here mentioned, because it was consumed by a quicker fire; that there might be room for other sacrifices that were commonly offered after it, (as appears from ver. 12.) and were only offered in the morning, not at night. But if there were no other sacrifices to succeed it in the morning, then, it is very likely, that it was also kept burning till the evening sacrifice; that God's altar might always have meat upon it.

*And the fire of the altar shall be burning in it.*] Or, *For the fire of the altar*, &c. So it should be translated: unless



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we translate the last word not *in it*, but *by it*. *And the fire of the altar shall be burning* (*i. e.* be fed or maintained) *by it.*

Ver. 10. *And the priest shall put on his linen garment.*] Mentioned Exod. xxviii. 40.

*And his linen breeches shall he put upon his flesh.*] To cover his secret parts, as appears from Exod. xxviii. 42.

*And take up the ashes, which the fire hath consumed with the burnt-offering,* &c.] Or rather, *When the fire hath consumed the burnt-offering on the altar.* For the word *aschar*, which we here translate *which*, signifies also *when;* and is so translated by us, iv. 22. Or else the sense must be, *The ashes into which the fire hath consumed the burnt-offering.* Or, to make good our present translation, a few words must be added, in this manner, *The ashes* (of the wood) *which the fire hath consumed with the burnt-offering.*

*And he shall put them beside the altar.*] On the east part of it, as far as might be from the most holy place. (See i. 16.) For this was most suitable to the glory of the house of God (saith R. Levi of Barcelona), and the fire would burn better, when the altar was cleared from the ashes.

Ver. 11. *And he shall put off his garments.*] Those beforenamed, *and put on other garments.* It is a question among the Jews whether he mean his common raiment, or some other garments, not holy, and yet not quite common, but of a middle nature. It is most likely that the carrying the ashes out of the tabernacle, being not a holy action, as they were not to perform it in their priestly, *i. e.* sacred garments, wherein they took them from the altar; so they did it in the common habit, which they wore when they did not minister. Yet Rasi thinks this was not absolutely necessary, but only fitting and seemly: it being indecent to do this work in the same garments wherein they served at the altar. And the ashes having been upon the altar, there are those (as I said) who fancy this was not a work fit to be performed in their common garments; and therefore have devised a habit of less dignity than those garments wherein they ministered, which they used when they carried out the ashes. Thus Maimonides himself, and others, mentioned by Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Syned. cap. 11. n. 6. where he likewise observes, that Chiskuni is of opinion, that such of the family of the priests, as were both excluded from their ministry in the sanctuary, and from wearing the holy garments, by reason of some defect in their bodies, were permitted to perform this office of carrying away the ashes.

*And carry forth the ashes without the camp, into a clean place.*] See iv. 12. The forementioned Rasi will have it, that they needed not to take away all the ashes every day; but only a shovel-full, which they laid beside the altar. And when the hollow place of the altar was so full, that there was no room to lay on the wood, they were bound to empty it, and carry all the ashes away.

Ver. 12. *And the fire upon the altar shall be burning in it, it shall not be put out.*] This precept is repeated again in the next verse; as it was mentioned once before, (ver. 9.) For which there is a just reason, as Abarbinel makes account. For in the ninth verse he requires, that the wood for the evening sacrifice should be so ordered and attended, that the fire might be kept in till the morning. And then, here, in this verse, he requires there should such care be used in taking away the ashes, that the fire might still remain, and not be extinguished. After which, speaking of the morning sacrifice, in the latter part of this verse, he requires in the next, (ver. 13.) that such a quantity of wood should be laid on the altar, when they offered it, that the fire might be kept in till the evening sacrifice; or, that if there were any extraordinary sacrifices brought besides the daily burnt-offering, the priests should still add more wood, that the fire might not be put out by that means, but be able to devour them.

*And the priests shall burn wood on it every morning,* &c.] The Hebrew word for *wood* being in the plural number, R. Levi of Barcelona concludes there were more bundles than one brought in every day. And from this place (and i. 7.) he gathers there were three. The first of which he calls the *great heap;* with which the daily sacrifice, and the rest, for which there was occasion, were offered: of which he thinks Moses speaks in the ninth verse of this chapter. The second was lesser, which was laid at the side of the other, that they might have coals for the burning incense: and this he thinks intended here. And the third was merely to keep in the fire perpetually; of which he thinks Moses speaks in the next verse. The Misna also tells us, that there being seven gates to the great court of the sanctuary, three on the north, and as many on the south, and one at the east; the first on the south side was called the *gate of burning:* because at that gate they brought in the wood, which was to preserve the fire perpetually on the altar: (see Codex Middoth, cap. 1. sect. 4.)

*And he shall burn thereon the fat of the peace-offerings.*] This fat of the peace-offerings was to be burnt together with the burnt-offering, and not separate from it: by which means the burnt-offering was the sooner consumed, and more room was made for other occasional sacrifices.

Ver. 13. *And the fire shall be ever burning upon the altar.*] This fire was not kindled by the priests, but by God himself; who sent it from heaven to consume the first sacrifice that was offered by Aaron, (ix. *ult.*) From which time they were bound to take care, that it never went out; that so their sacrifices might be constantly offered by celestial fire: because it was the continuation of that fire which came from heaven, by a continual addition of fuel, whereby it was preserved. And so it continued, as the Jews affirm, till the captivity of Babylon; and after it, as some of them would have us believe (who fancy it was preserved in a pit, by the care of some religious priests, till their return), though against the common tradition among them, which is, that *there was no sacred fire in the second temple;* for they reckon this among the five things which were wanting there, and had been in the first. And as for the constant continuance of this fire, there was care taken that wood should be laid up in the temple for the maintenance of it: so in order thereunto, there was a certain set time, when the people were obliged to carry wood thither; which made a kind of festival, called by Josephus ξυλοφόρια, lib. ii. de Bello Judaico, cap. 31. τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτῆς οὔσης, &c. *it being the feast of the wood-carrying; when it was the custom for all to bring up wood for the altar: that there might be no want of fuel for the fire, which was never to go out.*

*It shall never go out.*] This was a thing so famous, that it was imitated among the gentiles; who thought it ominous to have their sacred fire go out: and therefore appointed persons on purpose to watch it, and keep it perpetually burning, as appears by the vestal virgins at Rome,

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whose great business it was to look after the *eternal fire*, as they called it; imagining the extinction of it purported ἀφανισμὸν τῆς πόλεως, *the destruction of the city*, as Dionysius Halicarn. speaks. This institution is ascribed, both by him and by Plutarch, unto Romulus; into whose history many things were translated by the ancient pagans out of these sacred records of Moses, as the learned Huetius hath made probable in his Demonstratio Evangel. Propos. iv. cap. 9. n. 8. The Greeks also preserved such a πῦρ ἄσβεστον, *inextinguishable fire* at Delphi; and the Persians in like manner, and many other people, as Bochartus hath shewn in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 35. and Dilherrus before him, in a special dissertation (as he calls it) de Cacozelia Gentilium, cap. 11. where he hath heaped up a great deal to this purpose; and, among other things, hath this conjecture—that the Grecian Ἑστία, and the Roman *Vesta*, had their names from the Hebrew word *esch*, or the Chaldean *escha*, which signifies *fire*. The conjecture of David Chytræus also is no less ingenious, who derives those names from *eschjah, the fire of the Lord*.

Ver. 14. *And this is the law of the meat-offering.*] He doth not speak of the offerings which accompanied the daily burnt-offerings, but of those which were offered alone, mentioned in the second chapter. Where directions are given of what they should consist; and also how much the priest should have for his portion: but here are some things added concerning the place where they should be eaten by the priests; and concerning those *meat-offerings*, which were peculiarly to be offered for themselves.

*The sons of Aaron shall offer it before the Lord, before the altar.*] Or rather, *upon the altar:* for so the Hebrew phrase [*on the face of the altar*] signifies. Or else the meaning is, he shall present it to the Lord before the altar; and then afterward (as is directed in the next verse) burn a handful of it upon the altar. And so the rule is, chapter second, ver. 8, 9. *When it is presented to the priest, he shall bring it to the altar*, &c.

Ver. 15. *And he shall take of it his handful of the flour of the meat-offering*, &c.] According to the prescription in the second chapter, ver. 2. where all this verse is explained.

Ver. 16. *And the remainder thereof shall Aaron and his sons eat.*] If they had no pollution upon them, xxii. 6. (See chap. ii. 3.) The reason of the precept was, (as R. Levi Barzel. observes, Præcept. cxxxiii.) that it preserved the dignity of the sacrifice to have it eaten only by the priests: and by them (I may add) only in the holy place, and not carried out from thence, as it here follows.

*With unleavened bread shall it be eaten.*] There is nothing in the Hebrew text to answer unto the word *with;* which makes the sense unaccountable, that otherwise is easy and natural. If we translate it as the Hebrew words plainly signify, *unleavened it shall be eaten*, see x. 12.

*In the holy place.*] There was a room in the court of the priests, where they ate these holy things, as Kimchi observes upon Ezek. xlii. Which may be confirmed out of Numb. xviii. 10. where the *most holy place* can signify nothing but the court of the priests, as L'Empereur rightly understands it in his Annot. upon Middoth, cap. 2. sect. 6.

*In the court of the tabernacle of the congregation they shall eat it.*] As the priests did eat it in their own court, so their male children had place in the court of the Israelites wherein to eat it, (x. 12, 13.) And they are all said to eat before the Lord, because this was a part of the tabernacle: as was also the court of the women, where there was a place for the priests' daughters to eat, as well as their sons, of the firstlings that were offered to the Lord, (Numb. xviii. 19.)

Ver. 17. *It shall not be baken with leaven.*] There were two little rooms at the east gate of the court of the temple, called the gate of Nicanor; one of which was a vestry for the priests to put on their garments when they went to minister; and the other was for baking this flour, and that mentioned ver. 21. So they tell us in Middoth, cap. 1. sect. 4. And therefore it is ordered to be baken without *leaven*, because it was a part of the Lord's sacrifice: which being offered unleavened, (chapter second, ver. 11.) the remainder must needs be unleavened also, because the whole was God's; and the priests could have it no other ways than it was offered unto him.

*I have given it to them for their portion of my offerings made by fire.*] That is, of the *meat-offerings* beforementioned.

*It is most holy*, &c.] This is the reason why it was not to be carried to be eaten out of the holy place. (See chap. ii. ver. 10.)

*As is the sin-offering, and as the trespass-offering.*] See ver. 26. and vii. 6.

Ver. 18. *All the males among the children of Aaron shall eat of it.*] And none but they, because it was a thing *most holy*.

*It shall be a statute for ever in your generations.*] That is, as long as the law about sacrifices shall last.

*Every one that touches them shall be holy.*] According to this translation of these words, the meaning is, that it was not sufficient to be descended of priests, and to be males, but they were also to be free from any legal defilement, who were admitted to eat of this offering, (xxii. 6.) But these very words, which we here translate *every one*, in the twenty-seventh verse we translate *whatsoever:* and then the meaning is, *Every thing that toucheth them shall be made holy by them.* That is, the very *dishes* into which such holy things were put, or the *spoons*, or *knives*, wherewith they were eaten, were never to be employed to any other use. (See Exod. xxix. 37.)

Ver. 19. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] At the same time the Lord gave direction about another offering, near of kin to the former; but not yet mentioned.

Ver. 20. *This is the offering of Aaron and his sons, which they shall offer unto the Lord.*] The Jews call this *a mincha of initiation;* which every high-priest, and every other priest (as they understand it), were bound to offer, when they were consecrated; and the high-priest to continue every day as long as he lived. So Abarbinel, in his preface to this book, (sect. 2.) reckoning the various sorts of meat-offerings, makes this the fourth kind; which the high-priest offered every day, and every other priest once in his life, *viz.* when he first was admitted to minister at the altar, at the age of twenty years. For both these meat-offerings, saith he, are comprehended in this verse. But it may as well be understood only of Aaron, and his successors in the priesthood, of whom the following words seem to speak, and not of the common priests.

*In the day when he is anointed.*] The Hebrew word *bejom* may be translated *from the day;* and so the Jews understand it, that he was to make this oblation, not only upon the day of his consecration, but ever after (as I said),

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every day, as long as he continued in the priesthood. And so the next words seem to explain it.

*The tenth part of an ephah of fine flour, for a meat-offering perpetual; half thereof in the morning, and half at night.*] The high-priest, saith Josephus, (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10.) sacrificed twice every day at his own charges: and then he describes this very offering, which was distinct from that which attended the daily burnt-offering; as appears by the quantity of this meat-offering, and by the manner of ordering it. For that seems to have been raw flour, mixed with oil; but this baken, as it follows in the next verse. (See Exod. xxix. 40, 41.) The reason why it is here mentioned, is, because it was a *mincha* (or *meat-offering*), of whose rites Moses is treating; and this is an exception from the rest.

Ver. 21. *In a pan shall it be made with oil.*] With three logs of oil; as the Jews determine.

*And when it is baken.*] See ver. 17.

*Thou shalt bring it in.*] Unto the altar.

*And the baken pieces shalt thou offer,* &c.] If it was a meat-offering of the high-priest, it was divided into twelve pieces (as Maimonides saith); if of a common priest (for they will have both to be included in this law) then into ten pieces; which were so exactly divided, that half of them were offered in the morning, and the other half in the evening. And the handful of frankincense (which they say was offered with them) was in like manner divided, and burnt on the altar, (Maase Korban, cap. 13.)

Ver. 22. *And the priest of his sons, that is anointed in his stead, shall offer it.*] What he had said of Aaron and his sons in general, (ver. 20.) he now particularly requires of every son of his, that should succeed him in his office. For which there was the greater necessity, because (as R. Levi of Barcelona understands it, Præcept. cxxxiv.) the high-priest was an ambassador between the Israelites and their heavenly Father (by whom their prayers were offered to God, and who made reconciliation for them), and therefore should be bound, in all reason, to offer a perpetual sacrifice twice every day, for the constant needs of the congregation; and to apply his mind to this (as he speaks), that he and they might be the better for it.

*It is a statute for ever unto the Lord.*] As long as that priesthood continued.

*It shall be wholly burnt.*] In which it differed from other *meat-offerings*, as will appear in the next verse.

Ver. 23. *For every meat-offering for the priest.*] Or *of the priest*. This may seem to relate to every common priest; who were not all bound to offer this sacrifice every day, but only he who did it in the name of all the rest, *viz.* the priest who offered the daily burnt-sacrifice. He may be well thought to have been obliged to this; by which means this *meat-offering* was offered to God every day, by one or other of them, and never omitted. But Abarbinel (as I noted before, ver. 20.) thinks, that only the high-priest was bound to offer this *meat-offering* every day; and every other priest once in his life, *viz.* when he began his ministry.

*Shall be wholly burnt: it shall not be eaten.*] The priests had all the *meat-offerings* which were brought by the people, except one handful which was offered to the Lord. (See chapter second, ver. 2, 3.) But of their own *meat-offerings* they were not to taste, but wholly burnt them on the altar. For it had not been seemly for him, both to offer unto God, and to eat of it as if it were his own; as Maimonides speaks, (par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 46.) or, as R. Levi Barzelonita gives the reason, (Præcept. cxli.) the scope of the sacrifice being to raise the mind of him that offered it unto God, it was not fit he should think of eating any part of his own offering; which would have taken his mind off from God.

Ver. 24. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] He added further several things concerning other offerings; which perhaps were delivered at the same time with the foregoing; being still concerning the priests, (see ver. 8, 9.) And therefore the next verse begins thus, "Speak unto Aaron and his sons, saying."

Ver. 25. *This is the law of the sin-offering.*] That is, for particular persons: that for the priests themselves, being governed by another law. For it is plain, that, in the fourth chapter, he distinguishes the *sin-offering* into two kinds: one, whose blood was carried into the sanctuary, and the flesh of it burnt entirely without the camp, (ver. 7, 8, &c. and here ver. 30.) and another, whose blood was not carried into the sanctuary; the flesh of which the priests were to eat, as is here directed.

*In the place where the burnt-offering is killed, shall the sin-offering be killed before the Lord.*] See iv. 24. 29. 31.

*It is most holy.*] This is the reason of what follows, that none might eat of it but those who were holy to the Lord.

Ver. 26. *The priest that offereth it for sin, shall eat it.*] The flesh of this *sin-offering* fell to the share of him who offered the sacrifice that day; and to his male children: though he might invite any other priests, and their sons, to partake with him, if he pleased; as appears from ver. 29. I need not add, that the *immurim*, as the Hebrews call them, were excepted: that is, the fat, &c. mentioned iii. 9, 10. iv. 26. which were to be wholly burned upon the altar.

*In the holy place shall it be eaten,* &c.] See ver. 16. For it being *most holy* (as the words are in the conclusion of the foregoing verse), it was to be eaten in the *holy place;* and that the same day and night when it was offered; and none of it to be kept till the morning. Whereas some of the peace-offerings (which they called the *lighter holy things*) might be eaten the next day, (vii. 16.) See Maimonides, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46. This seems to have been imitated by the heathen, who required that their most holy sacrifices should not be carried out of the temple; as the scholiast upon Aristophanes's Equites observes, concerning the sacrifices offered to Ceres and Proserpina: οὐκ ἐξῆν τὰ θυόμενα Δημήτρι καὶ Περσιφόνῃ ἔξω ἀφίναι.

Ver. 27. *Whosoever shall touch the flesh thereof shall be holy.*] See ver. 18.

*And when there is sprinkled of the blood thereof upon any garment.*] This is commonly understood of the priest's garment, who alone sprinkled the blood. But his garments being holy, the blood that might chance to fall upon them was not thereby at all dishonoured: and therefore (if this be the meaning) we are to understand, that the garments would appear less venerable, when they were spotted with blood; and upon that account were to be washed. If we take it for the garment of him that brought the sacrifice, which when it was killed, the blood might chance to spirt upon his clothes; then the washing of them was out of reverence to the blood; which, being holy, was not

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to remain upon a common garment. Which way soever it be interpreted, the intention, it is manifest, was to preserve in their minds an awful regard to God, and to whatsoever belonged unto his service.

*Thou shalt wash that whereon it was sprinkled in the holy place.*] Where there was a room (after the temple was built) which was called *lischath hagullah*, the chamber of the spring, or well, out of which water was drawn for the use of the court of the sanctuary. And there, it is probable, these garments were washed. (See Codex Middoth, cap. 5. sect. 3.)

Ver. 28. *But the earthen vessel wherein it is sodden shall be broken.*] For it being very porous, might so deeply imbibe a tincture from the flesh, that it could not be washed out; but the smell of it might remain a long time. And being of a small value, it was no great loss to have it broken; rather than any thing that was holy, remaining in it, be profaned. What became of the broken shreds of these earthen vessels, is a doubt among the Hebrew doctors; because it was neither fit to throw them out in a profane place, nor yet seemly to heap them up in the sanctuary: and therefore they fancy the earth opened and swallowed them up, as a great man in this kind of learning (J. Wagenseil) hath observed upon the Mischna of Sota, cap. 3. But they might have rather said, that they were thrown abroad into a clean place, after they were broken into small bits, or crumbled to powder; just as the ashes were that came from the altar, which was a holy place.

*If it be sodden in a brazen pot, it shall be both scoured, and rinsed in water.*] Nothing could so easily sink into this, being a solid metal: but whatsoever stuck to it might be rubbed out and cleansed by washing. From this verse, compared with other places, it seems apparent, that nothing was roasted in the sanctuary, but only boiled. So we find the peace-offerings (mentioned 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14, 15.) were constantly sodden; and all other holy offerings, except the paschal lamb (which they roasted at home), 2 Chron. xxxv. 13. And after their return from the captivity of Babylon, the same is intimated in the last verse of the prophecy of Zachariah.

Ver. 29. *All the males among the priests shall eat thereof: it is most holy.*] See ver. 16. and 26.

Ver. 30. *And no sin-offering.*] Or rather, *but no sin-offering.*

*Whereof any of the blood is brought into the tabernacle of the congregation, to reconcile withal in the holy place, shall be eaten,* &c.] Such were those sin-offerings for the high-priest, (iv. 3.) and for the whole congregation, upon particular occasions, (iv. 13, &c.) Or upon the day of general atonement, (xvi. 27.) No part of these was to be eaten, but entirely burnt in the fire; as it here follows in the end of this verse. There is no necessity of Maimonides's observation upon these words; that no man whatsoever might eat of these sacrifices: for if the priest might not, they were certainly prohibited to all other persons.

## CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *LIKEWISE this is the law of the trespass-offering.*] The people were directed before in what cases they should bring this sort of offering; and I have noted the difference between them and *sin-offerings;* (v. 15.) but now the priests are directed in their office about *trespass-offerings.*

*It is most holy.*] In general they were to observe that these offerings, as well as *sin-offerings*, were to be numbered among the *most holy things;* and therefore to be accordingly used, (ver. 6.)

Ver. 2. *In the place where they kill the burnt-offering, shall they kill the trespass-offering.*] The same order that was given about *sin-offerings*, (iv. 24. vi. 25.)

*And the blood thereof shall be sprinkled round about upon the altar.*] This is a different rite from that which was observed in the *sin-offerings;* whose blood was put upon the horns of the altar, (iv. 25. 34.) and the blood of such *sin-offerings* as were made for the high-priest, or the whole congregation, was also to be sprinkled seven times before the veil of the sanctuary, (iv. 6. 17.) But this to be sprinkled *round about* the altar of burnt-offering; according to the manner used in the *whole burnt-offerings*, (i. 11.) and in the *peace-offerings;* (iii. 2. 8.) only with this difference, that there being a scarlet thread, or line, which went round about the altar exactly in the middle, the blood of the whole *burnt-offerings* was sprinkled round about above the line, and the blood of the *trespass-offerings*, and the *peace-offerings*, round about below the line. (See Codex Middoth, cap. 3. sect. 1. and L'Empereur, Annot. 12.)

Ver. 3. *And he shall offer of it all the fat thereof.*] This was the work of the priest, first to offer unto God his part of the sacrifice.

*The rump.*] All the fat belonging unto God; this is particularly mentioned in the first place, as the principal fat. For the tails of their sheep in those countries (and no other creature but a *ram* was allowed for a *trespass-offering*, as was before noted) were of a prodigious bigness, as hath been noted by many: particularly by the famous Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45.) and lately by another excellent person, Jobus Ludolphus, in his Ethiopic History, (lib. i. cap. 10. n. 16.) and in his commentaries on it, (num. 76.) And therefore it is called, both here and in other places, by the peculiar name of *alja;* whereas the *tail* or *rump* of other creatures, is called *zanah.* (See what I have noted upon iii. 9.)

*And the fat that covereth the inwards.*] This, and all that follows in the next verse, hath been explained before, (iii. 3, 4. 8, 9.)

Ver. 5. *And the priest shall burn them upon the altar,* &c.] As he did the fat of the *sin-offerings* and *peace-offerings*, (iv. 26. 31.)

Ver. 6. *Every male among the priests shall eat thereof,* &c.] All the fat being offered to God, the flesh became the portion of the priest; who, with his male children, but not females, were to eat it: but not in any place out of the sanctuary; as it here follows. (See vi. 18. 26. 29.)

Ver. 7. *As is the sin-offering, so is the trespass-offering: there is one law for them.*] In this matter (though in other things they differed), for the same rule is given here about the *trespass-offering*, that is given in the chapter foregoing (ver. 26.) about the *sin-offering.*

*The priest that maketh atonement therewith shall have it.*] Who might invite other priests, if he pleased, to eat with him, and with his sons: but he was not bound to it; for the flesh of this sacrifice was entirely his own.

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Ver. 8. *And the priest that offereth any man's burnt-offering, even the priest.*] Or, *that priest* who offereth it.

*Shall have to himself the skin of the burnt-offering, which he hath offered.*] All the *flesh* of the *burnt-offerings* being wholly consumed, as well as the *fat*, upon the altar, (chap. i. ver. 8, 9.) there was nothing that could fall to the share of the priest, but only the *skin:* which is here given him for his pains. I observed upon Gen. iii. 21. that it is probable that Adam himself offered the first sacrifice; and had the skin given him by God, to make garments for him and for his wife. In conformity to which the priests ever after had the skins of the whole *burnt-offerings* for their portion. Which was a custom among the gentiles (as well as the Jews), who gave the skins of their sacrifices to their priests, when they were not burnt with the sacrifices, as in some *sin-offerings* they were among the Jews, (iv. 11.) Who employed them to a superstitious use, by lying upon them in their temples, in hope to have future things revealed to them in their dreams. This Dilherrus hath observed, out of these words of Virgil:

——— "huc dona Sacerdos
Quum tulit, et cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit,
Multa modis simulacra vidit variantia miris,
Et varias audit voces, fruiturque Deorum
Colloquio." ———

And in the Eleusinia, he observes, out of Suidas, the Daduchus put on the skins of the beasts which had been sacrificed to Jupiter; which were called Διὸς κώδια, *the fleece of Jupiter*, (Dissert. Special. de Cacozelia Gentil. cap. 9.)

Ver. 9. *And all the meat-offering that is baken in the oven, and all that is dressed in the frying-pan, and in the pan.*] See concerning these various sorts of *meat-offerings* in the second chapter, ver. 4, 5. 7.

*Shall be the priest's.*] All but the memorial of it, which was burnt upon the altar. (See ii. ver. 9, 10.)

*That offereth it.*] That particular priest who offered it was to have the remainder for his portion.

Ver. 10. *And every meat-offering.*] Or, *but every meat-offering:* for here is an exception to the foregoing rule.

*Mingled with oil, and dry.*] The foregoing verse speaks of such *meat-offerings* as were any ways *baken;* but this of those that were *raw:* which were of two sorts; either of flour mingled with oil, as all voluntary offerings of this sort were, (ii. 1.) or *dry* without any oil, as some *sin-offerings* were, (v. 11.) and the *offering of jealousy*, (Numb. v. 15.)

*Shall all the sons of Aaron have, one as much as another.*] All the priests who attended on that day were to have an equal share in this kind of *meat-offering:* though he alone who ministered at the altar had the *baked* meat-offerings. There are some indeed who can see no reason for this difference (though this last sort, others think, was more easily divided, and therefore shared among them all), and consequently take these words to signify the same with those in the foregoing verse: *Every one, in the course of his ministry, shall have this benefit, in his turn of waiting at the altar.*

Ver. 11. *And this is the law of the sacrifice of peace-offerings,* &c.] This is the only sort of offerings remaining to be spoken of: which, when he required them of the people, are mentioned in the third place, after the *burnt-offerings* and *meat-offerings;* before the *sin-offerings* and *trespass-offerings.* But here are reserved for the last place, in his directions he gives to the priests about them; because, as there were several sorts of them, so there were various rites to be observed about them. Which rites, as I observed before, are called here the *law* of such sacrifices.

Ver. 12. *If he offer it for a thanksgiving.*] In this, and in the sixteenth verse, we have an account of three sorts of peace-offerings. This, which was the principal, for benefits received from God's bounty; the other two, for the obtaining such blessings as they desired to receive. And this of thanksgiving, was either general for the whole congregation (of which there was but one only, at one time of the year, in the feast of Pentecost, xxiii. 19, which was accounted *most holy*), or particularly for private persons, as occasion offered, which were accounted *less holy.* And they are these here mentioned; which might be either of the flock, or of the herd (but no birds), and either greater or smaller of those kinds; that is, of the herd from the first year to the third, and of the flock from the first to the second year complete. If they were older, they were not fit for sacrifice. All this R. Levi Barzelonita, (Præcept. cxxxvii.) explains at large.

*Then he shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving, unleavened cakes mingled with oil,* &c.] The same R. Levi observes, that some peace-offerings were offered without any bread; *viz.* such as they called *hagigah* and *schimcah*, sacrifices of festivity and rejoicing, *i. e.* at their great solemn festivals. But these here mentioned were all offered with bread; and that offered with this, which was the first of them, was called *the bread of thanksgiving.* R. Solomon Jarchi restrains this sort of peace-offerings (of thanksgiving) to such wonderful deliverances, as those mentioned in the hundred-and-seventh Psalm; from tempests at sea, or dangerous travels through the wilderness, and the like. Aben Ezra also seems to have been of the same opinion, when he saith, that men being delivered out of straits and distresses, gave thanks to God by this oblation. But I can find no ground for this limitation; it being far more likely, that this sacrifice was offered by all devout persons, for any mercy whatsoever that God bestowed upon them.

*Unleavened cakes, and unleavened wafers.*] For none of God's bread was to be leavened. (See chap. ii. 11.)

Ver. 13. *Besides the cakes.*] Beforementioned; which were to be unleavened.

*He shall offer for his offering leavened bread with the sacrifice of thanksgiving,* &c.] Not upon the altar (for that was absolutely forbidden in the forenamed chapter of this book), but he was to give it to the priest who waited at the altar, and was to partake of this sacrifice, and to rejoice together with him that offered it. Which is the reason that such different sorts of cakes are ordered in the foregoing verse, all unleavened (of which the priest was to have his share), and also others leavened, which are prescribed in this verse; that God's family (his servants the priests) might want no variety of bread, at their feasts upon these sacrifices: and that God might shew his friendship with those who offered the sacrifice, by accepting the same bread at his own table, which they were wont to use at theirs.

Ver. 14. *And of it he shall offer out of the whole oblation,* &c.] One of the cakes beforementioned (ver 12.) was

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to be presented to God for a *heave-offering:* concerning which, see Exod. xxix. 24. 28.

*And it shall be the priest's that sprinkleth the blood of the peace-offerings.*] Having offered one cake out of the whole, all that remained was the portion of the priest who sprinkled the blood of the *peace-offerings* on the altar.

Ver. 15. *And the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace-offerings for thanksgiving, shall be eaten the same day that it is offered,* &c.] The reason of this, which was observed in most of their sacred feasts, (particularly in the paschal lamb, Exod. xxii. 10. and in the manna itself, xvi. 19, &c.) was to maintain the honour and dignity of the sacrifices; that they might not be in danger to be corrupted, or turned to any profane use, or gratify men's covetousness. For, as Philo observes (in his book of Sacrifices), "It was not fit that these holy things should be put into their cupboards, but immediately set before those who are in need; for they were no longer his that offered them, but his to whom they were offered: who being himself most liberal and bountiful, would have guests invited to his table to partake with those who offered the sacrifice. Whom he would not have to look upon themselves as masters of the feast, ἐπίτροποι γὰρ εὐωχίας εἰσὶν οὐχ ἑστιάτορες, *for they are but ministers of the feast, not the masters or entertainers.* That belongs to God himself, whose bounty ought not to be concealed, by preferring sordid parsimony before generous humanity." His meaning is, that all the sacrifice was God's, who graciously granted to him that offered it a part of it to entertain his friends and the poor, whom he would have invited forthwith, that no part of it might be converted to any other use but that which God appointed, who made the feast.

Ver. 16. *But if the sacrifice of his offering be a vow, or a voluntary offering.*] These two other sorts of *peace-offerings* were in the nature of prayers, for the obtaining such blessings as they desired and hoped for. And they were either the performance of a vow, which they made to God of offering him such a sacrifice, when they received the benefit, which was called *neder:* or, they were freely made beforehand, in hope God would bestow the benefit; which sacrifice was called *nedebah,* a *voluntary offering.* Now these were not so holy as the former; and therefore might be eaten on the morrow, as well as on the same day they were offered. So it here follows.

*It shall be eaten the same day that he offereth his sacrifice.*] Then they were immediately to begin to feast upon the sacrifice.

*And on the morrow also, the remainder of it shall be eaten.*] But if they could not conveniently eat it all the same day, or had a mind to lay up some of it till the next, they had that liberty allowed them. For which Philo gives this reason (in the same book), that these being for mercies not yet received (or offered by virtue of an obligation), they might take more time to feast upon them with their friends, and be more sparing: but the former being a thankful acknowledgment of blessings already bestowed, their hearts were to be enlarged in greater bounty, Ἵν' οἱ ἐπιτυγχάνοντες ἑτοίμων καὶ προχείρων εὐεργεσιῶν, ἑτοίμην καὶ ἀνυπέρθετον ποιῶνται τὴν μετάδοσιν· *that they upon whom God readily bestowed his benefits, might make a quick and speedy return,* by doing good to others without delay. And what is here said of the flesh of the sacrifice, the Jews also understand of the *meat-offerings* mentioned ver. 12, 13. None of which was to be kept longer than two days at the most.

There is no place here assigned, where these sacrifices should be eaten, at the sanctuary; as there is for the other, vi. 16. 26. and here in this chapter, ver. 6. The reason is, because there was such a multitude of them, that it might have made too great a crowd in the court of the Israelites, if they had been confined to it. Where they might eat them if they pleased, (as I shewed before, vi. 16.) but were not determined to that place; but left at liberty to eat them in any part of the city where the tabernacle, and afterward the temple, stood. (See Deut. xii. 6, 7.) And consequently, while they dwelt in the wilderness, they might eat them any where in the camp; which was pitched round about the tabernacle: only it was to be in a clean place, where the priests might eat them as well as the people, (x. 14.)

Ver. 17. *But the remainder of the flesh of the sacrifice on the third day, shall be burnt with fire.*] If there were such plenty, or they and their friends were so few, or they were so niggardly as not to call poor enough to eat all in two days' time, they were to have no further benefit of the flesh of this sacrifice; but what remained of it on the third day was to be burnt. Which was to preserve the *dignity of the sacrifice,* as the Jews speak, in preventing its stinking. And there was no nobler way of consuming it than by fire, which consumed the sacrifice on the altar. So R. Levi Barzel. observes, Præcept. cxxxviii. where he also adds, that God taught them hereby not to be solicitous for the future, nor careful to hoard up more than needed; when they saw him command the holy flesh to be destroyed, after the time allotted for its use was past. The heathens themselves thought this a decent rite; for there was a sacrifice at Rome, which they called *Protervia,* (as Bochart observes out of Macrobius, lib. ii. Saturnal. cap. 2.) in which the custom was, *ut si quid ex epulis superfuisset, igne consumeretur, that if any thing of the feast remained, it was consumed in the fire.* (See his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50.)

Ver. 18. *And if any of the flesh of the sacrifice of the peace-offering be eaten at all on the third day, it shall not be accepted,* &c.] He lost the fruit of his sacrifice which he had offered to God by this profanation; which destroyed the grace and favour which it had procured him with God.

*Neither shall it be imputed to him that offered it.*] He shall not be thought to have made any offering at all.

*It shall be an abomination,* &c.] And more than that, it rendered him abominable; being abominable itself: and made him liable to be scourged, as the Jews here understand the last words of this verse, *he shall bear his iniquity.* Which, I think, also signifies, that he should lie under a great guilt, till it was purged by a *trespass-offering.*

Ver. 19. *And the flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten.*] That is, the flesh of the *peace-offerings* beforementioned, which might happen, as they carried it from the altar to the place where they intended to make a feast upon it, to touch any unclean thing, might not be eaten by any body.

*But burnt with fire.*] As that which remained to the third day was, (ver. 17.) This made them very careful to preserve it pure.

*And as for the flesh.*] That is, all the flesh which was not defiled by touching any unclean thing.

*All that be clean shall eat thereof.*] Whether the priest,

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or other persons. For the priest had the right shoulder and the breast, (as we read expressly, ver. 33, 34.) and he that brought the sacrifice had the rest. Of the former, the whole family of the priest might eat; not only his sons, but his wife and daughters, who were not married; or being widows, were come back to their father again, if they had no children; or if those they had were begotten by priests: yea, his servants born in his house, or bought with his money. (See xxii. 11—13. Numb. xviii. 11.) And of the rest of the sacrifice, he that offered it might eat it, with all his family and his friends; excepting those who had any uncleanness upon them. There is frequent mention of these feasts in the following books of the Bible. As that made by Elkanah, (1 Sam. i. 4.) and by Samuel, when he entertained Saul, (1 Sam. ix. 13. 24.) And when the kingdom was renewed to Saul at Gilgal, there was a public feast made on these offerings, with great rejoicing, (1 Sam. xi. 15.) And the like was made for Jesse and his sons, (xvi. 3. 5.) And by David, when he entertained the people, (1 Chron. xvi. 3.) And by Solomon, at the dedication of the temple, (1 Kings viii. 65.) And all the children of Israel made such a feast, at their return from Babylon, (Nehem. viii. 19.) There are many examples also of the like feasts among the heathens; particularly in Homer, where Agamemnon (Iliad. i.) offered a hecatomb, and made a feast upon it. And Nestor (Odyss. iii.) offered a sacrifice of eighty-two oxen, and made the like entertainment.

Ver. 20. *But the soul that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of the peace-offerings that pertain unto the Lord.*] By these last words it appears, that the whole offering was the Lord's, whose bounty entertained him and his friends, to whom he gave the greatest part of it.

*Having his uncleanness upon him,* &c.] In this verse and in the next, every one that had any legal defilement upon him is prohibited, under a severe penalty, to eat of the *peace-offerings.*

And they might be made unclean either by impurity in their own body, or by the contact of unclean things; of the former of which he speaks in this verse; and of the other in the next. Both were to be punished with *cutting-off;* which hath been explained elsewhere, (Gen. xvii. 14.) From whence it was that the Jews were so very careful, not to go into the judgment-hall when our Saviour was condemned, *lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover,* (John xviii. 28.) at which feast, *peace-offerings* were offered together with the paschal lamb. (See more of this xxii. 2—4.)

Ver. 21. *Moreover, the soul that shall touch any unclean thing, as the uncleanness of man, or any unclean beast, or any abominable unclean thing.*] All these several sorts of uncleanness, contracted by touching things unclean, we shall find in the following chapters, xi. &c.

*And shall eat the flesh of the sacrifice of peace-offerings, which pertain unto the Lord, even that soul shall be cut off,* &c.] The intention of such precepts was, that the greater reverence (as Maimonides speaks, par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 41.) might be maintained towards the sacrifices which were offered unto God. Upon which account, Julian highly commends Moses, who, he saith, (as St. Cyril quotes his words, lib. ix. contra Julian.) was ὄντως εὐλαβὴς περὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδωδὴν, *truly religious about the eating of holy things;* which he proves from these very words of Moses. But his conclusion from thence was very frigid, as St. Cyril calls it, that Christians were therefore to blame, because they would not partake of such sacrifices: for we abstain not from them, saith that father, as unclean things, but ἡμεῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ἐκ τύπων, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς, *we rather make a progress, as from types, unto the truth.*

Ver. 22. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] At the same time that all these precepts were ordered to be delivered to the priests, he takes occasion to repeat several precepts he had before given, which concern all the people; because it was of great moment to have them observed.

Ver. 23. *Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Ye shall eat no manner of fat.*] Because this was God's part, and therefore not to be eaten by any one, but burnt upon his altar. (See iii. 16, 17.) And the reason Maimonides gives, why it was reserved for him alone, was, because it was very delicious to the taste, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41.)

*Of ox, or of sheep, or of goat.*] The Jews restrain this precept to these three sorts of creatures (which were the only beasts that were offered to the altar), taking the fat of all other beasts to be lawful. (So R. Levi, beforementioned, Præcept. cxlix.)

Ver. 24. *And the fat of the beast.*] Of one of the forenamed beasts, which alone were allowed in sacrifices.

*That dieth of itself, and the fat of that which is torn with beasts, may be used in any other use,* &c.] Though the flesh of such beasts was unclean, yet they might apply the fat, when separated from the body, to any use: only they might not eat it.

Ver. 25. *For whosoever eateth the fat of the beast, of which men offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] This seems to justify the opinion of those Jews who restrain the eating of fat only to the three sorts of creatures mentioned ver. 23. as was there observed.

*Even the soul that eateth it, shall be cut off from his people.*] If he did it presumptuously; but if through inadvertence, he was to be scourged, as the Jewish doctors affirm. Yet, if he did it a third time, scourging did not suffice; but they shut him up in a little cave, where he could not stand upright, nor had room to sit down; and there fed him with the bread and water of affliction, till his bowels were sorely pinched, &c. as Maimonides describes this punishment. (See Schikkard's Mischpat Hammeleck, and Carpzovius's annot. on him, cap. 2. Theorer. vii.)

Ver. 26. *Moreover, ye shall eat no manner of blood, whether it be of fowl, or of beast.*] See iii. 17. Men were very prone to this in those times (as Maimonides thinks), whereby they ran into idolatrous worship. Which was the reason God restrained them from it, by threatening *cutting off* (ver. 27.) to those who were guilty of it, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41.)

*In any of your dwellings.*] This is added to signify, that they might no more eat of the blood of those beasts which they killed at home, than of those slain at the altar.

Ver. 27. *Whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off,* &c.] The reason of it is given xvii. 10, 11. But the Jews here distinguish (particularly R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cxlviii.) between the *blood of the soul,* or *the life* (as they speak), and *the blood of a member.* The former, which run out freely when the

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beast was killed, in which was the life of the beast, is that which is here meant, as Moses more fully explains it, in the place beforementioned. The other, which remained in the several parts of the beast, they looked upon as belonging to the flesh, and therefore might be eaten with it.

Ver. 28. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] He delivered at the same time some other rules to be observed by the people in these matters. (See ver. 22.)

Ver. 29. *Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, He that offereth the sacrifice of his peace-offerings unto the Lord, shall bring his oblation unto the Lord of the sacrifice of his peace-offerings.*] The meaning may be no more than this, that before he and his friends feasted together, as is directed ver. 15, &c. he was to take care *to bring his oblation unto the Lord,* that is, to see that God had his part of the *peace-offering;* for till that was offered, none could meddle with the rest. But if the import of the Hebrew words be well observed, they seem to have a further meaning; which is, that whensoever any man brought the *sacrifice* (which in the Hebrew is here called *zebach*) of his peace-offerings, he should also bring his *oblation* (which, in distinction from the other, is called *korban*), that is, a *mincah,* or *meat-offering* together with it; that the feast which was to be made, might be completely furnished with bread and wine, as well as the flesh of the sacrifice.

Ver. 30. *His own hands shall bring the offerings of the Lord made by fire, the fat, with the breast, it shall he bring.*] The sacrifice being slain and divided, the priest was to put what belonged unto the Lord into the man's own hands (*viz.* the fat, with the breast and the shoulder), that he might present it himself unto the Divine Majesty.

*That the breast may be waved, for a wave-offering before the Lord.*] This is the manner wherein it was to be presented; the man was to lift it up over his head, and wave it to and fro; his hands being supported and guided by the priest. (See Exod. xxix. 24. and Numb. vi. 19, 20.) Maimonides describes the order of it in this manner: first, the priest put into the man's hands the fat; and then laid upon it the breast and the shoulder; and after that, one of the pieces of the cakes for the meat-offering upon them; all which he waved about.

Ver. 31. *And the priest shall burn the fat upon the altar: but the breast shall be Aaron's and his sons'.*] When that part which belonged to God's altar (*viz.* the *fat*) had been burnt there, the priests had the breast and the shoulder to their own use; as servants have what comes from their master's table. For it was all offered unto God, (ver. 29, 30.) who, taking only the fat for himself, bade them take the rest, *viz.* the breast and the shoulder: which had been presented unto God by waving them to and fro, as a sacrifice to the Lord of the world; but by him bestowed upon his ministers for their maintenance in his service. This is more fully expressed in the three next verses; in which there is no difficulty, and therefore I shall but lightly touch them.

Ver. 32. *And the right shoulder shall ye give unto the priests,* &c.] This is only a more particular declaration what belonged to the priest; who was to have not only the *breast* beforementioned, but also the *right shoulder.*

Ver. 33. *He among the sons of Aaron that offereth the blood of the peace-offerings, and the fat, shall have the right shoulder for his part.*] This is still a more special direction, providing for the encouragement of that priest, who, on that day, ministered at the altar; unto whom the *right shoulder* was appropriated, as a reward of his pains in offering the sacrifice.

Ver. 34. *For the wave-breast, and the heave-shoulder, have I taken of the children of Israel, from off the sacrifices of their peace-offerings, and have given them to Aaron and his sons,* &c.] This doth not contradict what I observed just before; for when he saith, he hath given these to *Aaron the priest and his sons,* the meaning must be, to those of his sons, who, at the time when these were offered, sprinkled the blood and burnt the fat.

Ver. 35. *This is the portion of the anointing of Aaron, and of the anointing of his sons,* &c.] In the Hebrew the words are, *This is the anointing of Aaron,* &c. that is, this they have in right of their unction to the priest's office; which entitles them to all beforementioned.

*In the day.*] The Hebrew word *bejom* may, both here and in the next verse, be translated (as I observed before, vi. 20.) *from the day,* and ever after.

*When he presented them to minister unto the Lord in the priest's office.*] Made them draw near to attend upon him at his altar.

Ver. 36. *Which the Lord commanded to be given them, in the day that he anointed them,* &c.] By virtue of a grant from God when they were made priests, to enjoy this benefit in all future ages.

*By a statute for ever,* &c.] As long as this law of sacrifices and this priesthood shall last. (See vi. 22.)

Ver. 37. *This is the law of the burnt-offering, of the meat-offering, and of the sin-offering, and of the trespass-offering,* &c.] This verse contains a summary of what he had commanded Aaron and his sons, from the ninth verse of the sixth chapter unto this place.

*And of the consecrations.*] The whole order of their consecration is not here directed, (but in Exod. xxix.) only something belonging to that matter, (vi. 20, &c.)

Ver. 38. *Which the Lord commanded Moses in Mount Sinai.*] In that mountainous country which lay near to Mount Sinai, as Maimonides truly expounds it. For he was come down from Mount Sinai, and had delivered to them all that he received there, (Exod. xxxiv. 29. 32.) before these commands were given: but they still continued near unto it; and so the word *behar* may be translated, *by Mount Sinai.* For, as the last words of this verse tell us, they were still in the wilderness of Sinai: that is, in that part of the wilderness which took its name from its nearness to Mount Sinai.

*In the day that he commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations unto the Lord,* &c.] This doth not precisely signify, that he commanded Aaron and his sons (vi. 9, &c.) all these things, on the very same day that he commanded the children of Israel what oblations to bring, (chap. i. 2, &c.) but they were delivered all at the same time, immediately after the other, without any other commandments intervening.

## CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] See iv. 1.

Ver. 2. *Take Aaron and his sons with him.*] Having delivered the laws and rules about sacrifices and the rites



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belonging to them, he now prepares the priests to offer them, as had been commanded. And there is not much said in this chapter, but what had been explained in Exod. xxix. and other neighbouring chapters; where he relates the orders he received in Mount Sinai about those things which were now performed.

*And the garments.*] Exod. xxviii. 2. 4.

*And the anointing oil.*] Exod. xxx. 24, &c.

*And a bullock for the sin-offering, and two rams, and a basket of unleavened bread.*] See Exod. xxix. 1—3, &c. These were in their kind the very best of the legal sacrifices, as appears, in part, from that expression of the Psalmist, Psalm lxix. 30, 31. where he prefers thanksgiving and praise, before a *bullock that hath horns and hoofs* (a young bullock, which began to spread its horns and hoofs), that is, before the very best of all their bloody sacrifices.

Ver. 3. *And gather thou all the congregation together,* &c.] All the elders of the people, with the great officers who were set over thousands and hundreds, &c. For these are frequently called by the name of *col ha edah,* which we translate *all the congregation;* particularly in Numb. xxv. 7. xxxv. 12. Josh. xx. 6. Judg. xxi. 10. 13. 16. where the *elders of the congregation,* and the *congregation,* and *all the congregation,* are plainly the same thing. Which is further confirmed from the next chapter of this book, (ver. 1.) where it is said expressly, *Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel.*

Ver. 4. *And Moses did as the Lord commanded.*] Summoned them to appear before the Lord.

*And the assembly was gathered together.*] The word we translate *assembly,* is the same with that in the foregoing verse, which we translate *congregation:* that is, as I said, the assembly of the elders.

*Unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] That they might be witnesses of what was done, and satisfy all the people, that Aaron and his sons did not intrude themselves into his office; but were solemnly called and consecrated to it by Moses, the servant of the Lord. It is likely, also, that as many of the people as the place would conveniently hold, met together to be spectators of this solemnity.

Ver. 5. *And Moses said unto the congregation, This is the thing which the Lord commanded to be done.*] I am now about to execute what God hath formerly commanded, when I was with him in the holy mount, (Exod. xxix. 4.) At what time this was executed, is a question among learned men. And our great primate of Ireland places this consecration of Aaron and his sons, together with the tabernacle and all things belonging to it, in the second month of the second year, after they came out of Egypt: moved thereunto, I suppose, by what is said in Numb. vii. 1, 2. So that, according to his opinion, the numbering of the people, and the separation of the Levites to God's service, preceded this action. But I do not see any reason why we should not think all things were done in the order wherein they are here related. And then this consecration was performed in the first month of that year; after the tabernacle had been erected and set apart for the habitation of the Divine Majesty. (See Exod. xl. 17, 18.)

Ver. 6. *And Moses brought Aaron and his sons.*] To the door of the tabernacle of the congregation; as he had been directed, (Exod. xxix. 4.)

*And washed them with water.*] As is there also directed; having first likewise washed himself, (xl. 31.)

Ver. 7. *And he put upon him the coat, and girded him with the girdle,* &c.] Moses, by an extraordinary commission from God, performed the office of a high-priest on this day, and the six days following: and put Aaron in possession of this office by clothing him with the garments here mentioned, (according to the orders which had been given, Exod. xxix. 5, &c.) which was thought sufficient for the consecration of a high-priest, after the captivity of Babylon; when they wanted the holy oil, as hath been before observed. Whence Philo often calls Moses by the name of Ἀρχιερεὺς, *i. e. high-priest.* And in Schemoth Rabba the tradition is, that he continued high-priest all the time they continued in the wilderness: though others, they confess, are of opinion (which is the truth) that he officiated only the seven days of the consecration; after which this office was settled in Aaron. (See Selden, lib. i. de Succession. in Pontificatum, cap. 1.)

Ver. 8. *And he put the breast-plate upon him: also he put in the breast-plate the urim and the thummim.*] See Exod. xxviii. 30. It is observable that he saith nothing here in this place of the precious stones, but only mentions *urim* and *thummim;* as in Exod. xxxix. 10. (where he describes the same thing) he makes mention only of the *four rows of stones,* but saith not one word of *urim* and *thummim:* which I look upon as a proof that they were all one.

Ver. 9. *And he put the mitre upon his head; and upon the mitre, the golden plate, the holy crown,* &c.] According as God commanded him in Exod. xxviii. 36, 37, &c. xxix. 6.

Ver. 10. *And Moses took the anointing oil, and anointed the tabernacle, and all that was therein.*] See Exod xxix. 26, &c. and Exod. xl. 9—11. There being several ways of anointing a thing or person, either by pouring oil upon them, or by putting it upon them with the finger, or by sprinkling; it is not an improbable conjecture of Fortunatus Scacchus, that Moses anointed the tabernacle and its utensils, by dipping his finger in the oil, and putting it upon them. For though the word *mascah,* which he useth for *anointing,* be general, yet the Vulgar expressing it by *linivit,* and the LXX. by ἔχρισε (which import this particular sort of anointing), and there being different words used to express the anointing of the altar and of Aaron, it may well incline one to his opinion; (Myrothec. 2. Sacr. Elæochrysm. cap. 70.)

*And sanctified them.*] Set them apart by this unction for the holy use; for which they were designed.

Ver. 11. *And he sprinkled thereof upon the altar seven times; and anointed the altar, and all its vessels,* &c.] We do not find this expressly before directed: but the intention of anointing the altar being to make it most holy, (because it was to sanctify all that was laid upon it, Exod. xxx. 29. xl. 10.) it was very fit it should be both sprinkled seven times with oil, and also anointed: in token of its extraordinary sanctity, which was put upon it by this very solemn rite. For here are two distinct words about this anointing; the first is *jaz,* he *sprinkled* of the oil upon it; and then *jimshach, he anointed it,* by putting some of the oil on it: whereas it is said of the tabernacle, and of the things there, only *jimshach, he anointed them,* without any sprinkling.

Some think, that the altar being mentioned twice in this

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verse, he speaks of the *altar of incense*, as well as of the *altar of burnt-offerings*. But it is plain by those places in Exodus it was the altar of burnt-offerings, which was thus sanctified; and here the laver and its foot (which stood in the same court) is said to be sanctified with it. As for the altar of incense, it is included in what is said in the foregoing verse, that he anointed *the tabernacle and all therein*.

*Both the laver and his foot, to sanctify them.*] It may be thought that he *sprinkled* with oil the *laver* and its *foot*, as well as anointed them; which is the opinion of the forenamed Fort. Scacchus. But the Hebrew words will not warrant it; for they only signify that they were anointed as the altar was after its aspersion.

Ver. 12. *And he poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head.*] Here now is a third word distinct from the two former, viz. *jitzok*, which signifies there was more done to Aaron than to any of the holy things, to sanctify him to his office; for the holy oil was poured on his head.

*And anointed him.*] Perhaps he drew the oil with his finger upon his forehead, after it was poured on his head, as the Jews think he did. (See Exod. xxix. 7, 8. xxx. 30. xl. 13.)

*To sanctify him.*] *i. e.* Set him apart to this sacred office. Now this consecration of Aaron and his sons being mentioned here together with the consecration of the tabernacle and all belonging to it, it hath made some conclude, that both were done at the very same time. But I have given some arguments to prove the contrary, upon Exod. xl. 17, 18. And the meaning of these three verses (tenth, eleventh, and twelfth of this chapter) may be, not that they were consecrated at the same time, but with the same oil. For first he says, Moses took the anointing oil; and shews how it was employed after a different manner upon the tabernacle and its utensils, upon the altar, and upon Aaron, on whose head it was poured; whereas the former had it only put upon them with the finger, or were sprinkled with it. But though they were not consecrated together, yet their consecration immediately followed one another. For seven days being spent in sanctifying the tabernacle and the altar, then immediately began the sanctification of Aaron and his sons: during which time Moses may be supposed to have received the foregoing laws about sacrifices, in which they were to be employed as soon as they were consecrated. And the seven days for the consecration of Aaron and his sons, immediately succeeding the other seven days which were spent in the consecration of the tabernacle and the altar; it may be the reason why they are here succinctly mentioned both together, and neither of them mentioned before. For if the account we have in the fortieth of Exodus concerning these things be well attended to, it will appear that nothing is there said of the anointing of the tabernacle, or any thing else; but only that he set it up the first day of the month, as he was commanded ver. 2, &c. and 17, &c. And he is commanded in like manner to take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle and all therein, (ver. 9, &c.) and then to anoint Aaron and his sons; (ver. 13. 15.) but he relates nothing of his doing either of them till now, when he executed those commands.

Ver. 13. *And Moses brought Aaron's sons, and put coats upon them, and girded them with girdles,* &c.] See Exod. xxviii. 40, 41. xxix. 30. xl. 14.

*As the Lord commanded Moses.*] He commanded him also to anoint them at the same time, (Exod. xxviii. 41. xl. 15.) but it is not here mentioned; because they were not anointed as he was, by pouring oil upon their heads; but sprinkling it on their garments, with the blood of the sacrifice offered for them. And that he did afterward as he had been ordered, ver. 30. (See Exod. xxviii. 41. xxix. 7.)

Ver. 14. *And he brought the bullock.*] See Exod. xxix. 1. 10. &c.

*For a sin-offering.*] So it was designed to be, Exod. xxix. 14.

*And Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the bullock for the sin-offering.*] See Exod. xxix. 10. Levit. i. 4.

Ver. 15. *And he slew it.*] Exod. xxix. 11.

*And Moses took the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about with his finger.*] As he had been directed, Exod. xxix. 12.

*And purified the altar.*] It was purified before; but this was a further purification of it; that it might be the more fitted to be a place to make reconciliation upon it, as it follows in the conclusion of the verse.

*And poured out the blood at the bottom of the altar, and sanctified it,* &c.] The Vulgar Latin, I think, gives the true interpretation of these words, rather than translate them in this manner; *it being expiated and sanctified, he poured out the blood at the bottom of the altar,* &c. Fort. Scacchus hath taken a great deal of pains to prove that this expiation (as the Vulgar Latin calls it) went before the anointing or consecration of the altar; in his Myrothec. (par. ii. cap. 34.) But his arguments seem to me of no force to overthrow the opinion of Abulensis and Philo, that these words do not speak of a proper expiation of the altar; but that it was only hereby more particularly set apart (as the word *sanctify* signifies), to be the place where sin-offerings might be made; that men who had committed offences might be expiated by these sacrifices.

Ver. 16. *And he took all the fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul,* &c.] See Exod. xxix. 13.

Ver. 17. *But the bullock and his skin, his flesh and his dung, he burnt with fire without the camp, as the Lord commanded Moses.*] See Exod. xxix. 14. Yet we do not find that the blood of this sacrifice was carried into the holy place; and therefore it did not fall under the rule in the sixth chapter of this book, (ver. 30.) but might have been eaten by the priests, as is there allowed, (ver. 26.) Some think it sufficient, for the solution of this, to say that Aaron and his sons were not yet completely consecrated, and therefore had not a right to eat of the flesh of this sin-offering. But such persons do not consider that Moses, who now acted as a priest, could not be debarred of that benefit by this reason. And therefore it is better to say, that no high-priest, whether ordinary or extraordinary (such as Moses now was), might eat of any sin-offering, offered for the priests themselves; although the blood of it was not brought into the sanctuary. From whence we may draw this consequence: that although the sins of the people were taken away by the priests; who, by eating of their sin-offering, plainly shewed that they *bare their sin*, (as the phrase is, x. 17.) yet the sins of the priests themselves could not be taken away, by any sacrifice they could offer for sin, of which they might not eat: but they were

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to expect, as an excellent person of our own speaks, (Dr. Jackson, book ix. upon the Creed, chap. 26.) a better sacrifice, made by a better high-priest, the Son of God. But these legal sacrifices, in the mean time, were offered in such a place, as prefigured the place where this better sacrifice should be offered, *viz.* without the camp: as when they came to their rest, without the city of Jerusalem, where our Saviour's body was offered for our redemption.

Ver. 18. *And he brought the ram for the burnt-offering: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram.*] According to the direction given to Moses, when he was with God in Mount Sinai, (Exod. xxix. 15, 16.) where all that follows here, to the end of the twenty-first verse, is explained: this being nothing else but the execution of what was before ordered.

Ver. 22. *And he brought the other ram.*] For he was commanded to bring *two*, (ver. 2. and Exod. xxix. 1.)

*The ram of consecration.*] So it is called Exod xxix. 22. 31. for the reason there given.

Ver. 23, 24. *And he slew it, and Moses took of the blood of it,* &c.] These two verses are explained Exod. xxix. 20. where order was given for what was now done. I shall only add a remark of R. Levi ben Gersom, upon the order wherein these sacrifices were offered; which was most rational. For, first, there was a *sacrifice for sin* offered, (ver. 14.) before they could be worthy to have any gift or present which they made to God received by him. But upon their expiation, a *whole burnt-offering* was accepted; (ver. 18.) and after that followed this sacrifice, which was a *peace-offering*, (as appears from ver. 31.) part of which was burnt upon the altar, part given to the priest, and the rest they themselves ate for whom it was offered; that it might appear they were so far in the favour of God, as to eat with him of his meat from his table. Abarbinel hath the same observation.

Ver. 25. *And he took the fat, and the rump,* &c.] All this verse likewise is there explained, Exod. xxix. 22.

Ver. 26—28. *And out of the basket of unleavened bread,* &c.] These three verses shew, that Moses exactly followed the orders he had received Exod. xxix. 23—25. where they have been explained.

Ver. 28. *Burnt them upon the burnt-offering.*] This shews that they were not a *burnt-offering* properly, as I there observed, but an appendix to it.

*They were consecrations for a sweet savour.*] Because they were offered to *consecrate and sanctify them*, as this is explained Exod. xxix. 33. (See there.)

Ver. 29. *And Moses took the breast and waved it,* &c.] According to the direction given Exod. xxix. 26. where it is also ordered that this should be Moses's part.

Ver. 30. *And he took of the anointing oil, and of the blood that was upon the altar, and sprinkled it on Aaron,* &c.] See Exod. xxix. 21. where it appears plainly this *blood* that was mixed with the *oil*, was the blood of *the ram of consecration.*

Ver. 31. *And Moses said unto Aaron and his sons, boil the flesh at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and there eat it,* &c.] God having had his part, (ver. 28.) and Moses, who performed the office of a priest at this time, having had that which belonged to him on that account, (ver. 29.) the rest was given (as the manner was in *peace-offerings*) to those for whom the sacrifice was offered: that is, all but the *right shoulder*, which was burnt upon the altar, and the *wave breast*, which was given to Moses, as priest. (See Exod. xxix. 31, 32.)

Ver. 32. *That which remains of the flesh and the blood shall ye burn with fire.*] See Exod. xxix. 34. This shews it was of the nature of a *peace-offering*, (vii. 15. 17.)

Ver. 33. *And ye shall not go out of the door of the tabernacle in seven days,* &c.] For till then their consecration was not perfected (as the following words signify), no more than the consecration of the altar was, till a bullock had been offered, to cleanse it, and make an atonement for it, seven days together. (See Exod. xxix. 35—37.) This was to make them more sensible of the great weight, as well as dignity of their office.

Ver. 34. *As he had done this day, so the Lord hath commanded to do, to make an atonement for you.*] Every day of these seven those sacrifices were to be repeated, the sin-offering, the burnt-offering, and the peace-offering; and their garments were to be sprinkled with the blood and the anointing oil, as the Lord required when Moses was with him in the mount, (Exod. xxix. 35.) This shews the imperfection of all the legal sacrifices; which would not have been so often repeated, if they had been of greater efficacy: yet the continuance of them *seven days*, doth signify the complete consecration of these priests, according to the rites of those times. In conformity to which, our great high-priest, the Lord Christ, who was perfected by one sacrifice of himself, spent seven days in his consecration to his office. For as Aaron is commanded to attend at the tabernacle so many days together, in like manner our Lord Christ, (as Dr. Jackson observes in the forenamed book, chap. 25.) did attend the temple five days one after another, before his death; (see John xii. 1. 12, &c. Matt. xxi. 8, 9, &c.) and having purged it on the first or second of those days, from the profaneness that was exercised in it by merchandizing; and afterward hallowed it by his doctrine, and by his Divine presence, which appeared in several miraculous cures, he went the sixth day into his heavenly sanctuary, into paradise itself; to purify and sanctify it with his own blood: as Moses, at Aaron's consecration, did the material sanctuary and altar with the blood of beasts. And having rested the seventh day, finished all by his resurrection early the next day in the morning.

Ver. 35. *Therefore shall ye abide at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Where all things mentioned in this chapter had been done, and were still to be repeated, (ver. 3, 4.) for they could not go into the sanctuary till they were completed.

*Day and night.*] This was to make their consecration more solemn, and taken notice of by all the people.

*Seven days.*] By which means, a sabbath, as the Jews observe, passed over their heads: without which, they conceive, Aaron and his sons could not have been completed. But the sabbath of the Lord did never so exactly pass over any high-priest in his consecration, as it did over the High-priest of the New Testament. For however it were of Aaron's it was to our blessed Saviour (as the forenamed Dr. Jackson notes) a day of rest indeed, after six days of labour, watching, praying, and fasting, which concluded in his bloody death and passion.

*And keep the charge of the Lord.*] That which he had now

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enjoined. Or rather, watch the tabernacle and his vessels, &c. as they were to do in time to come. The Hebrew doctors have here raised a great difficulty, about the necessary easements of nature; for which they had no convenience, if they might not stir for seven days from the door of the tabernacle; and therefore they fancy, there was a hole digged in the ground for such occasions. But it is more likely they were not so confined, as not to be allowed this liberty: and one cannot well doubt of it, who considers the word *mismoroth* here used (which we translate *keep the charge of the Lord*), which is a military phrase, signifying the stations and watches kept in their turns for certain hours: after which they were at liberty to attend their own affairs. Such was the charge here one may reasonably think, of not departing from the door of the tabernacle, while they were upon the guard (as we speak), which some or other of them kept night and day; in such order, that while some watched, others might sleep, or step out about the necessary occasions of nature.

*That ye die not.*] It may seem hard that they should be in peril of their life, if they omitted any of these rites. But this was necessary, to make those serious and intent upon their business, who were to save the lives of others, by making expiation for them, when they deserved to perish.

*For so I am commanded.*] These orders, as hath been already observed, he received in the holy mount.

*So Aaron and his sons did all things which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses.*] This was necessary to be added, that all generations might be assured, whatsoever was performed by their ministry, would be effectual, to the end for which it was appointed; they being exactly consecrated to God's service, without the least omission of any thing that he had required. In like manner, our great High-priest was consecrated to his eternal priesthood, by fulfilling all the will of God; and that in a far more solemn and public way than Aaron's was; it being performed by suffering such things, as nothing but a perfect filial obedience to his heavenly Father could have moved him to admit, because it was accomplished by shedding his own blood in a lingering death.

## CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. *AND it came to pass on the eighth day.*] He doth not mean on the *eighth* day of the month; but on the next day after their consecration, which was *seven* days in doing, (viii. 33. 35.) Then it was that the fire fell down from heaven, and consumed the sacrifices which Aaron offered: and this seems also to have been the first day of unleavened bread, which fell upon the fifteenth day of this month; for on the fourteenth in the even, which was the last day of the consecration of the priests, the Passover was kept, (Numb. ix. 2. 5.)

*That Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel.*] Just as he had done before, (viii. 2, 3.) that the rulers, and as many of the people as could meet together, to behold what was done, might see the *glory of the Lord*, which appeared at this time, (ver. 6.)

Ver. 2. *And he said unto Aaron, Take thee a young calf.*] This is the first sacrifice that was offered to God, by the priests of the order of Aaron. It differed from that which was offered by Moses for Aaron and his sons, as *egel*, a *young calf*, doth from *par*, a *young bullock:* by which his sin was expiated at his consecration. And Maimonides saith, that the former signifies a calf of one year old; the latter one of two. Others say, a calf was called *egel* till his horns budded; and then it was called *par*.

*For a sin-offering.*] For his sins in general; not for any determinate offence, like that iv. 3. which therefore was something different from this. The Jews fancy, that a young calf was appointed for the first *sin-offering*, to put Aaron and the people in mind of the golden calf, which they worshipped. So Maimonides reports the opinion of their wise men, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 46.) Where he also hath this conceit, that it was to expiate that sin.

*And a ram for a burnt-offering.*] For none but males were accepted for *burnt-offerings*, (i. 10.) There is no *peace-offering* ordered for him, (as there is afterward for the people, ver. 4.) because it was not fit he should have all the sacrifice, as he must have had, according to the law of such sacrifices, being both the priest and the offerer; between whom and the priest (after the fat was burnt) all was to be shared.

Ver. 3. *And unto the children of Israel thou shalt speak, saying.*] Unto all the elders, (ver. 1.) who were to bring the following offerings, in the name of all the people of Israel; and that by Aaron's direction, who was now to act as God's high-priest, and give out this order.

*Take ye a kid of the goats for a sin-offering.*] The Hebrew word *seir* signifies a *he-goat*. Concerning which Maimonides (in his book concerning Sacrifices) delivers this opinion, that "all sacrifices for sin, whether of private persons, or the whole congregation, at their three principal feasts, new moons, and the day of expiation, were he-goats." For this reason, because the greatest sin and rebellion of those times was, that they sacrificed to demons, who were wont to appear in that form. For which he quotes, xvii. 7. *They shall no more offer their sacrifices, lesseirim;* which we translate *unto devils:* but the word *seirim* is but the plural number of the word *seir*, which signifies *a goat*. And further he adds, that their wise men think the sin of the whole congregation was therefore expiated by this *kid of a goat*, because all the family of Israel sinned about a goat when they sold Joseph into Egypt, (Gen. xxxvii. 31.) And such reasons, saith he, as these should not seem trifles, for the end and scope of all these actions was, to imprint and engrave on the mind of sinners the offences they had committed, that they might never forget them. According to that of David, Psalm li. 5. "My sin is ever before me."

This *sin-offering* was different from that iv. 14. being not for any particular sin, as that was; but in general, for all the offences that the high-priest might have committed.

*A calf and a lamb, both of the first year,* &c.] When they were in their prime.

Ver. 4. *Also a bullock and a ram.*] These also were, no doubt, to be *without blemish*, as is prescribed in the two foregoing offerings. And the Hebrew word *sor* (which we translate a *bullock*) often signifies a well-grown ox: as in Exod. xxi. 28. Deut. xxv. 8. As *ajil*, a *ram*, the Hebrews say, signifies a sheep of above a year old. These made very large *peace-offerings*, and consequently a liberal feast upon them.

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*For peace-offerings.*] The very same order is here observed that was at Aaron's consecration: first, *sin-offerings*, then a *burnt-offering*, and then a *peace-offering* was offered to the Lord, (viii. 14. 18. 22.)

*And a meat-offering mingled with oil.*] Which was to complete the *peace-offerings* on which they were to feast, that meat might not be without bread to it.

*For to-day the Lord will appear to you.*] Give you an illustrious token of his presence by sending fire from heaven, or from the brightness of his glory, to consume the sacrifice, (ver. 23, 24.) Whereby they were all assured that both the institution of this priesthood, and the sacrifices offered by it, were acceptable to the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 5. *And they brought that which Moses commanded.*] Both Aaron (ver. 2.) and all the congregation (ver. 3.) brought all the offerings which Moses required.

*Before the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Where these sacrifices were to be offered.

*And all the congregation drew near and stood before the Lord.*] Approached to the door of the tabernacle, and stood there by their sacrifices, looking towards the holy place; and worshipped the Lord.

Ver. 6. *And Moses said.*] Unto the congregation.

*This is the thing which the Lord commanded that ye should do.*] I require this of you by the commandment of God, who will demonstrate, by a visible token, his presence among you.

*And the glory of the Lord shall appear unto you.*] That glory which filled the tabernacle when it was erected, (Exod. xl. 34, 35.) openly shewed itself to them all, (ver. 23.) and declared his grace and favour towards them, by consuming their sacrifices, as an acceptable oblation to him, (ver. 24.) Whereby a particular honour also was done unto Aaron, who was hereby most illustriously owned to be God's high-priest; and all other persons deterred from pretending to his office.

Ver. 7. *And Moses said unto Aaron, Go unto the altar, and offer thy sin-offering, and thy burnt-offering.*] One of them after the other, in the order wherein they were directed, *viz.* his *sin-offering* first, to make his *burnt-offering* accepted.

*Make an atonement for thyself and for the people.*] First for himself, (as the apostle observes, Heb. vii. 27.) that then he might be capable to offer for the sins of the people. This was the great imperfection of the Aaronical priests, that they were sinners like other men: by reason whereof they were bound, "as for the people, so also for themselves, to offer for sins," (Heb. v. 3.)

*And offer the offering of the people, and make an atonement for them.*] After he had offered both the *sin-offering*, (ver. 8.) and the *burnt-offering*, (ver. 13.) for himself; then he was to begin to offer for the people. For his own sins being expiated, and his burnt-offering being accepted, he was fit to procure remission and acceptance for them.

Ver. 8. *Aaron therefore went unto the altar.*] That he might be ready to perform his part of the service, which was to sprinkle the blood, after he had first of all offered the morning sacrifice. (See ver. 17.)

*And slew the calf of the sin-offering which was for himself.*] Ordered it to be slain: for this was no part of the priest's work, as I shewed upon the first chapter, ver. 5.

Ver. 9. *And the sons of Aaron brought the blood unto him.*] They received it in basons as it run from the calf when it was killed, (see i. 5.) and brought it unto him; who stood at the altar to receive it, and do what follows.

*And he dipped his finger in the blood.*] The fore-finger of the right hand, which had been sanctified to this ministry, by putting the blood of the sacrifice of consecration upon the thumb of the right hand, (viii. 23, 24.) whereby we grasp all things, and cannot hold them strongly, nor perform any thing well, if that be wanting.

*And put it upon the horns of the altar,* &c.] See iv. 25.

Ver. 10. *But the fat, and the kidneys, and the caul about the liver.*] See iv. 8, 9.

*He burnt upon the altar, as the Lord commanded Moses.*] Laid or disposed them upon the altar, to be burnt by the heavenly fire, (ver. 24.) as most understand it. And the LXX. justify this opinion; who, though they here translate it, *he offered it on the altar*, yet, ver. 13. where there is the same phrase, they expressly translate it, ἐπέθηκεν τὸ ὁλοκαύτωμα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, *he laid the burnt-offering upon the altar:* and again, ver. 17. in the same manner, ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον χωρὶς, &c. *he laid it upon the altar, beside the burnt-sacrifice of the morning.* For common fire, it is supposed, was no longer to be used when Aaron's sacrifice began; as it had been all along before. But there is no certainty in this: and we may as well take the words in their proper sense, that Aaron burnt this and the following sacrifice, as Moses had done before, (viii. 14. 21. 28.) until the *burnt-offering* for the people came to be offered, which God consumed by fire from himself: and then followed those other sacrifices mentioned, ver. 17, 18. For all these sacrifices, for Aaron and for the people, could not be laid upon the altar at once; but one after another, in the order here directed: and consequently, this sacrifice here mentioned was actually burnt upon the altar, to make way for those which followed it.

Ver. 11. *And the flesh and the hide he burnt with fire, without the camp.*] See viii. 17.

Ver. 12. *And he slew the burnt-offering, and Aaron's sons presented to him the blood,* &c.] See i. 5.

Ver. 13, 14. *And they presented the burnt-offering unto him, with the pieces thereof,* &c.] All that is contained in these two verses is explained in the first chapter, (ver. 8, 9.) where the law about *burnt-offerings* is delivered.

Ver. 15. *And he brought the people's sin-offering,* &c.] Having offered all that was necessary for himself, now he became fit to make supplication for the people.

*And offered it for sin, as the first.*] In the same manner as he offered the foregoing *sin-offering* for himself, (ver. 8, &c.)

Ver. 16. *And he brought the burnt-offering.*] Here being no express mention of *burning* it, some from thence conclude, that this was the offering which alone was consumed by fire from the Lord. (See ver. 24.)

*And offered it according to the manner.*] Laid it upon the altar, as Moses had directed in the first chapter of this book.

Ver. 17. *And he brought the meat-offering,* &c.] Which attended upon *burnt-offerings*, (Numb. xv. 2—4, &c.)

*Beside the burnt-offering of the morning.*] This shews that Aaron began his priestly function with the morning sacrifice, which preceded all other, and was never omitted for the sake of any other sacrifice that was to follow it,

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and it had always a meat-offering waiting upon it, (Exod. xxix. 39, 40.)

Ver. 18, 19. *He slew also the bullock and the ram, for a sacrifice of peace-offerings.*] These two verses are explained in the third chapter; which treats of such kind of offerings.

Ver. 20. *And he put the fat upon the breasts,* &c.] That it might by elevation and waving be presented unto the Lord; and then burnt upon the altar. (See vii. 30.)

Ver. 21. *And the breasts and the right shoulder Aaron waved for a wave-offering before the Lord.*] The fat being burnt upon the altar, as God's portion, these were the portion of the priests; who feasted upon God's meat; for they were solemnly presented unto him, before they had them. (See vii. 34.)

Ver. 22. *And Aaron lifted up his hands towards the people.*] Imploring the Divine blessing upon the people; which he afterwards pronounced. At this day, they that are of the family of Aaron, going up the steps which lead to the place where the book of the law is kept, lift up their hands as high as their heads, and pronounce a blessing in their synagogues upon the assembly. And they say the ancient custom was, which is still observed, not only to lift up and spread their hands, but then to join them together by the thumbs, and the two fore-fingers; dividing the other from them, in that figure which is represented by an eminently learned person, J. Wagenseil, in his commentary upon Sota, (cap. 7. p. 672. and 1132.)

*And blessed them.*] We read of no order for this: but natural reason taught them, from the beginning, that the priestly office consisted in praying for the people, and blessing them: we find an example of it in Gen. xiv. 18, 19. And not long after Aaron's consecration, Moses delivered from God a form of words, wherein the priests should bless the people, (Numb. vi. 24.) And at this day, there is nothing done among the Jews with such solemnity, and in which they place so much sanctity, as this. For when the blessing is pronounced in their synagogues, they all cover their faces; believing they would be struck blind, if they should look up: because the Divine Majesty, at that time, sits upon the hands of the priest. So the same Wagenseil observes, in the place abovenamed: which shews, not only how laborious they have been to maintain in the people's minds an opinion, that God is still as much present with them in their synagogues, as he was anciently in the tabernacle and temple; but how high a value they set upon the Divine blessing pronounced by his ministers.

*And came down from offering the sin-offering, and the burnt-offering, and peace-offerings.*] He pronounced the blessing before he came down from the altar, which stood upon raised ground, (though there were no steps to it, Exod. xx. 26.) that all the people might the better see what was done, while he offered all these sacrifices for them, and lifted up his hands to implore God's blessing upon them.

Ver. 23. *And Moses and Aaron went into the tabernacle of the congregation.*] The sacrifice being ended, it is likely Moses went with Aaron into the sanctuary, to instruct him how to sprinkle the blood, and to burn incense, and order the shew-bread, and such-like things as were to be done only in the holy place.

*And came out, and blessed the people.*] I suppose that all the sacrifices beforementioned might be offered after the *morning sacrifice,* (ver. 17.) which took up a great deal of time, before they were all completed. After which Moses and Aaron went into the sanctuary, and stayed there till the time of the *evening sacrifice;* and then came out and dismissed the people with a new blessing, when the evening sacrifice was finished.

*And the glory of the Lord appeared unto all the people.*] That *glory* which filled the tabernacle, (Exod. xl. 34, 35.) now appeared without: either at the door of it, or upon it, in the sight of all the people, as Moses had foretold, (ver. 6.)

Ver. 24. *And there came a fire out from before the Lord.*] Either out of the sanctuary, from the holy of holies: or from that glory which now appeared unto them, and sent out flashes of fire which burnt up the sacrifice. In either of these senses, it may be said to come from *the face of the Lord,* as the Hebrew phrase is.

*And consumed upon the altar the burnt-offering and the fat.*] It seems to me most natural and easy to take this *burnt-offering* and its *fat* for the evening sacrifice; which concluding the work of this day, God gave a special token of his acceptance of all the other sacrifices, by consuming this; and likewise publicly testified his approbation of all the forementioned rites of the ministry of Aaron, whose authority was hereby established in a miraculous manner. To confirm this, it may be noted, that, as the place which God chose for his worship and service, was afterward designed in the time of David after the very same manner; (1 Chron. xxi. 26.) so it was at the time of the *evening sacrifice,* as may be gathered from 2 Sam. xxiv. 15. where it is said the pestilence continued from morning, *to the time appointed,* that is, to the evening; and then David saw the angel, who commanded Gad to bid him set the altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah; where God answering by fire from heaven, it made him say, *this is the house of God, and this is the altar of burnt-offering,* (1 Chron. xxii. 1.) And when Solomon built the temple in that very place, it was thus consecrated by fire coming from heaven, and consuming the burnt-sacrifice, as well as by the glory of the Lord filling the house, (2 Chron. vii. 1—3.) And it is very probable, also, that this was at the time of the *evening sacrifice;* for the former part of the day had been spent in bringing the ark into the house of the Lord, and in Solomon's prayer; as we read in the two foregoing chapters. Certain it is, that the authority of Elijah to restore God's true religion and worship was thus justified, 1 Kings xviii. 38, 39. and it was at the time of the offering the *evening sacrifice,* (ver. 39.) From whence that prayer of the Psalmist, (Psal. cxli. 2.) *Let the lifting up of my hands be as the evening sacrifice.*

All this was so notorious, that Julian himself acknowledges, that fire came down from heaven in the time of Moses, and again in the days of Elijah, *τὰς θυσίας ἀναλίσκον, consuming the sacrifices;* as we find his words related by St. Cyril, (lib. x. contra Julianum.) And this gave such a Divine authority to the Jewish religion, that it is no wonder to find, that the pagans endeavoured to get credit to their religion by the like reports of fire, from an invisible power, consuming their sacrifices: which perhaps was sometimes really done by the prince of the power of the air, as the apostle calls the devil. However that be, there are several instances of this in Pausanias, Dionysius, Halicarnassæus, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny. But Servius

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may serve instead of all; who, upon those words of Virgil, in Æneid xii.

—— "fœdera fulmine sancit,"

saith, that anciently they did not kindle fires upon their altars, "sed ignem divinum precibus eliciebant," &c. *but they procured by their prayers Divine fire,* which inflamed their altars. And Solinus saith, (cap. 11.) that the flame sprung out of the wood by a Divine power. "Si Deus adest, si sacrum probatur, sarmenta licet viridia ignem sponte concipiunt," &c. *If God be present, if the sacrifice be acceptable, the faggots, though green, kindle of themselves;* and without any one to set them on fire, a flame is raised by the Deity to whom the sacrifice is offered. Thus *there rose up fire out of the rock,* and consumed Gideon's sacrifice, (Judg. vi. 21.) They that would see more of this out of pagan writers, may consult J. Dilherrus Dissert. Special. de Cacozelia Gentil. (cap. 11.) But especially Huetius, in his Alnetanæ Questiones, (lib. ii. cap. 12. n. 21.)

But whether this fire, which now came from before the Lord, consumed Aaron's sacrifice instantly, or only set it into a flame, which consumed it leisurely in the sight of all the people, cannot certainly be determined. The Jews seem to suppose the latter; the heavenly fire being now kindled, which continued ever after by a constant supply of fuel, whereby it was kept perpetually burning, as is ordained vi. 12, 13. (See note on that place.) Where to me it seems very observable, that this law of keeping in the fire perpetually, is ordered to be put in execution at the evening sacrifice, ver. 9. of that chapter. Which is a sufficient reason to incline one to think, that the celestial fire now came, as I have supposed, at the evening sacrifice, and consumed the burnt-offering.

*Which when all the people saw, they shouted.*] They fled not from it, as men affrighted, but shouted for joy: or, as Abarbinel's phrase is, *they lifted up their voices with singing, and prayed to God,* or rather praised him. Just as they did when the fire came down at the consecration of Solomon's temple, *When the people saw it they praised the Lord, saying, For he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever,* (2 Chron. vii. 3.)

*And fell on their faces.*] Worshipped God with humble thankfulness; who hereby testified his presence among them, and his gracious acceptance of them. For thus he had of old shewed his respect to Abel, (Gen. iv. 4.) and to Noah, (vii. 20.) and to their father Abraham: whose sacrifice was thus accepted in the *evening,* when the sun went down, (Gen. xv. 17.)

And there was great reason, that both priests and people should rejoice at this sight: for, as the author of the book Cosri discourses, (par. iii. sect. 53.) "If a man look only at the foregoing part of the work of this day (the killing of the sacrifices, the blood running about their hands; their slaying of them, washing the entrails, rincing the pieces of flesh, sprinkling the blood, laying the wood in order, kindling the fire), they would rather set his mind further off from God, than draw it near to him: till after all these things performed orderly, he saw the fire coming down from heaven, testifying God's gracious acceptance of the sacrifice; or felt another spirit excited in him, beyond any thing he was acquainted withal before; or had Divine dreams, or heroical motions; which he believed were the effects of what he had been doing," &c. And no doubt, all good men, in future ages, felt their minds raised, by the thoughts that the sacrifices they offered were as acceptable to God as that offered at this time; being consumed, in some sort, by the same fire, which burnt continually on this altar; and, after this day, was never extinguished till the captivity. Which seems to be the original of that expression of the people, in their prayer for their king, that God would "remember all his offerings, and accept (*turn to ashes,* it is in the Hebrew) his burnt-sacrifice," (Psal. xxi. 3.)

"Such acceptable sacrifices, (St. Cyril tells Julian,) we Christians still offer, but infinitely better, being spiritual and intellectual (and consequently nearer to the Divine nature), and that by fire sent from heaven, *viz.* the Holy Ghost (of whom this fire was but a figure), καταφωτίζων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, *illustrating the church,* and enabling the members of it to offer continually the sweet-smelling sacrifices of faith, and hope, and charity, and righteousness, temperance, obedience, perpetual doxologies, and all other virtues," (lib. x. contr. Jul.)

## CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. *AND Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron.*] His two eldest sons, (Exod. vi. 23.)

*Took either of them his censer.*] Here are two of their errors expressed in these words, if Abarbinel conjecture aright (who supposes this to have happened on the last day of their consecration, when fire came down from heaven), first, that they adventured, without any order from God, to go and burn incense in the sanctuary. For though this did not belong to the office of the high-priest alone, yet, upon this solemn day, Aaron only was commanded to perform the whole service; as upon the day of expiation, (ix. 7.) And this account Bochartus gives of their offence, that "sine vocatione, thus obtulerunt," *they offered incense without any call to it,* (Hierozoic. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 49. p. 557.) And secondly, both of them went about this work; whereas the incense was to be offered only by one, and not by two at a time. Procopius Gazæus adds a third error; that they attempted this out of the due season for it: which was only in the morning and evening.

*And put fire thereon.*] As the priests were required to offer *no strange incense,* (Exod. xxx. 9.) so, in all reason, they were to think, it was not to be offered with *strange fire;* but only with a coal from that altar, where there was a fire kindled by God himself.

*And offered strange fire before the Lord.*] Here are two sins more (if Abarbinel take it right), that they brought fire from another place, without the sanctuary; and did not take it from the altar: and then, that they attempted to go into the *most holy place;* which he thinks is signified by these words, *before the Lord.* The first of these is the opinion also of Aben Ezra, and other learned men among the Jews; who by *strange fire* understand, *fire that did not go out from before the Lord,* (ix. 24.) that is, was not taken from the altar of burnt-offering; where fire from heaven lately consumed their oblations. And so R. Bechai: "They imagined that the fire on the altar of burnt-offerings was only for consuming sacrifices; and therefore, they fetch some from without, for the burning incense." But as to the

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second thing, it doth not seem to me probable; for Aaron himself had not yet gone into the holy of holies.

*Which he commanded them not.*] This they did (saith Aben Ezra) from their own proper motion and opinion; without any authority from God: for whose order they should have waited, if his mind was not already sufficiently declared, as it was fully afterward, (xvi. 12.)

How two such excellent men as these (who had had the honour to be called up to God, when he appeared on Mount Sinai, and to have a sight of him, and to eat and drink in his presence, Exod. xxiv. 1. 9, 10, &c.) came to be so rash, and to fall so unadvisedly into so great an error, as this here mentioned, cannot be certainly resolved. But it seems to me highly probable, that at the feast upon the *peace-offerings*, they had eaten and drunk too liberally; which made them forget themselves, and fall into this gross mistake. For I can see no other reason why that command, (ver. 8.) of not drinking wine or strong drink, when the priests were to go into the sanctuary, is annexed unto this story of their death and burial; but only this, which I have now alleged; that their miscarriage arose from drinking too much wine before this office was to be performed.

Ver. 2. *And there went out fire from the Lord.*] As they were entering into the sanctuary, or as they stood at the golden altar, ready to offer incense, fire came out from the most holy place (where the glory of the Lord was), and struck them dead.

*And devoured them.*] It did not reduce their bodies to ashes, nor so much as burn their clothes, (ver. 5.) but they were killed as men sometimes are with lightning; which penetrates into the vital parts, and puts a sudden end to their life. That is meant here by *devoured them;* took away their breath in a moment. From which expression the Hebrew doctors conclude, that when any body was condemned to be burnt, it was not to be consumed to ashes, but only exanimated by the fire; because this is called *devouring* or *burning*, here in this place. (See Gemara Sanhedrin, cap. 7. n. 1.)

*And they died before the Lord.*] Fell down dead in the house of God. Which may seem too great a severity, till it be considered how reasonable and necessary it was to inflict a heavy punishment upon the first transgressors of a law, concerning a matter of great moment, to deter others from the like offence. Many instances of which there are in Scripture: some observed by St. Chrysostom upon Psal. vi. 2. where he gives this account, why the man who gathered a few sticks upon the sabbath-day was adjudged to be stoned, as blasphemers were; because it was a very heinous thing, ἐκ προοιμίων εὐθέως παραβῆναι τὸ πρόσταγμα, &c. *as soon as a law was enacted, immediately to break it:* which made it necessary it should be thus severely punished, to strike such a terror into others, that they might not dare to do the like, which was the reason, he observes, of the sudden death of Ananias and Sapphira, mentioned Acts v. Isidore of Pelusium hath made the same observation, (lib. i. epist. 181.) and goes so far back as to our first parents, who were dreadfully punished for a seemingly small offence, because they were the first transgressors. The same others have observed of the punishment of Cain, who committed the first murder; of the filthiness of Sodom; of the idolatry of the golden calf; the covetousness and sacrilege of Achan; the disobedience of Saul, the first king of Israel; the sudden death of Uzzah, who was the first that presumed to touch the ark of God.

Ver. 3. *And Moses said unto Aaron.*] To satisfy him in the justice and wisdom of this dreadful stroke, at which he could not but be extremely afflicted.

*This is that the Lord spake, saying, I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me.*] To *come nigh* unto God, is, in the holy language, to perform the office of a priest, (Exod. xix. 22. Numb. xvi. 5.) who, having the honour of attending upon the service of the Divine Majesty, was bound to approach into his presence with the greatest reverence. We do not read indeed those very words, which Moses here recites, in the foregoing books; but, as many things were spoken to them which are not recorded, so the sense of these words is in the place forenamed, Exod. xix. 22. and the reason of them in Exod. xxix. 43, 44. where the tabernacle being said to be *sanctified* by the Divine Glory, and the priests being *sanctified* to minister unto him therein, (which was seven days a doing, as we read here, viii. 35.) they were plainly taught to draw nigh to God with a holy fear, and to do nothing rashly, nor without order from him. For God being peculiarly known by the name of the Holy One, *i. e.* who hath incomparable perfections, such as no other being hath, he justly required to be accordingly worshipped, suitable to his most surpassing greatness; by peculiar rites of his own prescribing, in a different manner from all other beings. It was, for instance, below his eminency, or rather supereminent majesty, to have common fire (such as they employed in their kitchens) used for the burning sacrifices on his altar. And in like manner all other parts of his service were, in reason, to be performed after such a fashion as might signify their sense of the peculiar excellences of the Divine Nature; who, therefore, sent fire from heaven as only fit to burn perpetually upon his altar.

*And before all the people will I be glorified.*] This may be thought to be but a solemn repetition of what was spoken before, as the manner is in these books to deliver the same thing twice in different words. Or the meaning is, If they who draw nigh to me will not sanctify me, I will vindicate my own honour by such punishments, as shall openly declare to all that I am the Holy One. Thus God is said to be honoured upon Pharaoh by drowning him in the Red Sea, (Exod. xiv. 4.)

*And Aaron held his peace.*] Silently adored the justice of the Holy One, and did not complain of his severity. For this doth not seem to be the effect merely of great grief, but of great reverence to the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 4. *And Moses called Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel, the uncle of Aaron.*] It appears from Exod. vi. 18. that Uzziel, the father of Mishael and Elzaphan, (ver. 22.) was the younger brother of Amron, the father of Aaron, and consequently Aaron's uncle.

*And said unto them, Come near, and carry your brethren.*] All near kindred are called *brethren* in Scripture. And these cousin-germans of theirs are appointed to carry them out, because Aaron's other sons were now attending upon God in their ministration, upon the day of their consecration. But without this special order, these two persons could not have been admitted to *come near* into the very sanctuary, being not of the family of priests, though of kin to them,



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*From before the sanctuary.*] See ver. 2.

*Out of the camp.*] For anciently they buried not in their cities, but in the fields adjacent to them, (Gen. xxiii. 9. 17.) and so they did in aftertimes, Matt. xxvii. 7. and Luke viii. 27. where the tombs are plainly intimated to be without the city.

Ver. 5. *So they went near.*] There being two accents upon the Hebrew word for *draw near*, the cabalists from thence observe (I know not upon what grounds), that these men did not come into the very sanctuary where the dead bodies lay, but drew them out with long poles, and those of iron, being afraid of the fire wherewith Nadab and Abihu had been killed: or rather, fearing to go into the sanctuary, or too near it. (See Hackspan's Cabala Judaica, n. 58.)

*And carried them out in their coats,* &c.] Their linen vestments wherein they ministered; which having touched dead bodies, were no more fit to be used in the Divine service.

*As Moses had said.*] As he had directed in his order which he gave them.

Ver. 6. *And Moses said unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar his sons.*] These two were all the sons that Aaron had now remaining; from whom came two great families of the priests; which, in the days of David, we find very numerous (though more of the house of Eleazar than of the other), when they were by him divided into twenty-four classes, and had their courses of waiting appointed them, (1 Chron. xxiv. 4, &c.)

*Uncover not your heads.*] The Hebrew doctors interpret it quite contrary, *Let not the hair of your head grow:* so long, that is, as to cover their faces; which was the custom of mourners, (2 Sam. xv. 30. xix. 4. and many other places.) And thus Onkelos, and the Arabic version set forth by Erpenius, and many of the Jewish commentators (such as R. Solomon and Aben Ezra), who give the same account of Lev. xxi. 10. where the same thing is required of the high-priest. And the time of their letting their hair grow on such occasions, they determine by the law of the Nazarites, who were not to cut their hair all the time of their vow of separation, which the Jews say was at least thirty days, (Numb. vi. 5.) Therefore the priests were not to let their hair grow so long: if they did, they were incapable of officiating. Only they make this difference between the common priests and the high-priest; that this law did not bind the priests at all times, but only in their course of ministration: but the high-priest (whose presence was always necessary in the sanctuary) might never let his hair grow; but was bound every week to have it cut even, on the eve of the sabbath. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Success. in Pontiff. cap. 6.)

But the foundation of all this is not very strong; for it relies chiefly on the use of the Hebrew word פֶּרַע in that place of Numbers vi. 5. where it signifies *hair:* from whence they conclude the verb here may have the same notion, and signify the *growth of hair.* But this is not the usual signification of it in Scripture, where it commonly imports the *rejection* of something; as of good *counsel,* (Prov. i. 25.) of *reproof* or *instruction,* (Prov. xiii. 18. xv. 32.) And being joined with the *head,* plainly signifies the *uncovering it.* (See Numb. v. 18.) And, therefore, so the LXX. understand it here; as if they were forbidden to *put off their bonnets.* But that they always did, as soon as they had performed their sacred office in the sanctuary: and therefore, it may be meant of making their heads *bare* by shaving them, or *bald* by pulling off the hair, as the manner was in mourning, (Isa. xv. 2. Jer. xli. 5. xlviii. 37. and many other places.) And in this, the priests among the Jews directly opposed those among the Egyptians who shaved their heads; as appears by what Minutius Felix, and Lampridius, in the life of Commodus, say, concerning the priests of Isis. And Herodotus, also, in his Euterpe, whose words are these, Οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν Θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρεῦνται. *In other places the priests of the gods nourish the hair; but in Egypt they are shaved.*

*Neither rend your clothes.*] Which was another rite of mourning; not only among the Jews, but among all people in ancient times, especially in the eastern countries; as every one knows that hath read any of their authors. (See Job i. 20.) And it was used on many other occasions among the Jews, as well as in their funerals; particularly when any man blasphemed, (Numb. xiv. 6. 2 Kings xix. 1.) when any ill tidings came which put them into a passion, (2 Kings v. 7.) or any misfortune befel them, (Gen. xliv. 13. Judg. xi. 35.) But was thought so unseemly in a priest, especially when he ministered, that the Jews say, they whose garments were rent by accident, were as incapable of ministering, as they who rent themselves in mourning.

The reason of this precept was, (as R. Levi of Barcelona well observes, Præcept. clv.) that it being not allowed in those countries for mourners to come into the presence of their kings (as appears by the history of Esther), much less was it seemly for any that attended upon the Divine Majesty, to come into his house in such a habit.

*Lest ye die.*] As Nadab and Abihu did. For after such a monition as this, they had highly dishonoured God if they had appeared in his sanctuary in such an indecent manner.

*And wrath come upon the people.*] For want of priests to make atonement for them when they offended.

*But let your brethren, the whole house of Israel, bewail the burning which the Lord hath kindled.*] He doth not prohibit the rest of the people, who were not priests, to mourn for them; but rather requires it of them all: that they might be sensible of their loss, and of the sin which was the cause of it. And it is likely the people bewailed them, by rending their clothes, and baring their heads, and putting ashes upon them; or some such rites then in use among them.

Ver. 7. *And ye shall not go out from the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] For it is supposed the seven days of their consecration were not yet quite ended, (viii. 35.) or they had begun some other ministration in the sanctuary; and therefore were not to stir out of the court of it till it was finished. And the Hebrews think this law did not only bind Aaron and his sons at this time, but their posterity for ever: that if they heard of the death of any of their kindred, when they were ministering in the sanctuary, they should not stir from their duty: for that would have been to shew a greater affection to a dead friend, than to the living God. This appears to be true, by the like command to this, and in the same words, laid particularly upon the high-priests, xxi. 12.

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*For the anointing of the Lord is upon you.*] You are devoted and consecrated by a solemn unction (viii. 10, &c.) to the service of God; which must not be omitted out of respect to any person whatsoever. For in this precept (as R. Levi Barzelonita observes, Præcept. clvii.) the dignity and majesty of the Divine worship were consulted; which, if his ministers had deserted on such occasions, for a moment, would have been brought into contempt. For it would have been a declaration, that there was something in the world more to be regarded than God's service. And therefore the punishment of death is threatened (in the foregoing words) to those who were guilty of such an offence.

*And they did according to the word of Moses.*] Stayed in the tabernacle, without any of the usual tokens of mourning. Wherein they performed an eminent piece of obedience to God; whose commandment suppressed those natural affections, which are very hard to be kept in subjection.

Ver. 8. *And the Lord spake unto Aaron, saying.*] It may be thought, that the Lord was so pleased with his obedience, that he himself now spake unto Aaron; whereas hitherto he had spoken to him by Moses.

Ver. 9. *Do not drink wine nor strong drink, thou nor thy sons with thee.*] By *wine* every one knows is meant that liquor which is pressed out of grapes: and by *schechar* (which we translate *strong drink*) is meant such liquors as were made in imitation of wine, of dates or figs, and many other sorts of fruits; also that which was made of honey, which we call mead, and metheglin. There are many sorts of such liquors mentioned by Pliny, (in his Natural History, lib. xiv. cap. 16.) which he calls *vina factitia.*

*When ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation.*] To perform your ministry. At other times they might drink wine: and, if we may believe the Jews, they did not offend against this precept, if, before they went into the sanctuary, they drank no more than a fourth part of a log: which contained an egg-shell and a half. If they exceeded this measure, then their ministry, they say, was profaned, and they were liable to death by the hand of Heaven. See R. Levi of Barcelona, Præcept. clviii. who hath many niceties about this matter; as hath also Maimonides, mentioned by the learned Dr. Outram, in his book de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 6. n. 4.

*Lest ye die.*] As their brethren did: see upon ver. 1. where I observed it to be very probable, that they were burnt with fire from the Lord upon this account. They that think it worth their while, may see after what manner the cabalists make out this, and what reflections they make upon it, in Theod. Hackspan's Cabala Judaica, n. 144, 145.

*It shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations.*] And such a law there was in some heathen countries, that no magistrate, all the year he was in office, nor any judge, while he was in action and employment, should οἴνου γεύεσθαι τὸ παράπαν, *so much as taste a drop of wine.* So Plato tells us; with which Eusebius compares this law of Moses, (lib. xii. Præp. Evang. cap. 25.) And Chæremon, the Stoic, describing (in Porphyry's book, περὶ Ἀποχῆς, lib. iv.) the diet of the Egyptian priests, tells us, that οἴνου οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως· οἱ δὲ, ὀλίγιστα ἐγεύοντο, *some of them drunk no wine at all, and others very little.*

Ver. 10. *That ye may put a difference between holy and unholy, between clean and unclean.*] Here is the ground and reason of this precept; that they might have their wits about them (as we speak), and preserve their minds from being clouded (as Nadab's and Abihu's were, who put no difference between holy fire and common), and so be able *both to put a difference* (as the first words may be translated) *between holy and unholy,* &c. and also to *teach the people all the statutes,* which God had delivered to them; as it follows in the next verse.

And here it must be observed, that as some days and places were more holy than others, so were some parts of the sacrifices also; which they might not eat themselves, but were reserved for the altar. Some beasts also were clean, and others so unclean, that they might neither be offered in sacrifice, nor eaten at their common tables, (xi. 47.) Some men and women were so unclean, that they were not to be admitted into their ordinary conversation; much less into the sanctuary, (chap. xii. xiii.) Of all which the priests were the judges, and therefore had need to be perfectly sober, that they might make an accurate difference between one thing and another. And for such a like reason it was, the Egyptian priests were so abstemious in drinking wine, because they looked upon it as ἐμπόδιον εἰς εὕρεσιν, *an impediment to the finding out of the truth.* So Chæremon speaks in the forementioned book.

Ver. 11. *And that ye may teach the children of Israel all the statutes,* &c.] Which concern the rites and ceremonies of God's worship.

Ver. 12. *And Moses spake unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons that were left.*] This was still spoken on the same day, a little after what he had said to them ver. 6, 7.

*Take the meat-offering that remaineth of the offerings of the Lord made by fire,* &c.] He seems to have been afraid, that Aaron's grief for the loss of his sons might have so disturbed his mind, as to have made him negligent in some part of his duty; or that Eleazar and Ithamar, through mistake or forgetfulness, might have offended against some of the laws lately delivered about sacrifices; which therefore he here repeats, that they might be exactly observed. And in the first place, that they should eat *what remained of the meat-offering,* as was commanded vi. 16. Where it is required also, as it is here, to be eaten *without leaven,* and *beside the altar,* in the court of the tabernacle of the congregation, as it is there expressed.

*For it is most holy.*] See there, vi. 17.

Ver. 13. *And ye shall eat it in the holy place.*] This he repeats, because they might possibly have forgotten it, or not sufficiently attended to the difference between things *most holy* and things only *holy.* The former of which the priests alone might eat, and that only in the *holy place*: the other all their family might eat (as he saith in the next verse) in any place that was *clean.*

*Because it is thy due, and thy sons' due,* &c.] Nobody might eat but holy persons; for so God directed, chap. ii. 3. vi. 16—18. vii. 9, 10.

Ver. 14. *The wave-breast and the heave-shoulder shall ye eat in a clean place.*] They were not bound to eat these in the court of the tabernacle, (as in the former case, ver. 13.) but in any part of the camp that was not defiled.

*Thou, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee.*] These

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being those which the Jews call *lighter holy things*, might be eaten by the whole family, as was before observed.

*For they be thy due, and thy sons' due, which are given you out of the sacrifices of peace-offerings of the children of Israel.*] They were bestowed upon them by an express grant, vii. 34. where, though only his sons be mentioned, as they are here, yet it is plain all of their family, who were clean, might eat of these things. (See upon vii. 19.)

Ver. 15. *The heave-shoulder and the wave-breast shall they bring, with the offerings made by fire of the fat, to wave it for a wave-offering before the Lord.*] This also he inculcates again, which had been said before, (vii. 29, 30.) that they must take care first to wave these things before the Lord, and to burn the fat upon the altar: for till this was done, they had no right to eat these things.

*And it shall be thine, and thy sons' with thee.*] When they had been presented to the Lord of the whole earth, and he had received his part, these became theirs, by an express grant from him, (vii. 32—34.)

*By a statute for ever.*] As long as such kind of sacrifices should last.

Ver. 16. *And Moses diligently sought the goat of the sin-offering.*] Which had been offered for the people, (ix. 15.)

*And behold, it was burnt.*] This justified Moses's suspicion and fear, that some mistake might have been committed in other matters; because he found, upon a diligent inquisition, that they had burnt upon the altar those parts of the sin-offering which they ought to have eaten themselves, (vi. 26. 29.) In which it was the easier for them to mistake, without diligent observation of Moses's directions; because the sin-offering, which had been offered for Aaron himself, was just before wholly burnt without the camp, (ix. 11.) and so were all the sin-offerings for the high-priest, and for the whole congregation, ordered to be, (iv. 12. 21.) that is, if their blood was carried into the holy place, then nothing of them might be eaten, (vi. 30.) But otherwise, their flesh was to be eaten in the court of the tabernacle, as is expressly commanded, (vi. 26.) This distinction they either did not well observe, when it was delivered; or, being oppressed with sorrow, for the loss of Nadab and Abihu, they did not think it fit to feast at this time upon the flesh of this offering. For so Aaron excuses this fact, (ver. 19.)

*And he was angry with Eleazar and Ithamar.*] He said nothing to Aaron, either because he was loath to add to his grief, or because it was the business of his sons to look after this sacrifice, and to see that the flesh of it was disposed of according to God's orders.

*The sons of Aaron which were left alive.*] Who, by the punishment upon their brethren, should have learned greater caution in their ministry.

Ver. 17. *Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin-offering in the holy place?*] That is, obeyed the commandment which I gave you? (vi. 26.)

*Seeing it is most holy.*] See vi. 25.

*And God hath given it you.*] See vi. 29.

*To bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord.*] God bestowed upon the priests this reward of their service, that they might be the more willing to take upon them the people's sins, and to make an expiation carefully for them. And indeed the very eating of the people's sin-offering, argued the sins of the people were in some sort laid upon the priests; to be taken away by them. Which being done, they had reason to rejoice also in a feast upon this sacrifice; which God had been pleased to accept, for the taking away of the sins of the people. From whence the sacrifice of Christ may be explained, who is said to *bear our iniquity* (as the priest is said here to do), all our sins being laid on him; who took upon him to make an expiation for them, by the sacrifice of himself. For the priest here by eating of the sin-offering, receiving the guilt upon himself, may well be thought to prefigure one, who should be both priest and sacrifice for sin: which was accomplished in Christ.

Ver. 18. *Behold.*] Observe what I say to you.

*The blood of it was not brought in, within the holy place.*] It was none of those sacrifices which I commanded you to burn entirely; but required you to eat of, (vi. 26. 30.)

*Ye should indeed have eaten it in the holy place, as I commanded.*] For as there was a peremptory law forbidding the priests to eat the flesh of any sacrifice, whose blood was brought into the holy place, to make atonement with it: so there was as peremptory a law, that they should eat the flesh of those sacrifices for sin, whose blood was not brought in thither.

Ver. 19. *And Aaron said unto Moses.*] Though Moses questioned only Eleazar and Ithamar, yet Aaron makes the answer: they not being able, perhaps, to give an account of what they had done, though sensible of their mistake.

*Behold, this day have they offered their sin-offering, and their burnt-offering before the Lord.*] His apology for them seems to be this, that they had not wholly violated God's command; but performed the substance of it, though they had failed in one circumstance. For they had not only offered the *sin-offering* for the people (for that is meant by *their sin-offering*), but also their *burnt-offering*, (ix. 15, 16.) and that *before the Lord*, in the place where he ordered them to be offered. In all this Aaron was the principal minister, but they assisted him: for it is expressly said, *they presented unto him the blood* of the peace-offerings (which at the same time were also offered), *and they put the fat upon the breasts*, when *he burnt the fat* upon the altar, (ix. 18. 20.)

*And such things have befallen me.*] After this was done, followed the death of Nadab and Abihu, who went in to burn incense: which struck him into such a consternation, and made him so exceeding sad, that he was not fit to feast with Eleazar and Ithamar upon the sacrifice: and so suffered them to burn it.

*And if I had eaten the sin-offering to-day, should it have been accepted in the sight of the Lord?*] Would God have been pleased with me, if in such sadness and sorrow I had eaten of the sacrifice? This is the reason whereby he justifies the omission of which his sons were accused, in not eating the sin-offering in the holy place. The blame of which he takes upon himself; for to have eaten it with a sad countenance and a heavy heart, he thought would have been to pollute it. And therefore he chose to forbear it, and to give it wholly to God, by burning the flesh of it, as he had done the fat: which he hoped would be more acceptable than to eat it in grief. And to eat it without grief and sorrow was impossible: for though they had not been

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so dutiful to him as they ought to have been, yet he could not extinguish the affection of a father towards them, nor suddenly cease to mourn inwardly for their untimely death.

From this place Maimonides gathers, there was but one day of mourning due to the dead, *viz.* the first: the rest were added by the constitution of the elders.

Ver. 20. *And when Moses heard that he was content.*] He was either satisfied with his reason, and thought he had done well, (for nature seems to have directed what was afterwards enjoined, that they should rejoice in their feasts, Deut. xii. 7, &c. and not eat holy things in their mourning, xxvi. 14.) or he would not further charge him with a fault, for which there was so far an excuse. For where there is no wilful contempt, but rather a respect intended in any action, all good men are inclined to make a favourable construction of it, and grant it an indulgence, though there be some error in it.

## CHAP. XI.

MOSES having mentioned, in his preceding discourse about sacrifices, several sorts of uncleanness, (v. 2, 3.) and in the foregoing chapter (x. 10.) commanded the priests to keep themselves sober, that they might at all times be able to distinguish between *clean* and *unclean*, takes an occasion from thence to give an account of that matter. For otherwise that which we read chap. xvi. would here have most naturally followed (as appears from the eleventh verse of it), being about the principal sacrifice, whereby all manner of uncleanness was to be expiated; which he now inserts in the midst of those things that belong to that head. For, first, he treats in this chapter of *unclean meats;* and in the twelfth to fifteenth, of *unclean persons, garments, and habitations.* And then (after he hath directed how to make the great atonement for the whole nation, and some other things) he returns in the latter end of chap. xvii. to speak of some *forbidden food;* and chap. xviii. of *unclean marriages:* and after a repetition of several laws, (chap. xix.) of some greater uncleannesses; and chap. xxi. of priests that were unclean: and lastly, of sacrifices not fit to be offered, (chap. xxii.)

Ver. 1. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, and to Aaron, saying unto them.*] The consecration of Aaron being now completely finished, God spake to him, as well as unto Moses; he being also highly concerned to teach the people the difference that is here made between several sorts of meats, (x. 11.) which Moses assures them was enacted by Divine authority.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel, saying.*] They were all to take special notice of what follows, because, by the diet here prescribed, they were discriminated from all other people in the world.

*These are the beasts that ye shall eat, among all the beasts that are on the earth.*] God having bestowed upon mankind, after the flood, every living thing to be their food, (Gen. ix. 3.) it hath raised a question among learned men, why God should limit and restrain his own people from the benefit of this general grant. And some have thought this so unaccountable, that they have said it is in vain to inquire into the reason of the difference that is made here of meats: concerning which P. Cunæus declares (as Plutarch doth of the laws of Solon and Lycurgus), that no doubt they were enacted with wise counsel; but the reason of the authors cannot be known, (lib. ii. Republ. Heb. cap. 24.) But others think the reason is plain enough; and the Jews are of opinion, that the creatures here called *unclean*, were forbidden to be eaten, because they were unwholesome food. So Maimonides discourses at large in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 48. where he saith, there can be no doubt that every thing here prohibited yields a bad nourishment, except it be *swine's flesh* and *fat:* and yet he endeavours to shew, that there is no reason to think otherwise of those two. R. Levi of Barcelona is of the same mind, but pretends not to be able to demonstrate it, as Maimonides doth. For the sum of a long and pious discourse, which he hath upon this subject (Præcept. lxxix. where he treats of that flesh which was torn by wild beasts) amounts to this: "that the body being the seat of the soul, where it doth its business, God would have it fitted to the desires and employments of the soul. And therefore the law (saith he) removes from us all those things which may hinder the soul in its operations. For which reason such and such meats are forbidden, as breed ill blood: among which, if there be some whose hurtfulness is neither visible to us, nor to physicians, do not wonder at it; for *the faithful Physician who forbids them, is wiser than any of us.*"

This opinion I cannot think to be wholly groundless: for though there be some creatures here prohibited, which seem to us of as good nourishment as those which are allowed; yet, considering that climate wherein the Jews lived, and the temper of their blood, which was very hot, and apt to be extremely corrupted (as appears by the unusual leprosy to which they were obnoxious, more than other nations), it is reasonable to conclude, that God had some respect to this, in the ordering of their diet. (See J. Wagenseil Confut. Carminis R. Lipmanni, p. 556.) Yet I cannot think this to have been the chief reason of this law, (though it be very agreeable to the peculiar care God had of this people, that he should not only give them civil and sacred laws, but direct them in the smallest matters, as he did in their apparel, building, &c.) but the main drift and scope of it was, that the Israelites might be separated from all other nations in the world by a diet peculiar to themselves: which kept them from such a familiar conversation, as otherwise they might have had with the gentiles; and consequently from learning their idolatrous customs. And I do not see why I should not add, most of the creatures, which are reckoned *unclean*, were such as were in high esteem and sacred among the heathen. As a *swine* was to Venus, the *owl* to Minerva, the *hawk* to Apollo, the *eagle* to Jupiter, and even the *dog* to Hecate, &c. Whence Origen justly falls into a high admiration of Moses's wisdom; who so perfectly understood all animals, and what relation they had to demons, that he pronounced all those to be unclean, τὰ νομιζόμενα παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων μαντικὰ, &c. *which were esteemed by the Egyptians, and other nations, to be the instruments of divination;* and those to be clean, which were not so, (lib. iv. contra Celsum, p. 225.) And if in Moses's time such creatures were not sacred to demons, it is a greater wonder that he should mark those out for impure, which proved to be so sacred in after-ages: as a great number of birds mentioned by Porphyry (lib. iii. περὶ Ἀποχῆς), who saith the gods used them as Κήρυκες, to declare their mind to men:

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and several other creatures, mentioned by other authors, as peculiarly appropriated to other deities.

Many have discoursed largely of the moral reasons of these precepts; particularly a very learned man now living, Joh. Wagenseil, in his annotations on that title in the Misna called Sota, (fol. 1171, &c.)

Ver. 3. *Whatsoever parteth the hoof, and is cloven-footed.*] There are some creatures which Porphyry (in the book forementioned, lib. iv.) calls μώνυχα, *whose hoofs are solid,* and not at all divided; such as *horses, asses,* and *mules:* others that are πολυσχιδῆ, *divided into several parts,* like toes; as *lions, wolves,* and *dogs:* but a third sort that are only δίχηλα, (as Aristotle calls them), *divided into two parts;* as *oxen, deer, sheep, goats,* &c. And these are of two kinds; for some divide the hoof in two parts, but it is not cloven quite through; as the camel, whose hoof is parted above, but joined by a thick skin below, and therefore reckoned among the unclean beasts. Others both divided and cloven, which are those allowed by this law to be clean creatures.

*And cheweth the cud among the beasts,* &c.] As all those beasts do, which are not ἀμφόδοντα (as Aristotle calls them, lib. x. cap. 50.) that is, have not a set of teeth both above and below: such are oxen, sheep, and goats, which want upper teeth; and therefore bring their meat up again into their mouths, after it hath been some time in the stomach; that it may, by a new chewing of it, be better prepared for digestion. So the author of Porta Cœli, who explains this very exactly, when he saith, "For want of upper teeth they cannot chew their food perfectly at one time; nor can the stomach make a perfect digestion till it be ground a second time. And therefore such creatures are provided with a double stomach; an upper, into which the meat goes down after the first chewing; and another, into which it is sent, after it hath been grinded a second time."

*That shall ye eat.*] The Hebrews truly observe, (particularly R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. clix.) that all kinds of animals, which had not every one of these marks (of parting the hoof, and being cloven-footed, and chewing the cud) were unlawful to be eaten.

Ver. 4. *Nevertheless, these shall ye not eat, of them that chew the cud, or of them that divide the hoof.*] This is added as an explication of the foregoing rule, to shew, that if any of the forementioned marks were wanting, such creatures must not be eaten.

*As the camel, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof,* &c.] The latter part of this character is not to be understood, as if the *camel* did not divide the hoof at all; but not quite through, so as to be *cleft,* as well as *divided.* For, though its hoof be divided above, it coheres below, as R. Solomon observes. And so doth Aristotle, (lib. ii. cap. 1.) and Pliny, (lib. ii. cap. 45.) This being so very plainly expressed in this law, it is something strange that Heliogabalus should order the flesh of *camels* and *ostriches* to be served up to his table, "Dicens, præceptum Judæis ut ederent:" saying, *the Jews were commanded to eat them:* as Lampridius reports his words, (cap. 28.) Salmasius, indeed, upon that place, saith, he found these two words, *struthiones* and *camelos,* joined together, to make one word in a MS. of the Palatine library, which reads *struthiocamelos exhibuit in cœnis.* Which seems to some to mend the matter; but then they are forced to interpret *præceptum* by *concessum;* as if he had said, *God did not forbid this meat to the Jews:* which is altogether uncertain. It is better to say, that though many of the pagans did read the law of Moses, yet they did it carelessly, without sufficient attention to it.

Ver. 5. *And the coney.*] Much might be said to justify our translation of the word *saphan,* by the English *coney,* if it could be proved that they *chew the cud:* which they do not, having upper teeth. Therefore, Bochart, by many arguments, proves this word, *saphan,* to signify a *mountain mouse;* which, as Solomon saith, (Prov. xxx. 26.) *make their holes in rocks:* which *rabbits* do not; but this creature doth, as he proves out of the Arabian writers; who call it *aliarbuo,* and say it chews the cud. (See Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 33.)

*Because he cheweth the cud,* &c.] Or rather, *though he cheweth the cud,* yet, wanting the other mark, they were to look upon it as unclean.

Ver. 6. *And the hare, because he cheweth* (or *though* he cheweth) *the cud, but divideth not the hoof, he is unclean unto you.*] The same author shews in the same book, (cap. 37.) that the Hebrew word *arnebeth* is rightly translated a *hare.* For though no author, but Moses, saith it *chews the cud,* yet Aristotle saith something like it, lib. iii. cap. 22. where he observes, it hath a runnet in the stomach. And Tho. Bartholinus, in his Anatom. Hist. Cent. 2. Histor. lxxxvi. tells us, that in his dissection of a *hare,* though he found but one stomach, which made him wonder, at first, that Moses should reckon it among the creatures that ruminate, yet he found, that what was wanting in the simple stomach was supplied by the largeness of the *intestinum cæcum,* which gut is of a great bigness, consisting of two parts. In one of which he found liquid and white excrements (like to *chyle),* as if it were another stomach: the other part towards the *ileon,* being full of black excrements.

Ver. 7. *And the swine, though he divide the hoof, and be cloven-footed, yet he cheweth not the cud: he is unclean to you.*] Though the swine hath the first part of the mark of a clean creature completely, being cloven-footed, as well as having the hoof divided, yet not chewing the cud, it is forbidden to be eaten. And this, no doubt, was the sole foundation of the Jews abstaining from this meat. Whose filthy feeding and wallowing in the mire, Maimonides fancies, was the only cause why it was prohibited, (More Novoch. par. iii. cap. 48.) To which others add, its feeding upon flesh, as Vossius observes, lib. iii. de Orig. et Progressu Idol. cap. 42. where he gives other reasons also for it. One of which, *viz.* that it was apt to breed the leprosy, to which they were very subject in those countries, is ingeniously treated of by Petrus Cunæus in his Republ. Hebræor. (lib. ii. cap. *ult.*) and more lately by another very learned person, J. Wagenseil, Carminis R. Lipmanni Confutatio, p. 556. To which Clemens Alexandrinus adds several other reasons, (lib. vii. Strom. p. 718.) and there are many more in Lactantius relating to mortality, (lib. iv. Divin. Instit. cap. 17.) But whatsoever grounds there might be of this prohibition, that alone could not be the reason why the whole nation of the Jews abhorred this more than any other unclean creature, which was equally forbidden with this. Insomuch that they would not, when they spoke of it, mention its proper name; but called it *another* (or a *strange) thing.* Which arose sure from some other cause;

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that, in process of time, made this the most abominable of all other creatures. And that was, I take it, because the gentiles used it in their sacrifices and mysteries of religion; and because nothing was accounted a more delicious food among many great nations: which (if a vehement abhorrence had not been infused into the Jews of this creature) might have invited them to their tables, and bred such familiarity with them, as might have concluded in idolatry. Pliny observes, (lib. viii. cap. 51.) that no creature affords greater plenty of delicious dishes at their tables than this, "Neque alio ex animali numerosior materia ganeæ," &c. Insomuch that old Homer, relating how Eumæus entertained Ulysses, (Odyss. xiv.) saith only, that he killed a great hog of five years old, and that only for five guests. They that would see more of this, may look into Petrus Castellanus, lib. ii. de Esu Carnium, cap. 1, 2, &c. where he shews also, out of Varro, (lib. ii. de Re Rustica, cap. 4.) that the gentiles knew of no ancienter sacrifices than this, after they began to offer animals upon their altars. For they thought that would be most acceptable to their gods which best pleased themselves: insomuch that a swine, which the later Greeks called ὗς, was anciently called θῦς, *ab illo verbo quod dicitur θύειν, from that word which signifies to sacrifice.* For the first sacrifices were of this creature, as appears by the mysteries of Ceres, in which a sow was offered; and at their marriages the ancient kings and great men of Etruria offered the like sacrifice; and so did the Latins and Greeks in Italy. The Hierapolitans, indeed, looked upon swine as unclean, and would neither eat them, nor offer them to their gods; nor would they of Pessinuntium, in Galatia: "quod prorsus Mosaicum est," *which they learnt, in all likelihood, from Moses,* as Huetius thinks, (Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 11. n. 1.) But in many other nations this food was highly valued: and Athenæus, I observe, gives the very same reason of its name that Varro doth, (lib. ix. Deipnos.) Οἱ δὲ σὺν εἰρῆσθαι οἱονεὶ θῦν, τὸν εἰς θυσίαν εὐτεθοῦντα. From whence it is, that Aristophanes calls them Μυστικὰς Χοίρους, *mystical swine,* in his Acharnan. because, as the scholiast there explains it, διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς Μυστηρίοις Δήμητρος θύεσθαι, *they were offered in the mysteries of Ceres.* And Julian himself, in his oration upon the Mother of the Gods, (Orat. v.) confesses Φίλον εἶναι πεπίστευται θῦμα τοῖς χθονίοις θεοῖς οὐκ ἀπεικότως, *it was deservedly believed to be a grateful sacrifice to the terrestrial gods,* (p. 332. Edit. Patav.)

Ver. 8. *Of their flesh shall ye not eat, and their carcass shall ye not touch.*] Some think the latter part of this precept signifies no more, but that they should not meddle with their carcass to prepare it for meat, (as the word *touch* seems to be used, Gen. iii. 3.) though they did not eat it. But others take it more largely, that they should not so much as open them, to take out the fat, and apply it to any use. In this the Jews are so scrupulous, that they say they may not touch them (though alive) with one of their fingers, for fear of the leprosy. It being a proverbial saying among them, which we read in the treatise Kidduschin, that "ten measures of leprosy descending into the world, swine took to themselves nine of them, and the rest of the world one."

If we may believe Herodotus, (lib. ii. cap. 47.) the Egyptians looked upon swine as so unclean, that if any one touched one of them by chance, as he passed by, he was bound to wash himself, with his garments, in the river. Certain it is, that not only they, but the Arabians, and some other neighbouring nations, did abstain from swine's flesh, as Bochartus and others have observed, (see his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 57. p. 702. and Petr. Castellanus, lib. ii. de Esu Carnium, cap. 4.) which they learned, I doubt not, at first from the Jews; and afterward found other reasons for it. This abhorrency of swine is propagated into far distant countries among the Mahometans; particularly into Mindanao, one of the Philippine islands; where, if any one have but touched one of these creatures, he is not permitted to come into any body's house for many days after. So Dampier relates in a late Voyage round the World, (chap. 12. p. 343.) where he says, "the sultan's brother having a pair of shoes made him by one of their ship's crew (which they seldom wear there), fell into a great passion, when he was told the thread wherewith the shoes were sewed, was pointed with *hog's bristles;* and would not wear them."

Ver. 9. *These shall ye eat of all that are in the waters.*] Though some of the heathens abstained perpetually from all fish, and others only for some time, ἐν ταῖς ἁγιστείαις, *when they were under strict obligations of purity,* (as Julian tells us in the forementioned oration v.) yet God left his people at greater liberty, forbidding to them only some kinds of fish; by abstinence from which they were sufficiently distinguished from those nations which did eat all indifferently, and accounted fish the greatest delicacy.

*Whatsoever hath fins and scales.*] If both these marks did not concur in a fish, they were not to eat it. But their doctors say, (as we learn from R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cl.) that if but one scale was found on a fish, it was accounted lawful; and they needed not to observe whether it had fins or no: for all that have scales, they say, have fins; though, on the contrary, all that have fins have not scales. They observe also, secondly, that it was lawful to eat young fish before their scales appeared, if they were of that kind which have scales when they are grown. And, thirdly, all fishes that have scales when they are in the sea, but cast them when they are taken out, are lawful.

*In the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers.*] By *waters* in this place, as distinguished from *seas* and *rivers,* are meant *lakes* and *ponds.* And so Moses expresses all the places where fish is found.

Ver. 10. *And all that have not fins, nor scales,* &c. *shall be an abomination to you.*] There was an ancient law among the Romans, made by Numa, that no fish which wanted scales should be used in those feasts which they made in honour of their gods. So Pliny tells us, lib. xxxii. Nat. Hist. cap. 2. where he quotes an ancient writer for it.

Ver. 11. *They shall be even an abomination unto you.*] The next words explain what he means by *abomination:* that they should not eat their flesh, nor touch their carcasses.

Ver. 12. *Whatsoever hath no fins nor scales in the waters, that shall be an abomination unto you.*] He repeats it again, that they might take notice, that this alone was a sufficient mark of difference: and, therefore, he doth not give any instance of particular fishes that might be eaten or not eaten; as he did of beasts. He uses also the word *abomination* concerning prohibited fishes (which he doth not of such beasts, whom he only calls *unclean*), because there was greater danger of their transgressing in this matter; fishes

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being a more usual food among the eastern people than flesh. Insomuch, that among the later Greeks, the word ὄψον, which signifies *all manner of victuals*, came to be used peculiarly for fish. See Bochartus, in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. i. cap. 6. where he observes, also, the greatest luxury was committed in this sort of food; which any one may see that reads Athenæus.

Ver. 13. *And these are they which ye shall have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten.*] Here are no notes given, as in the two foregoing sorts of creatures, to distinguish clean birds from unclean: and therefore the Hebrew doctors say, all birds are lawful to be eaten, but these twenty-four mentioned in this chapter, which they were to have in abhorrence. Yet they adventure to give four marks of a clean bird; the principal of which are, if it do not fasten its talons; *i. e.* be not rapacious; and have one claw longer than the rest. (See R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. clxi.)

*They shall be an abomination.*] This is repeated to make them more careful in this matter.

*The eagle.*] He names in the first place, *the king of birds*, as Pindar calls the eagle,

——— οἰωνῶν Βασιλῆα,

whose flesh is very hard, and whose nature is very rapacious: and therefore, both upon a natural and moral account, some authors fancy it was forbidden to be eaten. (See Vossius, lib. iii. de Orig. et Progr. Idol. cap. 77.) But I think Origen hath given a better account of it, in the place I named above; that Moses by his admirable wisdom understood what creatures were looked upon as prophetical by the Egyptians and other nations; and these he prohibited to the Jews: among which he expressly names the *eagle* and the *hawk*, (lib. iv. contra Celsum, p. 225.) For Diodorus Siculus saith, (lib. i.) that τὸν δ' ἀετὸν Θηβαῖοι τιμῶσι, *the people of Thebes worship the eagle*, looking upon it as a royal bird, and worthy of Jupiter. And Julian in his oration upon the Mother of the Gods (Orat. v.) saith, that in the time of their strictest purifications, they were permitted πτηνοῖς χρῆσθαι (so Spanhemius truly reads in the late edition of Julian's works), *to eat birds*, πλὴν ὀλίγων, οὓς ἱεροὺς εἶναι πάντη συμβέβηκε, *except a few which had been commonly held sacred.* Which is a plain acknowledgment of the sacredness of some birds among the gentiles.

*The ossifrage.*] All authors in a manner agree, that the Hebrew word *peres* signifies a kind of *eagle;* but what kind is not so certain. Bochartus thinks it is rightly translated by Junius, as it is by us, the *ossifrage;* for the Hebrew word *paras*, in Micah iii. 3. is used for *breaking of bones.* (See Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 5.)

*The osprey.*] This is also of the same species; and signifies that sort which the Greeks call *halietus*, the *sea-eagle.* But Bochartus in the same book, cap. 6. thinks the Hebrew word *oznija*, rather signifies that which they call *malaniætus*, the *black eagle.* Which though it be the least, yet is the strongest of all other, and therefore called *valeria* by the Romans: and was so noted for many other qualities, besides its great strength, that it makes it probable Moses did not here omit it.

Ver. 14. *And the vulture, and the kite after his kind.*] No wonder interpreters differ in their translation of the two Hebrew words, *daa* and *aja;* the former of which we translate a *vulture*, the latter a *kite* (which others translate quite contrary, taking *daa*, or *raa*, as it is called in Deuteronomy, for a *kite*), because there is no way to find the signification of them, unless it be by the roots, from whence they may be thought to be derived. Which makes Bochart think the first ought to be translated a *kite*, called *daa*, from its very swift flight. Most of the ancient and later interpreters also are of his mind. As for the second word in this verse, *aja*, some take it for a *vulture:* but Bochart, from several observations, judges it to be a kind of *hawk* or *falcon.* (See the same book, cap. 8.) After this word there follows in Deuteronomy xvi. 13. the name of a bird which is here omitted, called *daja*, which he takes for the *black vulture;* as the reader may find in the next chapter, (cap. 9.)

*After his kind.*] Though there be some little difference in shape, yet these birds all belong to one species. (See ver. 22.)

Ver. 15. *Every raven after his kind.*] Nobody doubts that the Hebrew word *oreb* (which signifies *blackness*), is rightly translated a *raven;* of which the Arabian writers mention four kinds. And some think under this name is comprehended, not only crows, and daws, and choughs; but starlings and pies also. (See Bochartus, cap. 10. p. 202.)

Ver. 16. *And the owl.*] The Hebrew word *bath-jaana*, it appears by many places in the prophets, signifies a bird which inhabits the wildernesses and desolate places. (See Isa. xiii. 21. xxxiv. 13. Jer. l. 39, &c.) By which the ancient interpreters of Scripture almost unanimously understand the ostrich; though a very learned man of our own nation (Nic. Fuller, in his Miscellanies, lib. vi. cap. 7.) endeavours by a probable argument to support our translation. But it hath been the constant persuasion of the Jews, that God did not permit them to eat the flesh of an ostrich, which is no where forbidden, if not in this word. And therefore Bochartus maintains against our Fuller, and labours to prove that *bath-jaana* signifies the *female ostrich*, par. ii. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 14, where he shews the word *bath* (i. e. *daughter*) is prefixed to the name of many birds, without any respect to their age, and doth not signify their *young ones;* but only the *females.*

*And the night-hawk.*] In the next chapter to that now named, the same Bochart proves, that the Hebrew word *thacmus* (which we here translate the *night-hawk*), signifies *male ostrich.* For there is no general name for this bird in the Hebrew language, to comprehend both sexes (as there is for an eagle and raven), and therefore Moses mentions both male and female distinctly, that none might think, by forbidding one of them only, he allowed the other.

*And the cuckoo.*] The LXX. St. Jerome, and some later interpreters, translate the Hebrew word *sachaph* by the Greek word Δάρος, a *sea-gull.* Which the same great man, beforementioned, thinks most probable, (cap. 18.)

*And the hawk after his kind.*] There is the greatest consent in the translation of the Hebrew word *netz*, which all agree signifies a *hawk;* from its strength and swiftness in flight, which made it sacred to Apollo. For Eustathius observes upon Iliad. x. that ὀξυπετὴς ὁ ἱέραξ, καὶ Ἥλιος ὀξυκίνητος, *a hawk flies, as the sun moves, very swiftly.* And every one knows there are very various kinds of these

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birds. Callimachus mentions six, Aristotle ten, and Pliny sixteen sorts. (See Bochart in the same book, cap. 19.)

Ver. 17. *And the little owl.*] Interpreters generally agree that *chos* signifies a kind of owl, following the LXX. who translate it νυκτικόραξ. Yet Bochart hath collected a great many ingenious arguments, to prove that it signifies that bird which the Greeks call ὀνοκρόταλος, a *bittern*. (See there, cap. 20.)

*And the cormorant.*] Though the same learned person doth not approve of this translation, yet he acknowledges the Hebrew word *salach* signifies some *sea-bird*, which sits upon rocks, and strikes at fishes with great force, and draws them out of the waters. And so the Talmudists, in the treatise called Cholin, expound it; and the gloss upon it there says, it signifies the *crow of the waters*, that is, a *cormorant*.

*And the great owl.*] There are various translations of the Hebrew word *jansaph*, which St. Jerome takes for a *stork*, and others for a *bustard*: but Bochart acknowledges the Syriac and Chaldee translation to be the most probable, which is the same with ours.

Ver. 18. *And the swan.*] In this translation we follow St. Jerome: but Jonathan takes it for a kind of *owl*, which he calls *otia*. Whereby he means, no doubt, that bird which Aristotle calls ὠτός: which he saith is like an owl, having tufts of feathers about its ears, from whence it hath the name of *otus*, (lib. viii. cap. 12.) And so the Chaldee, the Syriac, and the Samaritan here translate the Hebrew word *thinsemeth*, which a great many modern interpreters follow; who take this for that which the Latins call *noctua*, as the former for that owl which they call *bubo*.

*The pelican.*] That the Hebrew word *kaath* signifies a *pelican* is not disputed. But that it also signifies the bird we call a heron, is not improbable; being joined with *chos* in Psalm cii. 6. which is a bird that makes an unpleasant noise, especially that kind of them that cries like a bittern, and is called by later writers *butorius*.

*And the gier-eagle.*] There are many various opinions about this bird, which the Hebrews call *racham*. But Bochart hath shewn, out of the Arabian writers, that it signifies a kind of eagle, or vulture: for sometimes they call it by one of these names, sometimes by the other. It being of a dubious kind, between an eagle and a vulture; and therefore happily by us translated a *gier-eagle*, that is, a *vulture-eagle*, which Aristotle calls γυπαίετος. See Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 25—27. where Bochart shews it is such a harmless and good-natured bird, that thence it had the name of *racham*, and in Arabic of *rachama:* and was made the hieroglyphic of mercy and tenderness among the Egyptians, if Horus Apollo may be believed.

Ver. 19. *And the stork.*] There are vastly different interpretations of the word *chasida;* which imports kindness no less than the foregoing *racham*. But there is no reason to depart from the opinion of the later Hebrews, who take it, as we do, to signify a *stork*. The *piety* (as the Latins call it) of which bird is celebrated by all authors, and is the very import of the Hebrew word *chasida*. But it feeds upon serpents, and therefore, as Bochart imagines, was prohibited to be eaten by the Jews: though upon this account it was had in honour by the people of Thessaly, and by the Egyptians, as he observed in the forementioned book, cap. 29.

*The heron after his kind.*] There are at least ten different interpretations of the Hebrew word *anapha;* among which ours is one. But it being derived from a word which signifies *anger*, Bochartus rather takes it for a *mountain-falcon*, which is a fierce bird, and very prone to anger.

*And the lapwing.*] The Hebrew doctors take *dukiphah* for a *mountain-cock*, which had a double crest, and thence hath its name, according to R. Solomon. Or rather it may be so called from the place where it resorts; for *dik* in Arabic is a *cock*, and *kapha* a *rock*, from whence Bochart probably conjectures this bird had its name, because it lives in mountainous places. And he thinks the LXX. and the Vulgar have rightly translated it ἔποπα, and *upupam:* which is the sense also of four Arabian interpreters. It is a portentous kind of bird, which hath a crest from its bill to the hindermost part of its head; and one of the principal birds used in the ancient superstitions of the magicians and augurs, as he observes cap. 31.

*And the bat.*] As Moses begins the catalogue of birds with the noblest, which is the eagle, so he ends it with the vilest, which is a *bat;* being of a dubious kind, as Aristotle observes, between a bird and a mouse, lib. iv. cap. 13. where he saith it doth ἐπαμφοτερίζειν τοῖς πτηνοῖς καὶ πεζοῖς, &c. See the famous Bochartus, who shews that its name in Hebrew, which is *attaleph*, imports it to be a *bird of darkness*. Whence that phrase in the prophet Isaiah, ii. 20. "In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver and gold to the bats, and the moles;" *i. e.* they shall no more appear to delude men with their glittering brightness, but be utterly destroyed.

Ver. 20. *All fowls that creep.*] The Hebrew word *oph* is not well translated *fowls;* but signifies rather all *flying things going upon all four*. All flying things that go upon four feet are here forbidden; such as all kinds of flies, and wasps, and bees, as Jonathan here explains it. A fly indeed is observed to be ἑξάπους: but though it have six feet, yet it goes only upon four, as not only Lucian, but Aristotle notes; the two fore-feet serves for other uses. (See Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 9.)

*Shall be an abomination to you.*] It is observed by some, that the birds here forbidden are either rapacious, and live on flesh, (as eagles and hawks, &c.) or are night-birds, (as owls, &c.) or haunt lakes and marshes, (as the bittern, &c.) or are heavy, and not easily raised from the earth, as the ostrich; or live in graves or in dung, as the upupa, and some of those flying things mentioned in this verse: and upon these accounts are forbidden by Moses; who allows all those that live upon a cleaner food, as those that follow do.

Ver. 21. *Yet these may ye eat, of every flying, creeping thing,* &c.] In this verse he excepts such flying insects, as, besides their four feet wherewith they go, have two legs or thighs, which enable them to leap upon the earth, as well as to go. Such are all the locusts mentioned in the next verse; unto which Aristotle ascribes six feet, whereas Moses mentions but four. In which they do not disagree; for Aristotle plainly saith, *they have six feet,* σὺν τοῖς ἁλτικοῖς μορίοις, *if we take into the number the parts with which they leap,* (lib. iv. cap. 6.) Which two hinder leaping legs Moses distinguishes from the other four wherewith they go.

Ver. 22. *Even these of them ye may eat.*] There are nine kinds of locusts mentioned in the holy books; four of which are here permitted to be eaten.



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*The locust after his kind.*] The Hebrew word *arbeh* is sometimes a common name for all locusts; but here signifies a peculiar sort, of that kind beforementioned, which leaped as well as went.

*The bald locust after his kind.*] The Hebrew word is *solam:* so called, as Aben Ezra thinks, because it climbs up roots, in which it delights.

*The beetle after his kind.*] This sort of locusts called *chargol,* seems to have its name from the vast company wherein they fly together. But it is not fitly translated a *beetle;* for none ever ate beetles; nor are they four-footed, with legs to leap withal. Therefore *chargol* is another sort of locusts, unknown to us in these countries; and so is that which follows; for a grasshopper is not a sort of meat: but there were locusts of that shape, which were large and fleshy in the eastern countries, and very good food.

*The grasshopper after his kind.*] The Hebrew word *chagab* signifies (as I said) a sort of locusts, the original of whose name Aben Ezra intimates may be found in the Arabic tongue. In which *ghahageba* signifies to cover as with a veil: and in such troops these locusts fly, that sometimes they seem to darken the sun itself. But by what marks these were distinguished from one another, the Hebrews differ so much, that it plainly shews they are wholly ignorant in this matter. The most that can be made of what they say, is, (as a man very learned in these things hath observed, Job. Ludolphus, in his dissertation de Locustis, par. i. cap. 23.) that *chargol* hath both a bunch on its back and a tail also: *arbeh* hath neither: *solam* only a bunch, and not a tail; and *chagab* a tail, but no bunch. Which whether it be true or false it doth not much concern us to know. But it is evident, that before our Saviour's time they knew very well and certainly what kind of locusts is here meant; and accordingly perfectly understood what they might eat, and what not. For otherwise John the Baptist would have been hard put to it, who had no other diet but this and honey. And, indeed, in desert places there was little other food but this; by which whole armies of men have been relieved, when they were in danger to perish in Lybia. For, that locusts were a common food in the eastern and southern countries is so known, that I need not produce any authors for it. Nay, among the Greeks also, as Bochartus hath shewn in his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 7. and Vossius, lib. iv. de Orig. et Progr. Idol. cap. 78. But nobody hath given such satisfaction in this matter as the forenamed Ludolphus, who hath shewn at large how many nations live upon them, in his commentary upon his Ethiopic History: and more lately in his most excellent Dissertation concerning Locusts. Wherein he relates what clouds of them came into Germany not long ago (in the month of August, in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-three); of which he seeing hogs and hens and other creatures feeding greedily, he and his family adventured to eat freely of them also, and found the taste of them like that of a crab. And a Jew of Jerusalem, who was then in their country, assured him, that the locusts in Judea were much of the same shape with these in Germany, which he demonstrated to him by a draught he had made of them.

*After his kind.*] Here it may be fit to note, in the conclusion of all, that this phrase, *after his kind* (which is so often repeated in this discourse of *fowls* and *flying things*), doth not necessarily signify that there are different kinds of every bird or flying thing to which it is applied; but only imports *every one of that kind.* For he doth not speak in the plural number, *according to their kinds,* but in the singular, *after his kind;* which only denotes that the whole *species* is prohibited. And what he saith of some *fowls,* is in reason to be applied to all; though, to avoid repetition, he doth not add these words [*after his kind*] to every one of them.

Ver. 23. *But all other flying creeping things which have four feet, shall be an abomination to you.*] Whether they were locusts, or any other kind of creature, who came under this character, they were to avoid them carefully.

Ver. 24. *And for these ye shall be unclean: whosoever touches the carcass of them shall be unclean.*] If they did either eat of them, or so much as touch the carcass of them, they might not be admitted to come into the tabernacle, nor eat of any holy thing, nor converse with their neighbours.

*Until the even.*] He doth not say they were to wash themselves, or their clothes (as in the following verse), which would incline one to think, that their mere separation for all the day, from communing with God and with one another, was their cleansing, without any other purification. But there are so many commands for washing themselves, and their clothes, in other defilements no greater than this, that it hath persuaded some to think such cleansing was necessary in this case also. (See xv. 5—8. 10. and several other verses in that chapter.)

Ver. 25. *And whosoever beareth aught of the carcass of them.*] Though it were only to carry them out of the camp or city, or remove them out of the way, that they might not infect the air.

*Shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.*] His body also, in all likelihood, was to be washed, as was required in other purifications. No time is appointed for this, which, perhaps, a man might think fit to do presently; but, notwithstanding, he was to remain unclean till the setting of the sun.

Ver. 26. *The carcass of every beast which divideth the hoof, and is not cloven-footed,* &c.] He takes occasion from hence to inform them, that it was as unlawful to touch the carcasses of beasts before prohibited to be eaten, (ver. 3, &c.) as of the fowl and flying things now mentioned. But while they were alive it was not unlawful to touch them; for they used *camels,* and *horses,* and *asses,* for their necessary service; and therefore it is so expressed in other things, (ver. 31.) *when they are dead.*

Ver. 27. *And whatsoever goeth upon his paws,* &c.] Hath feet with fingers like unto a hand; for so it is in the Hebrew, *Whatsoever goeth upon his hands,* such as the ape, the lion, the bear, dogs and cats, &c. whose fore-feet resemble hands: these might neither be eaten, nor their carcasses touched, without incurring uncleanness till sunset.

Ver. 28. *And he that beareth the carcass of them, shall wash his clothes,* &c.] See ver. 25.

Ver. 29. *These also shall be unclean unto you.*] So that they might not so much as touch them (as it is explained ver. 31.) when they are dead, much less eat them.

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*Among the creeping things that creep upon the earth.*] Among things that have such short feet, that some of their bellies seem to touch the ground.

*The weasel.*] Though most interpreters follow this translation of the Hebrew word *choled;* yet Bochartus hath alleged a great many probable reasons that it signifies a *mole;* and one is, because it is joined here with the *mouse.* See Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 35. where he treats of this very largely.

*The mouse.*] All acknowledge the Hebrew word *achbar* signifies a *mouse,* and more especially a *field-mouse,* which doth great mischief there; and thence hath its name, as the same Bochartus shews in the foregoing chapter of that book. But all sorts of mice are here to be understood, as Jonathan observes, who thus paraphrases this word, *the black mouse, the red, and the white;* for they are of so many colours.

*The tortoise after his kind.*] The same author has taken a great deal of pains to prove that *tzab* doth not signify a *tortoise;* but, as the LXX, and St. Jerome take it, *a land-crocodile,* which is a large sort of *lizard,* a cubit long, with which Arabia abounds; out of which language he endeavours at large to prove the truth of this interpretation, (lib. iv. cap. 1.)

Ver. 30. *And the ferret.*] Out of the same language, and the Syriac and Samaritan paraphrase, the same judicious writer proves, that *anaka* signifies another sort of *lizard,* which the Latins called *stellio,* and in those countries hath a shrill cry. (See there, cap. 2.)

*And the chameleon.*] Most of the ancient interpreters take *coach* for another sort of *lizard,* which is the strongest (as this name imports) of all other; and in these countries was famous for its encounters with serpents and land-crocodiles; as the forenamed Bochartus shews out of the Arabian writers, (Ib. cap. 3.)

*And the lizard.*] All the ancient interpreters agree, that the Hebrew word *letaa* signifies a sort of *lizard,* but of what kind it is hard to determine. The aforesaid Bochart out of the Arabian writers hath shewn, it is like to that which is of a reddish colour, and lies close to the earth, infecting the meat which it touches with its venom, (Ib. cap. 4.)

*The snail.*] The same admirable person, with great probability, still thinks Moses speaks of a sort of *lizard* called here *chomet,* because it lies in the sand, which, in the Talmudic language, is called *chometon,* (Ib. cap. 5.)

*And the mole.*] It is apparent that the word *thinsemeth,* which we here translate a *mole,* is of a very doubtful signification: for in the eighteenth verse of this chapter it signifies a sort of *fowl;* as here, in all probability, another sort of *lizard.* And if we may guess what sort, by the original of the word, it probably signifies the *chameleon,* which gapes to draw in air. (See Bochart. Hieroz. par. i. lib. iv. cap. 6.) But, after all that can be said, it must be acknowledged, the significations of all these words are lost among the Jews; as Aben Ezra confesses upon this verse: "Neither these eight sorts of creeping things, nor the birds beforementioned, are known to us, but by tradition." Which is as much as to say, they are not known at all; for there is no tradition about them, as the Talmudists acknowledge; who send those who are doubtful what birds are lawful, and what not, to be informed by those that are masters of the art of fowling. Which might help to convince the Jews, were they not resolved to shut their eyes, that difference of meats is now ceased, because they know not what is forbidden, and what not, in many cases. And, consequently, the Messiah is come, to whom the *gathering of the people* was to be, (according to their father Jacob's prophecy, Gen. xlix. 10.) so that they should be no longer separated, but all nations collected into one body, and converse freely together, without any danger of being defiled. For idolatry being abolished by him, there was no reason remaining for keeping up the discrimination between Jews and gentiles by a different diet. This some of the ancient Jews saw very well, who said, that in the days of the Messiah it should not be unlawful to eat swine's flesh, no more than it was while they were subduing the land of Canaan. This tradition is acknowledged by Abarbinel himself in his Rosch Amanah, where he disputes for the eternity of their law, and endeavours to elude this tradition of the ancient doctors by allegorical interpretations. (See J. Carpzovius in Schickkard. Mischpat hammelech, cap. 5. Theorem. xviii.)

Ver. 31. *These are unclean to you among all that creep: whosoever toucheth them when they be dead, shall be unclean.*] The Jews understand this with respect to the touching the dead carcasses of these creatures, and make the sense of it to be, *These eight alone are unclean to you; all other reptiles, as serpents, and scorpions, &c. you may touch and not be polluted.* Thus R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. clii. For nothing was unclean by Moses's law, whilst it was alive, but only a leper, and a woman in her separation. Worms, dogs, swine, &c. were unclean to be touched, only when they are dead.

*Until the evening.*] See ver. 4. This was a plain document, as Pellicanus there observes, that there was no impurity in the things themselves; but it was merely a prudential constitution, to make such defilements end with the day wherein they were contracted.

Ver. 32. *And upon whatsoever any of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean.*] That is, it might not be used till it was cleansed. Whence the same R. Levi saith, the Jews are wont to call these the fathers of pollutions; because by their contact they defiled other things, (vessels and raiment, &c.) as well as men, (Præcept. clii.) where he acknowledges that the reason why these creatures made things unclean, more than others, is not manifest. But he gives this pious admonition thereupon: "If by our reason we be able to discern the usefulness of some precepts, let us be very thankful for it: but if we cannot find how they are any way profitable to us, let us believe that God, in his infinite wisdom, saw the benefit we should receive by it, and therefore commanded it."

*Whatsoever vessel it be wherein any work is done, it must be put into water,* &c. *so shall it be cleansed.*] The heathens purified all things, in a manner, by washing them in water; but Moses requires only these things, which were of common use, to be so purified, in case of any defilement. And therefore Maimonides saith, "Such laws as these were made to lessen their labour and service; and if there be any thing in them that seems too troublesome and tedious, it arises from our ignorance of the rites and customs of those times, which make such precepts necessary," (par. iii. More Nev. cap. 47.)



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Ver. 33. *And every earthen vessel, whereinto any other of them falleth, whatsoever is in it shall be unclean.*] It defiled both the vessel and that which was contained in it.

*And ye shall break it.*] This is prescribed vi. 28. because such vessels were of no great value.

Ver. 34. *Of all meat which may be eaten, that on which such water cometh shall be unclean.*] The Jews have many observations about these sorts of pollutions: but the simple meaning is, that any meat, which might otherwise be lawfully eaten, was made unclean, if any water poured out of such a vessel as is beforenamed had come upon it. For the water being defiled, it made the meat on which it came to be unclean also. This appears to be the sense by what follows.

*And all drink that may be drunk in every such vessel shall be unclean.*] It might not be drunk out of such a vessel, though otherwise it was not prohibited; but though liquid things were by such means made unclean, yet not dry things (such as bread), because they did not so soon receive any effluviums from a dead carcass as liquid things did. This they gather from ver. 37, 38.

Ver. 35. *And every thing whereupon any part of their carcass falleth shall be unclean.*] Though the whole carcass did not fall upon the things here named, yet, if any part of it did, they were not fit to be used any more, but were to be broken in pieces. (See ver. 33.) The design of all which laws is very visible, that by making the Israelites very cautious how they touched these things, or any other on which they fell, they might much more abhor to eat any unclean creature; and thereby be kept a separate people from all other nations, from whose familiar conversation they were by this means restrained, and consequently in less danger to learn their idolatrous customs.

*Whether it be oven, or ranges for pots,* &c.] Some translate the words simply *pots:* and Conr. Pellicanus hath pertinently observed, that those places where meat and drink were commonly prepared (such as oven, and pots, and wine vessels, and cellars), it became them to preserve very clean and pure: which is the reason that Moses requires them to be broken down, if any part of the carcass of unclean creatures fell upon them.

*For they are unclean.*] Rendered hereby unfit for use.

*And shall be unclean unto you.*] And therefore shall not be used by you as heretofore.

Ver. 36. *Nevertheless a fountain or pit* (or *cistern*, as some translate it), *wherein there is plenty of water, shall be clean.*] This exception seems to have been a merciful provision for their speedy cleansing from such pollutions as they frequently contracted; by allowing them to make use of any collection of waters (notwithstanding any such carcass had fallen into them) in their own private grounds, as well as in the public baths; such as Bethesda seems to have been, which had five porches; that they who laboured under the same sort of pollution, might betake themselves to the same porch, and go down into the water together. If this had not been permitted, it might have been impossible (considering the few rivers they had in that country) to have cleansed themselves after their defilements.

*But that which toucheth their carcass shall be unclean.*] The man who drew out these carcasses out of such waters was to be unclean till the even; *i. e.* separated, as I said before, from the tabernacle and from common conversation. Or the meaning may be, that the instrument, whatsoever it was, which he used to pull the carcass out of the fountain or cistern, should be unclean, and not used any more.

Ver. 37. *If any part of their carcass fall upon any seed which is to be sown, it shall be clean.*] If a mouse, for instance, was found dead among the wheat that was to be sown, it might notwithstanding be used for seed: but other wheat, which was not intended for seed, was made unclean, and might not be used till it was washed. The reason of this difference is plain, because the seed that was to be sown went through many alterations before it could become food, which took away all the pollution.

Ver. 38. *But if any water be put upon the seed, and any part of their carcass fall thereon, it shall be unclean unto you.*] Wet seed might be supposed to have received some tincture from the carcass, which dry did not: and not being so fit to be sown till it was dry, was in that time to be cleansed.

Ver. 39. *And if any beast of which ye may eat die.*] Either of itself, or torn by wild beasts, or be suffocated, so that the blood remains in the veins.

*He that toucheth the carcass thereof shall be unclean until the even.*] Such meat became unlawful, not only to be eaten, but to be touched.

Ver. 40. *He that eateth of the carcass of it shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: he also that beareth the carcass,* &c.] See ver. 24, 25. He speaks of such as ate of this meat ignorantly: for if they did it knowingly, it was a presumption to which cutting off is threatened, (Numb. xv. 30.)

Ver. 41. *And every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.*] Except those beforementioned, ver. 21, &c.

*Shall be an abomination: it shall not be eaten.*] Such as worms and serpents: which for this very reason are counted vile and filthy, because they crawl upon the earth.

Ver. 42. *Whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all four, and whatsoever hath more feet,* &c.] This verse seems to be an explication of the foregoing. For some creeping things have such short feet, that they are not to be discerned by our naked eyes, but they appear as if they went upon their bellies. Others have feet apparently; and some only four, (as moles, &c.) others have many more than four, as caterpillars and hog-lice, which we call *millepedes,* and those called *centipedes* in the Philippine islands, (mentioned in Dampier's late Voyage round the World, p. 320.) not because they have really a thousand or a hundred feet, but because they have a great many. And the *scolopendra,* which the Arabians call *nedall,* is another of this sort, which, they say, hath precisely fourty-four feet, *viz.* twenty-two on each side, as Bochart notes, lib. iv. cap. 6. p. 1. And so the English call the *centipedes,* beforementioned, *forty legs,* which are on each side of the belly.

*Among all the creeping things that creep upon the earth.*] Here Nachmanides is something curiously critical, and bids us observe, that Moses speaking (both here and in the foregoing verse) not merely of *creeping things,* but of such as *creep upon the earth;* doth not intend such little worms as are in pease, or figs, or dates, or other fruit, which were not included in this precept, but might be eaten.

Ver. 43. *And ye shall not make yourselves abominable by*

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*any creeping thing that creepeth, neither shall ye make yourselves unclean with them, that ye should be defiled thereby.*] They made themselves abominable if they did eat them: and they made themselves unclean if they did but touch them. R. Levi of Barcelona fancies, that in this verse Moses speaks particularly of things creeping in the waters; as in the foregoing, of things creeping on the earth. And then, as all those worms which are in fruit, were not to be deemed unlawful; so all those little animals which move in the waters might be drank, together with the water which was drawn out of wells, or pits, &c. and which were bred in water kept in vessels.

Ver. 44. *For I am the Lord your God.*] See Exod. iii. 15. 18.

*Ye shall therefore sanctify yourselves.*] By this separate sort of diet, and other forementioned observances.

*And ye shall be holy; for I am holy.*] The word *holy* signifies sometimes that which is most excellent and highly exalted above all other things. In which sense God here puts them in mind, that he being the most eminent in all perfections, incomparably above all the gods of the nations, both in his nature and in his works, (particularly in their redemption out of Egypt, ver. 45.) it was but reasonable that they should be distinguished from all other nations in their manner of living; and particularly by abstaining from all the defilements beforementioned. For he having declared them *a holy people,* (Exod. xix. 6.) it was but just that they should live after another fashion than the rest of the world; and look upon those things as unclean to them, which were not so to other people. (See Exod. xxii. *ult.*)

*Neither shall ye defile yourselves with any manner of creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.*] Here being a different word used in the last clause from that in the foregoing (both which signify *creeping things*), Maimonides here distinguishes between them: and saith, that the first word *scheretz* signifies such creeping things as are produced by male and female; and *romesch* (which is the other word) such as arise out of putrefaction. Which is now discovered to be an error; there being no such animals as are produced merely by the power of the sun, out of putrefied matter; but all out of some seed or other which comes from male and female. This, therefore, is only a repetition of what was delivered before, and now confirmed by an unanswerable reason.

Ver. 45. *For I am the Lord your God, that bringeth you up out of the land of Egypt.*] This was a benefit so fresh in their minds, that he speaks of it as if it were now a doing: and being the first and greatest benefit (the very foundation of the rest), there could not be a higher aggravation of guilt, than to be insensible of this obligation, (Exod. xxxii. 8.)

*To be your God.*] He having redeemed them out of slavery, made them thereby his own people; over whom he had a peculiar dominion, in the right of this redemption. (See Exod. xx. 2.)

*Ye shall therefore be holy, for I am holy.*] They being his peculiar people, he separated them from all other nations by peculiar laws; which made them different from all other people, as he himself was from all other beings.

Ver. 46. *This is the law of the beasts, and of the fowl,* &c.] That is, this is the rule you are to observe in eating of *beasts,* and *fowl,* and *fish,* and things that *creep* on the earth. Of which four sorts of living creatures, Moses hath treated in this chapter, though not in that very order in which they are set down in this verse; but first of *beasts,* (ver. 2, 3, &c.) then of *fishes,* (ver. 9, &c.) then of *birds,* (ver. 13, &c.) and lastly of *creeping things,* (ver. 20, &c.) Some of all which kinds he forbade them to eat, for such reasons as I have already mentioned: unto which this may be added, that by not allowing them an entire liberty to eat every thing, but rather laying many restraints upon them, he intended to prevent that gluttony and luxury which is the ruin of a state; unto which nothing administers more than too great variety of meats, the desire of which is insatiable.

Ver. 47. *To make a difference.*] To direct you how to make a difference.

*Between the unclean and the clean, and between the beast that may be eaten, and the beast that may not be eaten.*] There was no uncleanness in any of these things, but what was made by this prohibition of them. But there being great reason to prohibit them, it was very necessary that both priests and people should observe, and be well skilled in the marks whereby what was lawful to be eaten, might be known from what was unlawful. Upon which account this is so oft repeated, and the same here expressed twice in different words.

## CHAP. XII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] The directions in this chapter are given to Moses alone; whereas those in the foregoing were delivered unto Aaron also; as those are in like manner which follow, about the leprosy, (xiii. 1.) because Aaron and his sons were peculiarly concerned in those matters, to make an exact difference between clean and unclean, (x. 10, 11. xiv. 57.) in which there was some difficulty; and therefore they are charged by God himself, to attend carefully to the laws he gave about them. But there was no such difficulty in what belonged to the purification of women; and therefore it was sufficient that they received admonitions from Moses concerning it.

Ver. 2. *If a woman have conceived seed, and born a man-child.*] Whether it were born alive or dead; were an abortive, or come to its full time: this made no difference, as the Hebrew doctors understand it.

*She shall be unclean seven days.*] For the first seven days after the birth of the child, she was neither to partake of any holy thing, nor to have common conversation with others; her husband not being permitted to eat and drink with her all that time: for they that attended her became unclean also. And so they were accounted among the heathen, as Dilherrus observes out of Plautus, in his Dissert. Special. de Cacozelia Gentilium, cap. 3. where he saith, the women that assisted at the labour solemnly washed their hands, and had a sacrifice offered for them on the *fifth day* after the delivery. Plautus's words indeed will not warrant all this, which I find in his Truculentus, act. 2. scen. 4. where the harlot says, she will sacrifice for the child on the *fifth day,* according to the custom:—

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"Quin Diis sacrificare hodie pro puero volo
Quinto die, quod fieri oportet."——

Where Scaliger observes, that the Greeks were wont to purify their children on the *fifth day;* but the Latins on the *eighth*, if they were daughters; and on the *ninth*, if they were sons; which was called *Dies lustricus.*

*According to the days of the separation for her infirmity, shall she be unclean.*] That is, her case shall be the same with that of a menstruous woman, who was in a state of the highest uncleanness, (xv. 19, 20.) For every thing she touched was unclean, and made those so who touched that thing.

Ver. 3. *And on the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised.*] This is here mentioned to shew, that one reason for not circumcising the child till the eighth day was, its mother's uncleanness the first seven days of her lying-in; which made the child unclean also.

Ver. 4. *And she shall then continue.*] From the seven days' end.

*In the blood of her purification.*] In the purification of her blood: for all the following days were days of *purification;* not of entire *separation.*

*Three-and-thirty days.*] All the days of her uncleanness were *forty:* and for the first seven days she was to be separate from all conversation with her neighbours; but the following three-and-thirty she had free conversation with them, and was only excluded from the sanctuary, and from eating of the peace-offerings, or the paschal lamb, and (if she were the wife of a priest) of the tithes, and other *lesser holy things;* of which otherwise she might have eaten.

*She shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purification be fulfilled.*] If Maimonides may be credited, the Zabii, an ancient sort of idolaters in those eastern parts, had a great number of tedious and tiresome customs about the purification of their childbed women; from all which God freed his people, by restraining them only from coming into his sanctuary, or partaking of holy things; but, otherwise, leaving them at liberty to perform all manner of offices in their family, during the time of their purification, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47.) It is apparent, also, that other gentiles kept their women from their temples, a long time after their childbirth; and that superstitious people would not so much as go within their doors. See Dilherrus, in the forenamed book and chapter.

Ver. 5. *And if she bear a maid-child, then shall she be unclean two weeks, as in her separation.*] The time of strict *separation*, when they brought forth a female, was double to that which was prescribed (ver. 2.) when they brought forth a male. And so also was the time of their *purification:* which lasted threescore and six days, as they in the other case by thirty and three. The reason of which difference, not only the Jews, but others also, derive from the greater redundancy (as R. Levi Barzelonita calls it, Præcept. clxvi.) of blood in the latter case than in the former; and from the slowness of nature in its operation, which made the purgation longer before it was effected. Hippocrates himself treats of this difference, in his book de Natura Puerp. where he saith, women are sooner purged after the birth of males than of females: (see Joh. Meursius in his Syntagma de Puerperio, cap. 6, 7.) The natural weaknesses of women also, during this time, required quiet, and little company: from which the very temper of their blood, in those climates, made a longer separation more necessary than in these colder regions. But if there were no such apparent reason to be given of these things, yet "vel ex ipsa veneranda antiquitate, et simplicitate suscipienda forent et minimè contemnenda," (as Conrad. Pellicanus speaks upon the foregoing chapter, ver. 35.) *they ought, for the sake of their venerable antiquity and simplicity, to be duly regarded, and not to be despised.*

Ver. 6. *And when the days of her purification are fulfilled, for a son, or for a daughter.*] Which were not till the end of the fortieth day for a son, and the eightieth day for a daughter. And therefore, the offerings here mentioned were not offered till the day after, *viz.* the forty-first day for the one, and the eighty-first day for the other; because, till then her purification was not perfected, as Maimonides observes in his book de Sacrificiis, (Tract. v. sect. 5.) where he observes, also, that they might not eat of holy things, till these sacrifices had been offered for them.

*And she shall bring a lamb of the first year.*] Which then was in its greatest perfection, as hath been often noted.

*For a burnt-offering.*] In gratitude to God for giving her a safe deliverance, and bestowing a child upon her, and raising her up to her former strength, and bringing her again to his sanctuary. Where, by this offering, she also commended herself and child to his continued care and blessing, and implored his Divine guidance and assistance in its education. For these *offerings*, as I observed before, were a kind of supplication, which they that brought them made to God: and there was nothing that pious people could more earnestly desire on such occasions, than that God would take their little ones into his tuition. Who are continually liable to so many dangers, that without the special favour of God, and the custody of his angels, they could never grow to be able to take any care of themselves. They are the words of Conradus Pellicanus upon this place: who thence infers, how necessary it is that the people of the church should be admonished frequently, to commend their children unto God both by private and by public prayers, and take care of their instruction, "lest they become like the horse and the mule, that have no understanding."

*And a young pigeon, or a turtle-dove, for a sin-offering.*] To complete her purification from her uncleanness. For that is here meant by *sin;* the impurity which the law made, by separating such persons from others, and from the sanctuary for a time. And thus a *sin-offering* is commanded to be brought by a leper, when he was cleansed; who was charged only with a legal uncleanness, not a moral. And it is more plain, from what is ordained concerning menstruous women, whose courses were purely natural, and yet they were to offer a *sin-offering* when they were gone, (xv. 30.) because the law accounted that a state of uncleanness: and from the case of a Nazarite, who had unwillingly touched a dead body, Numb. v. 11. where it is said, he had *sinned by the dead; i. e.* was legally polluted. And this may be the reason, perhaps, why a *burnt-offering* is here mentioned before the *sin-offering*, which is wont to precede the other, (ver. 7, 8.)

It may be conceived, indeed, that in all the forementioned cases, those persons (especially lepers) had some way of-

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fended God, before or in their state of separation; and therefore were to have their sin (properly so called) expiated by a *sin-offering*. And R. Bechai also gives another probable account of it; that this sacrifice was offered not for her own sin, but the sin of her first parent, the mother of all living, who brought sin and sorrow into the world: for from a bad stock there cannot sprout good branches; and therefore God appointed this offering for the expiation of that primary sin.

*Unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest.*] It was a most wise constitution (as a person of excellent learning, Dr. Alix, observes), which bound this people, from their first coming into the world, to their going out of it, to have a dependance upon the priests and the Levites, (who for that purpose were dispersed through all the tribes of Israel, that people might be instructed by them how to govern themselves in all the passages of human life.) For there are laws not only about marriages and successions, but about their lying-in, whether of a son or daughter, and about all they were to do while that time lasted, and when it ended; and indeed all the time they lived, and when they went out of the world; in their funerals, and mourning for the dead.

Ver. 7. *Who shall offer it before the Lord, and make an atonement for her.*] By this offering she was restored to the liberty of God's house, and to partake of holy things. For so it follows.

*And she shall be cleansed from the issue of her blood.*] No longer separated from the holy society.

*This is the law for her that hath born a male or a female.*] All this principally respected the woman; yet not excluding her child; who (it appears by St. Luke, ii. 22.) was on this day of his mother's purification *presented unto the Lord*. That indeed had respect to the law about the first-born: but a very ancient MS. and the Syriac, and Origen, taking this for the day of *their* purification, and not merely of *hers* (καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν), it plainly shews the child could not be admitted into the Divine presence, no more than the mother, till the days abovementioned were accomplished.

Ver. 8. *And if she be not able to bring a lamb, then she shall bring two turtles, and two young pigeons*, &c.] This was a merciful provision for the poorer sort, as in other cases, (v. 7. 11.) And from this very place we may learn, in how mean a condition the mother of our Lord was; who for her purification did not bring a lamb (unto which her piety, no doubt, would have prompted her, if she had been able), but only this lower sort of offering, as we read Luke ii. 24.

*And the priest shall make an atonement for her, and she shall be clean.*] This sacrifice was as available as the other to restore her to communion with God's people. The Greeks imitated this; among whom the *fortieth* day was *insignis* (as Censorinus speaks), *famous* or *remarkable* upon more accounts than one. For women with child did not go to the temple *ante diem quadragesimum, before the fortieth day:* and after their delivery, commonly, they were not fit to go out till forty days more (his words are, "Quadraginta diebus pleræque fœtæ graviores sunt, nec sanguinem interdum continent"), during which time their little ones were sickly, never smiled, nor were out of danger. Which is observed by that great physician Celsus, (lib. ii. cap. 1.) "Maxime, omnis pueritia primum circa quadragesimum diem periclitatur." And therefore, when this day was past, they were wont to keep a feast (as Censorinus there tells us, cap. 11. de Die Natali), which they called Τεσσαρακοστόν at which time, it is likely, they offered sacrifices also, as the Jewish women did.

## CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, saying.*] Here God speaks to Aaron again, as well as unto Moses, (see xi. 1.) because he and his posterity were peculiarly concerned in the following laws about the leprosy, both in judging and cleansing of it.

Ver. 2. *When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh.*] For there this disease lay and shewed itself.

*A rising, a scab, or a bright spot.*] The leprosy appeared in one of these three forms, either as a tumour or swelling, or a scab, or a bright spot in the skin.

*And it shall be in the skin of his flesh, like the plague of leprosy.*] There were some swellings, and scabs, and spots, which were not the leprosy, but only like it. And therefore Moses here teaches the priests how to discern between a true leprosy and the resemblance of it; that accordingly they might either pronounce a person clean or unclean; shut him up, or let him have his liberty; shave him, or let his hair grow.

*Plague of leprosy.*] If we may believe Pliny, (lib. xxvi. cap. 1.) this disease was peculiar to Egypt, which he calls *genitrix talium vitiorum:* and if Artapanus, in Eusebius, saith true, (lib. ix. Præpar. Evang. cap. 27.) Pharaoh, who sought to kill Moses, was the first who was struck with this disease, and died of it. So false is the story of Manetho, who, to hide the true cause of the Israelites' departure out of Egypt, saith, that they cast out a company of leprous people, of whom Moses was the captain. Out of Egypt, it is likely, this disease spread into Syria, which is noted likewise to have been much infested with such foul irruptions in the skin: which have as many various names, as there are risings, or breakings-out, or spots there; and are commonly all comprehended under the name of *leprosy*, as P. Cunæus observes, (lib. ii. de Republ. Judæorum, cap. *ult.*) But Moses here distinguishes them, and seems to instruct the Israelites, that the *leprosy* which he speaks of was no common disease, but inflicted by the hand of Heaven. So the Hebrew doctors understand it; particularly R. Levi Barzelonita: (Præcept. clxviii.) "a leprous man ought not to look upon his disease as a casual thing; but seriously consider, and acknowledge, that some grievous sin is the cause of it." Which made the knowledge of their priests so admirable, (as the author of the book Cosri speaks, par. ii. sect. 58.) that they were able to understand what was *Divine* in the leprosy, and what was from *natural* temper. For that there was something Divine in it is confirmed by the story of Naaman, (2 Kings v. 7.) where the king of Israel plainly declares, none but God could cure a leper: whom therefore they looked upon as smitten by God; and thence called this disease the *plague*, or stroke, *of leprosy*, and sometimes simply the *plague* or *stroke*, (ver. 3. 5. 17. 22. of this chapter.) For they could not understand how such a pestilent disease, as infected not merely

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men's bodies, but the very walls of their houses, and garments, should proceed merely from ordinary causes; and therefore they thought there was an extraordinary hand of God in it.

*Then he shall be brought unto Aaron the priest, or unto one of his sons the priests.*] Not to the physicians, but to the priests; who were the only judges, whether it was a true leprosy or no: and if it were, could best direct him to his cure (by repentance and prayer to God), and cleanse him when he was cured. But they might resort to any priest whatsoever, as Mr. Selden observes out of the Talmud (where there is a large treatise of this matter), though he was maimed in any part of his body, and so unfit to minister at the altar, provided his eyes still continued good, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 14. num. 5.)

Ver. 3. *And the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of his flesh.*] When there is a suspicion that it is a leprosy. The same great man observes, that this inspection might be made upon any day of the week, but the sabbath or festivals. Yet not in the night, nor in any hour of the day, but the fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth: for they accounted the morning, evening, and noon, not such proper times to make this inspection. Which, they say, also might be made by an Israelite; though none but the priest could pronounce one clean, or unclean. For though perhaps the priest was ignorant, and stood in need to be informed by wiser persons than himself, yet that man who was not a priest could only direct him what to judge, but not give the judgment. According to that law, (Deut. xxi. 5.) *Out of their mouth,* or, *by their word, shall every stroke be tried:* which particularly relates to the leprosy, (xxiv. 8.)

*And when the hair in the plague is turned white,* &c.] He begins with the last of the three indications of a leprosy, *viz. the bright spot.* In which, if the very hair was turned white, and it was not only a superficial whiteness, but the spot seemed to have eaten deeper into the very flesh, then it was to be judged a true leprosy. R. Levi Barzelon. expresses it thus: "When there was one or more places so white, that their whiteness was like that of an egg-shell, or more glossy, then it is the leprosy."

*And the priest shall look upon him.*] Having made this inspection, and found it to be the leprosy.

*And pronounce him unclean.*] Command him to be separated from the congregation, and shut up by himself, (ver. 46.)

But though all the Israelites, children and servants, as well as others, were under this law, yet no gentile, nor the *proselytes of the gate,* were, as Maimonides, and the rest of the Hebrew doctors tell us.

Ver. 4. *If the bright spot be white in the skin of his flesh.*] *i. e.* If there be barely a white spot in the skin which hath not altered the hair.

*And in sight be not deeper than the skin, and the hair thereof be not turned white.*] The forenamed R. Levi explains this passage thus: If it were not a perfect white, but something duskish, below the whiteness of an egg-shell, he was to look upon it as that which might prove a lesser sort of foulness in the blood and skin, short of the leprosy, which infected the very hair in that place.

*Then the priest shall shut up him that hath the plague seven days.*] He had something like the plague, which might prove to be it; and therefore he was to be separated from others so long, that some judgment might be made, whether it was, or would be so or not: for seven days commonly make considerable alterations in the state of all diseases.

Ver. 5. *And the priest shall look on him the seventh day.*] Until which it was not likely any certain judgment could be made.

*And behold.*] Observe this.

*If the plague in his sight be at a stay.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *If the plague standeth in his sight; i. e.* seemeth to him not to have spread itself at all in the skin, as it follows in the next words. Or, as it may be translated, *if it continue in the same colour,* which it had before, and were not altered: for the Hebrew word signifies *colour,* as well as *sight.* And if this translation be right, then here are two marks which the priest was to observe (*viz.* whether the spot had not altered its complexion, and whether it had not spread further in the skin); but according to our present translation there is but one, the next clause being but the explication of this.

*Then the priest shall shut him up seven days more.*] The case remaining dubious, he was to make a further trial.

Ver. 6. *And the priest shall look on him again the seventh day; and behold, if the plague be somewhat dark.*] The priest was to mark diligently whether there were any alteration in the colour, and that which was bright before now looked dark; which justifies the second interpretation of the first clause in the foregoing verse.

*And the plague spread not in the skin.*] This was another token by which the priest was to be governed in his judgment.

*The priest shall pronounce him clean.*] He was to be shut up no longer, but left at liberty to go abroad and freely converse with his brethren.

*It is but a scab.*] An ordinary scab, or scurf, short of the leprosy: such as is now in Guam and Mindanao, which Dampier (in his late New Voyage round the World, chap. 12.) describes to be a dry scurf all over the body, that causeth great itching, and raiseth the outer skin in small white flakes, like the scales of little fish, when they are raised on end with a knife. But he did not perceive that they made any great matter of it, for they did not refrain any company for it.

*And he shall wash his clothes, and be clean.*] Having been suspected to have a leprosy, and something like it appearing, which had kept him separate from his brethren several days, he was to use this small purification; because there was some kind of impurity in his blood, which broke out into the skin, though not infectious.

Ver. 7. *And if the scab spread much abroad in the skin.*] The second sort of leprosy was a scab, (ver. 2.) which seems to have been of two kinds: one of which Moses joins to what he saith of *the swelling;* and the other to what he saith of the *bright spot.*

*After he hath been seen of the priest for his cleansing.*] That is, after the priest had pronounced him clean, (ver. 6.)

*He shall be seen of the priest again.*] A new inspection was to be made by the priest. And if any man (as Maimonides saith) was so profane as carelessly to neglect it, by not going to the priest, and shewing him his case, his punishment was to have his leprosy cleave to him for ever.

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Ver. 8. *And if the priest see, that, behold, the scab spreadeth in the skin.*] Though it lurked for a time, yet this spreading of it in the skin was to be taken for an evident mark that it was the leprosy.

Ver. 9. *When the plague of leprosy is in a man.*] That is, when there is a suspicion of the first sort of leprosy, mentioned ver. 2. and called a *rising* or *swelling*.

*Then he shall be brought unto the priest.*] By those who feared his company might be infectious; but good men went of themselves to him.

Ver. 10. *And the priest shall see him.*] Diligently view, and consider the nature of the scab.

*And, behold, if the rising be white in the skin, and it have turned the hair white, and there be quick raw flesh in the rising.*] If upon examination the priest found a third mark, besides the two former (*whiteness in the skin*, and *the hair turned white*), *viz.* that it had eaten into the very flesh; he was to look upon it as an undoubted leprosy.

*Quick raw flesh in the rising.*] *Quick* or *living* flesh (as the Hebrew word is) signifies sound flesh not corrupted. So the meaning seems to be, if it have broken through the skin, and in the raw sound flesh there appeared white spots, there needed no further consideration; for it would soon taint the whole mass of blood.

Ver. 11. *It is an old leprosy in the skin of his flesh.*] The two first signs were very bad, particularly the second, *the hair turning white* (just as a plant, saith Procopius Gazæus, or a flower dies, together with the earth in which it grows), but this last was far worse; being a mark of an inveterate evil that had been long breeding, and got not only into the skin and the hair, but into the very living flesh; which, as the same Procopius speaks, it began to corrode, and would devour.

*And the priest shall pronounce him unclean.*] Without any further examination.

*And shall not shut him up.*] Because there was no need of any more proof, nor any doubt, whether it was the leprosy or not.

*For he is unclean.*] It was apparent from the tokens, which were already very visible.

Ver. 12. *And if a leprosy break out abroad in the skin.*] He calls that a *leprosy*, which was not truly so, but was by some thought to be so, because it had a likeness to it.

*And the leprosy cover all the skin of him that hath the plague.*] *i. e.* Seemeth to have it.

*From his head even to his foot, wheresoever the priest looketh.*] An eruption in every part of his body, which was spread all over with scabs.

Ver. 13. *He shall pronounce him clean that hath the plague.*] This sort of breaking-out, from top to toe, as we speak, was not to be looked upon as the plague of leprosy; being rather a relief to the body, than a disease.

*It is all turned white, he is clean.*] There was no danger in this eruption; nature having only discharged those putrid salt humours which were in the blood. Just as those among us, who have the measles and small-pox, are likely to do well, when they come out every where; but not when they stick in the skin.

Ver. 14. *But when raw flesh appeareth in him, he shall be unclean.*] When the sound flesh appeared speckled with the forementioned spots, it was an evident token that it was a settled leprosy: nature being not able to throw out the ill humour into the skin; but working inward into the flesh.

Ver. 15. *And the priest shall see the raw flesh, and pronounce him to be unclean.*] When he sees the sign beforenamed, he shall make no further examination, but declare him to be unclean.

*For the raw flesh is unclean; it is a leprosy.*] This was so undoubted a mark, that there needed no more. Which makes Moses repeat it, that the priest might observe it the more carefully, when he made his inspection.

Ver. 16. *Or if the raw flesh turn again.*] If there was such an alteration in it, that it was freed from these pestilent spots.

*And be changed into white.*] Look like other flesh, which hath a white skin upon it.

*He shall come unto the priest.*] Desire him to make a new examination of the state of his body.

Ver. 17. *And the priest shall see him.*] Take a view of his body; especially in those parts where the leprosy was suspected to be.

*And, behold, if the plague be turned into white*, &c.] If, upon due consideration, his body appear alike white every where, and no spots to be seen in the flesh, the priest was to declare him to have no leprosy remaining.

Ver. 18. *The flesh also, in which, even in the skin thereof, was a bile, and is healed.*] In this and the following verses he treats of such a leprosy as arose out of ulcers which had been healed: and afterward there was a new eruption, which might prove a leprosy.

Ver. 19. *And in the place of the bile.*] Where the bile formerly broke out; but seemed to be healed.

*There be a white rising, or a bright spot, white.*] These two are the first and last indications of a leprosy, mentioned ver. 2.

*And somewhat reddish.*] This is a mark not hitherto mentioned: which some render *exceeding shining*; or *an inflammation which looked very red*. For so the Hebrew word *adamdameth* seems to import; it being certain, that the doubling of the radicals of any word increases the sense. This is apparent from abundance of instances in other words; which are heaped up together by Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, (par. ii. lib. v. cap. 6.) where he observes, with respect to this word, that it being impossible that the same thing should be both very white and very red, it hath made most interpreters expound this word *adamdameth* as we do, *somewhat reddish*; quite contrary to the true sense of the word, which imports a high degree of some colour, and therefore ought to be translated *exceeding glistering*. For *Adam* signifies not only *red*, but also to *glister*: and accordingly, persons very leprous are said in Scripture to be as *white as snow*, (Exod. iv. 6. Numb. xii. 10. 2 Kings v. 27.) See ver. 49. of this chapter.

*And it be shewed to the priest.*] That he might pass his judgment upon it, whether it were the leprosy or not.

Ver. 20. *And if, when the priest seeth it, behold, it being in sight lower than the skin, and the hair thereof being turned white*, &c.] If, upon a serious search, it appear to have the two marks here mentioned, (which are those before set down, ver. 3.) the priest was to declare him unclean.

*It is a plague of leprosy broken out of the bile.*] In the place where the *bile* formerly was, (ver. 19.)



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Ver. 21. *But if the priest look on it, and, behold, there is no white hair therein, and it be not lower than the skin.*] If he find upon search neither of the two marks beforenamed.

*But be somewhat dark,* &c.] Though it had not eaten into the flesh (which was a certain sign of a leprosy), yet, if it changed colour, there was some ground of suspicion: and therefore he was to be *shut up seven days.* (See ver. 4.)

Ver. 22. *And if it spread much abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean.*] The spreading of the spot was a token the blood was much vitiated, and that this foul disease was begun in the body.

*It is a plague.*] Of leprosy.

Ver. 23. *But if the bright spot stay in its place, and spread not,* &c.] If it continued in the same condition, and made no progress, it was an indication the bile was breaking out again; which did not make him unclean.

Ver. 24. *Or if there be any flesh in the skin, whereof there is a hot burning.*] In the Hebrew the words run thus, *Or the flesh, when it shall be in the skin a burning fire.* That is, when there is an inflammation made in the skin and the flesh, by a hot burning coal, or some such thing falling upon it. For in the foregoing paragraph (ver. 16, &c.) he speaks of ulcers which arose of themselves from bad humours in the body: and here of such as were made by fire.

*And the quick flesh that burneth.*] The part of the body that is burnt.

*Have a white bright spot, somewhat reddish, or white.*] Very shining. (See ver. 19.) For this was a sign of the leprosy broken out in that burnt place, which otherwise would have looked black.

Ver. 25. *If the hair in the bright spot be turned white,* &c.] See ver. 20.

Ver. 26. *But if the priest look upon it, and, behold, there be no white hair,* &c.] The same direction is given here, as in the foregoing case, (ver. 21.)

Ver. 27. *And the priest shall look upon him the seventh day, and if it be spread abroad much in the skin,* &c.] This verse and the next contain the same marks with those ver. 23, 24.

Ver. 28. *It is a rising of the burning.*] A tumour made by fire, or a hot iron, &c. which burnt the part. A mere *inflammation* (as he calls it in the end of this verse) arising from that burning.

Ver. 29. *If a man or woman have a plague upon the head, or the beard.*] Such a kind of disease, Pliny saith, came into Italy in the middle of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, which they called *mentagra,* because it commonly began in the chin; and was so filthy, "ut quæcunque mors præferenda esset," *that any death was preferable to it.* (Lib. xxvi. Nat. Hist. cap. 1.)

Ver. 30. *Then the priest shall see the plague: and, behold, if it be in the sight deeper than the skin,* &c.] There are the same marks of this sort, with those of the former: only instead of a white hair, which there was in other kinds of leprosies, there was a yellow hair in this; and not so thick as the white.

Ver. 31. *If it be not in sight deeper than the skin,* &c.] This was some indication that it was not a leprosy; yet if there were no black hair in it (as it here follows) which was a sign of soundness and health, (ver. 37.) the case was not certain, but doubtful; and therefore he was to be shut up seven days, to see what it would prove.

Ver. 32. *And in the seventh day the priest shall look on the plague.*] So he calls it, because it had a resemblance of the leprosy.

*And, behold, if the scall spread not.*] For this was the nature of the disease, which Pliny describes in the place abovementioned, that it spread itself in many persons, from the chin all over the face, except the eyes; and went down to the neck, the breast, and the hands, *fœto cutis furfure, with a filthy scurf of the skin,* which is here called *a scall.*

*And there be no yellow hair in it.*] This, with the foregoing and the following sign (that it was not in sight deeper than the skin), made it probable it was not the leprosy. Yet he was not upon this immediately discharged; but a further trial, as the next verse tells us, was to be made, before he was set at liberty.

Ver. 33. *He shall be shaven, but the scall shall he not shave,* &c.] For sureness' sake, the head and beard were to be shaven (which might be performed by any body), that the priest might the better discern whether the scall spread, or no. Only the place where the scall appeared was not shaven; because the priest was to observe of what colour the hair in it was. So R. Levi Barzelonita, (Præcept. clxxii.) "They shave round about the scall, leaving only the two next hairs; that they may know the decrease or increase of the disease."

*And the priest shall shut him up that hath the scall seven days more.*] In which time, some considerable alteration would be made one way or other.

Ver. 34. *And in the seventh day.*] Before it was completed.

*The priest shall look on the scall; and, behold, if it be not spread.*] Here are the same marks which were mentioned before; that if the scall did not spread in the skin, nor eat into the flesh, he was not to be shut up any longer, but pronounced clean; and, after he had washed his clothes, be admitted into the society of God's people again. (See ver. 6.)

Ver. 35. *But if the scall spread much in the skin after his cleansing.*] It fell out sometimes, that the scall, which had stood at a stay for a fortnight, and seemed neither to spread nor corrode at all, began to go on to the neighbouring parts.

Ver. 36. *Then the priest shall look on him; and, behold, if the scall be spread in the skin,* &c.] If he found this single mark, that after the scall had been at a stand a good while, it began to spread much, he was not to trouble himself for any further token, by seeking for the *yellow hair,* (ver. 30.) but immediately declare him to be a leper.

Ver. 37. *But if the scall be in his sight at a stay,* &c.] If after this the scall stopped again, and made no further progress; and withal there was a black hair appeared in it (which the priest could not find before, but now was grown up in it), he was to take it for an evident sign that the man was cured of his leprosy. For the hair being restored to its natural colour, was a certain indication that the blood was cleansed from its impurity.

Ver. 38. *If a man or woman have in the skin of their flesh bright spots, even white bright spots.*] *i. e.* No other sign of the leprosy but only this.

Ver. 39. *Then the priest shall look; and, behold, if the bright spots in the skin of their flesh be darkish white,* &c.] In this case the priest was to observe, whether the spots had any thing of a cloudiness in them; for if they had, it

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was not a leprosy: if they were perfectly clear and bright, then it was.

Ver. 40. *And the man whose hair is fallen off his head.*] *i. e.* From the hinder part of it.

Ver. 41. *And he that hath his hair fallen off from the part of his head towards his face,* &c.] The design of these two verses is, to instruct the priest that the mere falling off the hair from his head, which made him bald, either behind or before, should not be taken to be a sign of the leprosy.

Ver. 42, 43. *And if there be in the bald head, or bald forehead, a white reddish sore,* &c.] If either in the hinder or forepart of a bald head there appeared a *white sore exceeding bright* (as it should be translated), like that which appeared sometimes in the skin, (ver. 24.) then, as it here follows, he was to be looked on as a leprous man.

Ver. 44. *The priest shall pronounce him utterly unclean.*] As unclean as any of the forenamed persons.

*His plague is in his head.*] The leprosy appears in his head, as in other persons it appears in the skin of their bodies.

Ver. 45. *And the leper in whom the plague is.*] Any of the forenamed sort of leprosies.

*His clothes shall be rent.*] After the manner of mourners (as some take it), that he might sensibly declare his afflicted condition. For upon any sad occasion, they were wont in those countries to rend their clothes, (Ezra ix. 3. 5. Job ii. 12.) Others, indeed, think this was intended only for a mark of his uncleanness: but I do not see why it might not serve to both ends.

*And his head bare.*] This was another token of mourning. But the Hebrew writers unanimously translate these words quite contrary: the phrase in the original being, *his head shall be free; i. e.* say they, from cutting or shaving: which was as much as to say, he should *let his hair grow long.* This also was a sign of sadness and sorrow. (See x. 6.)

*And shall put a covering upon his upper lip.*] Either he was to cover it with his hand, or with the skirt of his garment, which they threw over their heads, when they were in a state of mourning. Of which this was another sign, (Ezek. xxiv. 17. 22.) as it was also of shame, (Mic. iii. 7.) Some will have all these to be marks only for men to avoid them: but that is sufficiently taken care of, in the last words of this verse.

I shall only add, that the Hebrews well observe, that none were bound to any of these things, who were shut up on suspicion of leprosy; but only such as were absolutely pronounced to be leprous.

*And shall cry, Unclean, unclean.*] Give notice to passengers not to come near him, by crying out aloud, so that they might hear him, *I am in the most unclean condition wherein any man can be.* Some fancy this was required, that men might avoid infection: but the true reason was, that they might avoid legal pollutions by conversation with them; as appears by the next verse. Jeremiah seems to allude to this, Lament. iv. 15. And there seems also to have been the like care among the heathen, to give notice of any place which was unclean, that none might be defiled by it. So Servius tells us upon Æneid. iv. that the Romans were wont to set a cypress-tree (which being cut down could not grow again) before the door of a dead man's house, "Ne quis sacram rem facturus, imprudens domum præteriret," *lest any man, who was going to perform sacred offices, should unawares pass by his door.*

Ver. 46. *All the days wherein the plague shall be in him he shall be defiled.*] Remain in that desolate state.

*He is unclean.*] Separate from company.

*He shall dwell alone.*] 2 Kings xv. 5.

*Without the camp shall his habitation be.*] There were three camps (as the Hebrews commonly observe); that of the Divinity (or the sanctuary), that of the Levites, and that of the Israelites: out of all which a leprous man was to be removed, that no man might have conversation with him, but only such who were leprous like himself; who in aftertimes were shut out of the cities, as now out of the camp, (2 Kings vii. 3.)

Ver. 47. *The garment also that the plague of leprosy is in.*] This is a matter which we do not now understand; that a leprosy should not only cleave to a garment and infect it, but appear and be seen in it. As, in the next chapter, Moses speaks also of a leprosy in a house, (xiv. 34.) which he doth not mention here, because they had no houses in the wilderness, but dwelt in tents covered with skins, and such-like things: in which, as well as in garments, he supposes the leprosy will be. (See xiv. 34.) But what kind of disease this was, which appeared in insensible things, the Syrians and Egyptians perhaps might then understand, but we now are ignorant, as P. Cunæus speaks; "Cujusmodi id vitium in rebus inanimatis fuerit, Syri fortasse et Ægyptii tunc intellexerunt; nos hercle ignoramus," (lib. ii. de Republ. Hebræor. cap. *ult.*) And, indeed, it seems to have been a Divine stroke, as Moses himself signifies, (xiv. 34.) and appears not only from the place abovementioned, (2 Kings v. 7. 27.) but from xv. 5. of the same book. And so the Jews have always understood it, particularly Maimonides, who, in his treatise on this subject, (cap. 16. sect. 9.) saith, "that this change in garments and houses did not proceed from natural causes, but was a sign and a miracle in Israel." That is, an extraordinary punishment inflicted by God, as a token of his high displeasure. And it is not at all incredible that such a strange plague should then infest them, which is not now known in the world; when we consider what unusual diseases there have been in other countries, unknown in former times; which afterwards have also vanished, and are now to be found only in books. Pliny mentions several new diseases, "omni priori ævo incognitos," *unknown to all ages past;* some of which were peculiar to some provinces, and touched not others. Concerning which he did not know what to say, but only this: "Quid hoc esse dicamus, aut quas Deorum iras?" *What shall we call this? or from what great anger of the gods doth it proceed, that the diseases which already certainly infest men's bodies (which in number are above three hundred) should not be sufficient; but new ones are still to be feared?* (lib. xxvi. Nat. Hist. cap. 1.) He looked, that is, upon these strange diseases as sent by God, when men had highly incurred his displeasure. The last century was famous for such an extraordinary plague (as Johannes Wierus, who then lived, often calls it), when the scurvy, which was confined before to some northern regions, near the sea, overran the Low Countries, being at that time unknown in Germany, Italy, France, and Spain, which were entirely free from it. (See his Observationum Medicarum, lib. i. sect. 1.)



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*Whether it be a woollen garment or a linen.*] There is a great dispute among the Talmudists, whether garments made of camels' hair (which they call the *wool of camels*) were comprehended under these words or not.

Ver. 48. *Whether it be in the warp or woof, of linen, or of woollen.*] In the inward or outward part of it.

*Whether in a skin, or in any thing made of skin.*] They were more likely to be infected than woollen or linen garments; because they had been part of the body of living creatures.

Ver. 49. *And if the plague be greenish or reddish in the garments,* &c.] There seems to be great reason in what Maimonides saith, in his treatise of the leprosy, that the Hebrew word *jerakrak* (which is made by the doubling of the radical letters) should be interpreted *the most intense green;* such as is in the wings of a peacock (as he speaks) or in the leaves of a palm-tree. As the word *adamdam,* in like manner, signifies the highest degree of another colour, *viz.* redness; such as the brightest scarlet: (see ver. 19.) And if a spot of these colours were found in a garment or skin, as broad as a bean, it was a sufficient ground to think it might be the leprosy; if it were not so broad, it was accounted clean.

*It is a plague of leprosy,* &c.] It was justly to be suspected, and therefore was to be brought to the priest for his judgment to be passed upon it. Who was to make a trial what it would prove, by shutting up that garment or skin wherein the spot was for the space of seven days; as is directed in the next verse.

Ver. 50. *And the priest shall look upon the plague,* &c.] If, upon his inspection, he found the forenamed tokens, he was to do with it as he did with persons who were under a suspicion of a leprosy.

Ver. 51. *If the plague be spread in the garment,* &c.] There were three certain marks (as Maimonides notes) of the leprosy in a garment; the extreme greenness or redness of the spots in it; and the spreading of them after they were first discovered.

*The plague is a fretting leprosy.*] The Hebrew word *mamereth,* which we translate *fretting,* is very variously rendered by the ancient interpreters; as Bochart hath observed in his Hierozoicon. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45. where, from the Arabic tongue, he thinks it may be best translated an *exasperated* or *irritated* leprosy: that is, very sharp and pricking (which suits well with our translation), eating into the garment or skin, till it was consumed. Abarbinel translates it *painful:* because this sort of leprosy in the body of a man was full of anguish. And so this word is used in Ezek. xxviii. 24. where a *thorn* is called *mamir;* and translated by us a *grieving thorn.*

Ver. 52. *He shall therefore burn that garment,*&c.] It seems this leprosy could never be got out of the garment or skin wherein it was; which therefore was ordered to be burnt, as never likely to be fit for use.

Ver. 53, 54. *If it be not spread in the garment,* &c.] If the spot was at a stay, and did not proceed further, then the garment, as the following verse directs, was to be washed, and shut up for seven days; in which time it appeared whether the impurity were quite gone, or still remained.

Ver. 55. *If the plague had not changed its colour.*] If washing had not altered that vicious colour, but it still continued very red or green.

*And the plague be not spread.*] Or, *though* it be not spread; yet it was to be pronounced unclean, and adjudged to be burnt.

*It is fret inward.*] Though it did not spread in breadth, yet it fretted in depth.

*Whether it be bare within or without.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *In the baldness of the hinder part, or in its forepart:* which seems to be a manner of speaking taken from ver. 42, 43. where he treats of bald heads. And the meaning is, whether it eat into the right side of the garment (which is compared to the forehead), or into the wrong side (which is compared to the hinder part of the head), making it as bare as a bald head is, when there is not a hair left. For this sort of leprosy was wont to eat off the nap of the cloth, and make it threadbare.

Ver. 56. *And if the priest look; and, behold, the plague be somewhat dark, after the washing of it,* &c.] If it had changed its colour, from very green or red, and became duskish (or, as Abarbinel understands it, the spot *was contracted* or shrunk up in the washing; so that it was gone in part, if not in whole), then the priest was to cut out that part of the garment where the spot was; there being some indication that the whole garment might not be tainted.

Ver. 57. *If it appear still in the garment,* &c.] If, after the spot was out, the neighbouring parts appeared to have a tincture of a very green or red colour, it was to be taken for a demonstration that there was a *spreading* leprosy (as it here follows) in the garment, or skin, which would proceed till it was entirely infected with it.

*Thou shalt burn that wherein the plague is with fire.*] Therefore, the leprosy being incurable, there was no other remedy but to destroy the thing wherein it was.

Ver. 58. *And the garment, either warp or woof, or whatsoever thing of skin it be, which thou shalt wash, if the plague be departed from them,* &c.] Whatsoever, after washing, had no appearance of such spots, as are here beforementioned (ver. 49, &c.) remaining in it, there was no further trial to be made of it, but, being washed a second time, it was to be accounted *clean, i. e.* fit for common use.

Ver. 59. *This is the law of the plague of leprosy in a garment of woollen or linen,* &c.] By these rules the priests were to judge whether garments were lawful to be used or not; and accordingly to determine: as, by the rules in the foregoing part of the chapter, they were to judge and pronounce whether men and women were fit to be allowed to keep company with others. And when we consider how nice and diligent many nations were, and still are, in their washings, after any sort of defilement, it it no wonder (as Conradus Pellicanus here glosses) that some laws of cleanliness, even about their garments, were prescribed to the Jews; which admonished them of that inward purgation of their hearts from all impure affections, about which they were to be far more solicitous. I have forborne to apply what is here said of the leprosy, in this chapter, to the various degrees of pollutions that are in men's minds; because that would have made this book too large; and it is done already by a great number of commentators, both modern and ancient; particularly among the latter, by Procopius Gazæus, and Hesychius Presb. Hierosolymorum, who sometimes have done it very ingeniously.

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## CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] All that is said before, concerning the rules whereby they were to discern the leprosy from the like diseases, were given unto Aaron as well as unto Moses, (xiii. 1.) For Aaron and his posterity were constituted the judges of such matters, in which they had need to be well studied and versed. But the way and manner of cleansing a leper is delivered only to Moses, to be by him given unto Aaron and his sons, who were to depend on him as God's great minister, and their instructor in all religious rites.

Ver. 2. *This shall be the law of the leper in the day of his cleansing.*] The manner and means which God hath ordained of purifying a leper (as Maimonides expounds it), and restoring him to the communion of God's people.

*He shall be brought unto the priest.*] Not to the house of the priest; for he was to go out to the gate of the camp (as appears by the next verse), and thither the leper was to be brought to him. But these words seem to import the leper was first to come towards the camp (unto some place which the priest, it is likely, appointed), and then the priest, having notice of it, was to go out and look upon him.

Ver. 3. *And the priest shall go forth out of the camp.*] To the place where the leper was, (xiii. 46.)

*And the priest shall look.*] Diligently examine in what condition the leper is, by the rules mentioned in the foregoing chapter.

*And, behold, if the plague of leprosy be healed in the leper.*] The priest, no doubt, had been informed, before he went to make the inspection, that there were good grounds to believe the man was freed from his leprosy.

Ver. 4. *Then shall the priest command to take for him,* &c.] That some of his friends, or such as he ordered, should provide what follows for his purification.

*Two birds alive, that are clean.*] The margin of our Bibles translates it *two sparrows:* and they who take the word in this sense have some pretty conceits about it. Particularly this: that it signifies him who lately sat alone, like a solitary sparrow on the house-top (as the Psalmist speaks), to be now admitted into the society of others again. But Origen takes these birds to have been *hens*, (and so Scaliger shews out of Nicander, that the Greek word στρουθὸς anciently signified; Exerc. 230.) and the LXX. better translate it, δύο ὀρνίθια, *two little birds*, of any sort whatsoever, provided they were *clean, i. e.* lawful to be eaten, as the Vulgar truly interprets it. For to restrain it to *sparrows* had been very absurd, whether they had been clean birds or unclean; because it had been in vain to say a clean sparrow, when the whole species were so by the law; and more unaccountable to require a clean sparrow, if all had been unlawful, as Bochart rightly observes, lib. i. Hieroz. cap. 22. par. ii.

Grotius takes this to have been the Δῶρον, or *gift*, which is mentioned Matt. viii. 4. which was presented by the leper in the day of his cleansing; rather than those mentioned ver. 10. of this chapter. But I can see nothing of the nature of a gift or present in these birds, which were not to be offered at the altar.

*And cedar-wood, and scarlet, and hyssop.*] Why his purification was to be made by these things, Maimonides saith he could never understand, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47.) But Abarbinel adventures to guess at the reason, and imagines that these four things, the *living birds*, the *cedar*, the *scarlet*, and the *hyssop*, signified the leper to be cured of the four evils under which he had laboured; in his flesh, his humours, his colour, and smell, which were represented by the four things beforementioned; and were now all become sound and good. For the *living birds*, he thinks, were a sign that his dead flesh was restored to vigour and life again. And the *cedar-wood*, which is not easily corrupted, denoted the putrefaction was cured which the leprosy had made in the humours of his body. The *scarlet* thread, or wool, was an indication of his good complexion restored to him: for this is a bright and grateful colour, as the leprosy was livid and loathsome; signifying (saith he) his blood was purified, which made a lively colour return into his countenance. And lastly, the *hyssop*, which in that country was a very odoriferous plant, signified the nastiness and stench of that disease was gone. Whatsoever any one may judge of this account of these things, I think it is very plain, that the Jews being possessed with a great detestation of the filthiness of the leper, it was necessary (as Pellicanus observes) that they should be as strongly persuaded, by a great many prolix, laborious, and public ceremonies used for men's purification from it, that they were fit for their society again.

I omit the moral reasons which are given by R. Levi Barzelonita, (Præcept. clxxiii.) for the use of the foremen-tioned things; and the mystical significations of these, and all the following rites of purification: which the most learned and ingenious Bochartus hath drawn out in near twenty particulars, (Hierozoicon. par. ii. lib. i. cap. 22.)

Ver. 5. *And the priest shall command that one of the birds be killed.*] Not as a sacrifice; for that could be made no where but at the altar; whereas this was without the camp, at a great distance from the sanctuary; and therefore was used only as a rite of cleansing. (See ver. 49.)

*In an earthen vessel over running water.*] There seems to be a transposition (as is very usual) in these words; the sense being, over an earthen vessel, that hath running, *i. e.* spring water in it. For so R. Levi Barzelonita, in the place beforenamed, describes this ceremony: "The priest takes a new earthen vessel, and pours into it living water, till it be a quarter full:" which was the measure, according to the tradition of the scribes. Who say, also, that the best and fattest of the two birds was killed over the water, and the blood pressed out so long, that the water was discoloured with it; and then he digged a hole, and buried the dead bird before the leper.

Ver. 6. *As for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar-wood, and the scarlet-wool,* &c.] He took a stick of cedar-wood (as R. Levi Barzelonita describes this rite, and Maimonides saith the same), which was a cubit long; and tying the bird to it, with its tail uppermost, together with a bunch of hyssop, of a handful long, and as much scarlet-wool as weighed a shekel; he then dipped the bird's tail and wings, with the hyssop and scarlet-wool, in the water tinctured with the blood of the other bird.

Ver. 7. *And he shall sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from his leprosy.*] R. Levi will have it, that he sprinkled the back of his hand, towards the top of it, with this water and blood.

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*Seven times.*] In token of a perfect purification. (See iv. 17.)

*And shall pronounce him clean.*] So as to let him come into the camp (from whence he had been excluded), as, in aftertimes, into the city.

*And shall let the living bird loose into the open field.*] The manner of doing it (as the same R. Levi relates) was, the priest, going into the city, threw the bird over the walls towards the wilderness; the intention of which was, to shew that the leper was restored to a free conversation with all his neighbours, as the bird was with the rest of its kind. (See ver. 53.)

Ver. 8. *And he that is to be cleansed shall wash his clothes.*] He was to do this, and what follows, before he could be admitted into the camp.

*And shave off all his hair, and wash himself in water.*] *i. e.* Wash his whole body. All which contributed to cleanliness.

*And after that he shall come into the camp.*] But not enter into his own habitation; as appears by the words following.

*And tarry abroad out of his tent seven days.*] They lived in tents while they remained in the wilderness, which every man had apart, for himself and for his family. Unto which a leper was not restored immediately after his admission into the camp; for fear there should be any undiscerned remainder of his disease, whereby his wife and children might be endangered. For which reason he might not lay with his wife, till *seven days* were over.

Ver. 9. *But on the seventh day he shall shave all his hair off his head,* &c.] This may be thought to have been the time appointed for the *shaving* mentioned in the foregoing verse: but R. Levi, and other Hebrew doctors, understand it of a second shaving at the seven days' end, that they might be assured nothing of the leprosy remained.

*Even all his hair he shall shave off.*] Under his arm-holes, and in other places of the body where it uses to grow: as well as the hair of his head, and his beard, and his eyebrows.

*And he shall wash his clothes.*] This seems to be a second washing, after the first at the end of the seven days. And the Hebrew doctors note, that the killing of the bird, the shaving and the sprinkling, were all to be done in the daytime; the rest might be done either by day or by night.

*Also he shall wash his flesh in water.*] His whole body. For which end such a measure is prescribed by the Hebrew tradition, as would cover it entirely.

*And he shall be clean.*] So as to be not only restored to his tent, but admitted to go to the tabernacle of the congregation, and offer the sacrifices appointed (in the following part of this chapter) for his complete purification. Till which time he was called *Mechussar Kapparah*, one that needed expiation; and was not permitted to eat of the holy things.

Ver. 10. *And on the eighth day.*] If we may believe the Hebrew tradition, he washed himself again on this day, in the court of the women; where there was a room, called *the chamber of the lepers*, provided for that purpose. So Maimonides. Which great caution was imitated by the primitive Christians, who would not receive great sinners into their communion again, till they had made a long trial of the truth of their repentance.

*He shall take two he-lambs without blemish, and one ewe-lamb without blemish.*] There were three kinds of sacrifices to be offered upon this occasion; *viz.* a *trespass-offering*, a *sin-offering*, and a *burnt-offering:* for which these three lambs were to be provided.

*Of the first year.*] Such were all the lambs to be, both male and female.

*And three tenth-deals of fine flour for a meat-offering.*] To each of these sacrifices there was a *meat-offering* appointed, consisting of a tenth part of an ephah of fine flour, *i. e.* an omer. (See Exod. xvi. 36.) Which is a thing unusual: for we read of no meat-offerings ordered (in the fourth and fifth chapters of this book, which treat of them) to accompany either *trespass-offerings* or *sin-offerings*. But there were peculiar rites belonging to the cleansing of a leper, different from the common usages, to make him sensible how great a mercy he had received from God, who alone could cure this disease which his hand had inflicted.

*Mingled with oil.*] As the manner was in *meat-offerings*. (See chap. ii. 1.)

*And one log of oil.*] Which served to another purpose, mentioned ver. 15, 16. of this chapter. And oil being of a healing virtue, may be thought to denote the perfect health and soundness to which the leper was now restored; as the fragrancy of it put him in mind of the happiness he now enjoyed.

A *log* was the smallest measure among the Jews, containing about half a pint of our measure, as a very learned prelate of our own (Dr. Cumberland) hath computed in his Scripture Weights and Measures, p. 86.

Ver. 11. *And the priest that maketh him clean.*] Who performeth this office of declaring the leper perfectly clean.

*Shall present the man that is to be made clean, and those things, before the Lord, at the door,* &c.] He set the man in the first place at the east gate of the court of the Israelites (which in aftertimes was called the gate of Nicanor), with his face towards the sanctuary. For here all those who needed expiation stood; it being unlawful for them to enter into the court of the Israelites, until the expiation was made. So Maimonides observes in his treatise called Mechussare Kapparah, sect. 4.

Ver. 12. *And the priest shall take one he-lamb, and offer him.*] Next he was to bring one of the lambs to the same place, and present him to the Lord, as is directed in the end of the verse; for that is meant here by *offering him*, the slaying of him following in the next verse.

*For a trespass-offering.*] After the manner that the *trespass-offerings* were offered, (of which see chap. vii.) that he might beg pardon of God (as Abarbinel understands it) for such sins as he had ignorantly committed.

*And the log of oil.*] Which was presented at the same time with the lamb.

*And wave them.*] Both the lamb and the log of oil.

*For a wave-offering before the Lord.*] Which was done by waving them to and fro, up and down, and turning towards all the four quarters of the world, as was noted before. But Maimonides saith, this was waved towards the east: and if he waved them both together, or separated one from the other, the lamb first, and afterward the log of oil, it made no difference.

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Ver. 13. *And he shall slay the lamb.*] The lamb was brought, saith the same author in the forenamed treatise, to the door of the court where the leprous man stood, who stretched out his hands into the court and laid them upon his sacrifice: after which it was killed, as is here directed.

*In the place where he shall kill the sin-offering, and the burnt-offering.*] See vi. 25.

*In the holy place.*] In the court of the tabernacle, at the north side of the altar of *burnt-offering*, (chap. i. 11.) which was a place more holy than the entrance, or east end of the court, where the *peace-offerings* were to be killed, (see iii. 2.)

*For as the sin-offering is the priest's, so is the trespass-offering.*] See vii. 7. Both of them were to be eaten by the priests in the court of God's house; and, therefore, were equally holy.

*It is most holy.*] See ii. 3.

Ver. 14. *And the priest shall take some of the blood of the trespass-offering.*] There stood two priests, as Maimonides represents it, (in his treatise beforementioned, sect. 4.) ready to receive the blood of the lamb: one, in a holy vessel, with which he sprinkled the altar; the other, in his right hand, which he poured into his left: and then with the fore-finger of his right hand put it upon the right ear, &c. of him that was to be cleansed.

*And the priest shall put it upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot.*] The priest standing within the court at the entrance of it, and the man standing still without, the man thrust his head within the gate, and the priest put some of the blood which he held in his hand upon the tip of his right ear. After which, the man stretched out his right arm, and the priest put some of the same blood upon the thumb of his right hand; and next, his right leg, on the great toe of which he likewise put some more blood. Thus Maimonides in the same place. Where he saith, if the priest had put the blood upon the left ear, thumb, or toe, all had been of no effect. And he adds, (sect. 5.) that the blood was put upon half of the flap of his ear, and upon the whole breadth of the top of his thumb and great toe, for if he put it on the sides or beneath it was ineffectual. Which is very reasonable to believe, because there was no natural efficacy in these things to cleanse a leper; but it depended wholly upon the will and pleasure of God, which was punctually therefore to be observed; that, by the exact performance of all these ceremonial signs (as Pellicanus speaks) in the face of the church, all men might be satisfied that he was perfectly purified; and he might be publicly authorized to associate himself with the rest of God's people, and be no longer abominated by them for his impurity. For the signification of these ceremonies some think to have been, that he was restored to free communion with God, and with man. (See Exod. xxix. 20.) And Abarbinel looks upon them as a signification also, that the leprosy began in those parts of the body (which are less fleshy and fat), and were now, therefore, particularly declared clean. But whatever the intention of them was, there was a just and wise reason, no doubt, for them; though at this distance from those ages, countries, and customs, &c. we may not be able to discover it.

Ver. 15. *And the priest shall take some of the log of oil, and pour it into the palm of his own left hand.*] Or, as Maimonides saith, he might pour some of it into the left hand of the other priest, who sprinkled the blood at the altar.

Ver. 16. *And the priest shall dip his right finger in the oil,* &c.] The fore-finger of his right hand, as the same Hebrew doctor observes.

*And shall sprinkle of the oil with his finger seven times before the Lord.*] At every sprinkling he dipped his finger in the oil, and directed it towards the most holy place, where God dwelt: though, if it were not exactly directed to it, the same doctor saith, the sprinkling was good.

Ver. 17. *And of the rest of the oil that is in his hand shall the priest put upon the tip of the right ear,* &c.] Then the priest returned to the man who was to be cleansed, upon the tip of whose ear, and thumb, and toe, he had put the blood of the trespass-offering, and put some of this oil upon that blood. Which seems to have been a token of forgiveness by the blood, and of healing by the oil.

Ver. 18. *And the remnant of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall pour upon the head of him that is to be cleansed.*] Which one thing, if it were omitted, the leper was not cleansed. As for the rest of the log of oil, which was not all poured into his hand, but only some of it, (ver. 15.) that was distributed to the priests (as the same Maimonides observes), who alone might eat it in the court of the tabernacle, as they did other holy things. But none might taste of it before the sprinkling, and other things beforementioned, were performed. If any man did he was beaten; as he was who ate the holy things before the sprinkling of the blood. For that was a great profaneness for any person to take his portion before God had that which belonged unto him.

*And the priest shall make an atonement for him before the Lord.*] This seems to suppose that the leprosy was inflicted as a punishment for some sin, which by this sacrifice was taken away. But the word *make atonement* doth not always signify the taking away sin; but sometimes merely making a thing fit for holy uses. Thus Moses is said to *make an atonement for the altar*, Exod. xxix. 36, 37. (See there.) And in the same sense may an atonement be said to be made for the leper by this sacrifice; which restored him to be made partaker of the holy things offered at the altar. (See below, ver. 53.)

Ver. 19. *And the priest shall offer the sin-offering.*] The other *he-lamb*, mentioned ver. 10. which was to be offered after the manner of the sin-offering for such offences (as Abarbinel understands it) as he knew he had committed.

*And make an atonement for him that is to be cleansed.*] His atonement was begun by the *trespass-offering*, (ver. 18.) and was advanced by this; which, Abarbinel thinks, was added, to make men more cautious how they contracted any sort of impurity, which would put them to great charges, before they were purged from it. For he could find no other reason, he saith, for the like sacrifices which were offered by him that had an *issue*, or had meddled with a *menstruous woman*, or had been defiled by the *dead*, or tasted *swine's* flesh, or any *creeping* thing.

*And afterward he shall kill the burnt-offering.*] This being a present to God himself, was not accepted, till, by the other offerings for trespass and sin, the man was purified. And this I take to be properly the Δῶρον, or *gift*, mentioned by our Saviour, Matt. viii. 4.

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Ver. 20. *And the priest shall offer the burnt-offering and the meat-offering upon the altar.*] There were so many offerings made, to shew the greatness of his uncleanness, and now his perfect cure. We read of no *meat-offering* made with the two former sacrifices; but the *three tenth-deals of fine flour* (mentioned ver. 10.) seem to signify, every one of these sacrifices, the *trespass-offering*, the *sin-offering*, and the *burnt-offering*, had its proportion of a *tenth-deal* of flour offered with it. But if we think the whole was appropriated to the *burnt-offering*, yet it was the same thing to the leper, whose cleansing cost him as dear one way as the other. Only by understanding it thus, the priest, perhaps, had a greater reward for his pains; if we suppose he only burnt a handful upon the altar (as the manner was in these offerings), and had all the rest to his own use. (See chap. ii. ver. 2, 3.)

*And the priest shall make an atonement for him, and he shall be clean.*] By this, his atonement was completed; and he was made so perfectly clean, as to be admitted to be partaker of the altar, when *peace-offerings* were sacrificed.

By this very long process, through so many different rites, and for so many days, before men could be purified from a legal defilement in their bodies, was a plain instruction to all persons of good sense, how much more difficult it would prove to cleanse their souls from those moral impurities which they contracted by long habits of sin: and what great pains must be taken both by the sinners themselves, and by God's ministers, to root them out; and with what repeated prayers the mercy of God towards them was to be implored, of which they ought not hastily to presume.

Ver. 21. *And if he be poor, and cannot get so much.*] The Divine Goodness always made a merciful provision that his service should not be burdensome to men; and therefore took care the poor should not be charged with too costly sacrifices, and yet partake of the benefit of them as much as the rich. (See i. 14. 17. v. 11, &c.)

*He shall take.*] After he had undergone all the purgations beforementioned, from the fourth verse of this chapter to the tenth, which continued for seven days together: for though his poverty excused him from such chargeable sacrifices, as others of greater ability were to offer, yet he was to be at all the trouble and pains that others took for their purification; there being not one of the rites before prescribed which is omitted in the following verses, only they were less expensive.

*One lamb for a trespass-offering.*] It is not determined whether it should be a *he-lamb* or a *ewe-lamb*; and, therefore, it was left indifferent, for the greater ease of his poverty; only it was to be of the *first year*, and without *blemish*, as is prescribed ver. 10.

*To be waved.*] According to the directions given ver. 12.

*To make an atonement for him.*] Which was effected by this, as well as by a more valuable sacrifice; when it was the best he had to offer.

*And one tenth-deal of fine flour, mingled with oil.*] Instead of three tenth-deals, which the richer sort were to offer, (ver. 10.) But if a poor man had vowed he would offer all that is prescribed in that verse, in case God would be pleased to cure him, he was bound thereby (as Maimonides says in the forenamed treatise), and this smaller sacrifice would not serve for his cleansing; but, by the help of his friends or neighbours, he was to procure all that he had vowed.

*And a log of oil.*] This is the same quantity, the better sort were to offer; for oil was not dear in this country.

Ver. 22. *And two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons.*] Instead of the other two lambs, required of those who could provide them, (ver. 10.)

*Such as he is able to get.*] The best he could procure: but the meanest would be accepted, if he could get no better.

*And the one shall be a sin-offering, and the other a burnt-offering.*] Neither of which was to be omitted, though the things offered were but mean: (see i. 14. v. 11.) it being necessary he should perform all religious services, according to his ability. And I think the observation of Conr. Pellicanus is not absurd, that, though there was an exchange made of two lambs for two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, in consideration of a man's poverty; yet no person whatsoever, whether rich or poor, could be cleansed without the sacrifice of *one lamb*: which may well be looked upon as the figure of *the Lamb of God*, who alone taketh away the sins of the whole world.

Ver. 23. *And he shall bring them on the eighth day.*] This plainly suggests, that this poor man had done all that was prescribed on the seven days foregoing, as well as the rich.

*For his cleansing unto the priest, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation*, &c.] See ver. 10, 11, &c. where all that follows here, unto ver. 33. is explained: there being the same rites prescribed, and in the same words, about a poor man, which were used for the cleansing of the rich.

Ver. 24. *And the priest shall take the lamb of the trespass-offering.*] See ver. 12.

Ver. 25. *And he shall kill the lamb.*] See ver. 13.

*And shall take some of the blood of the trespass-offering, and put it upon the tip*, &c.] See this explained, ver. 14.

Ver. 26. *And the priest shall pour of the oil into the palm of his own left hand.*] See ver. 15. It is not said either there or here how much, but only *some of the oil* (as it is there translated), that is, as much as the priest thought would be sufficient.

Ver. 27. *And the priest shall sprinkle with his right finger*, &c.] According to the directions given before, ver. 16.

Ver. 28. *And the priest shall put of the oil that is in his hand upon the tip of the right ear*, &c.] See ver. 17.

*Upon the place of the blood of the trespass-offering.*] It being not said here, *upon the blood of the trespass-offering*, (as the words are ver. 17.) but *upon the place of the blood*; the Jews infer from thence, that if the blood laid upon the tip of the *ear*, *thumb*, or *toe*, were by any means wiped off, it was sufficient to lay the oil in the very place where the blood had been. So Maimonides, in the forenamed treatise, concerning *those that wanted expiation*, sect. 5. But that which he there adds is very unreasonable; that if a man wanted the thumb of his right hand, or the great toe of his right foot, or the lap of his right ear, he could never be purified from his uncleanness. For it is not to be thought, that God would make his cleansing impossible, who was maimed or defective in any of these parts: which had been to add one misery to another. Therefore, in this case, the blood and the oil might be put upon the parts next to these.

Ver. 29. *And the rest of the oil that is in the priest's hand,*

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*he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed*, &c.] See ver. 18.

Ver. 30. *And he shall offer the one of the turtle-doves, or of the young pigeons, such as he can get.*] *i. e.* The best that he is able to procure.

Ver. 31. *Even such as he is able to get.*] He repeats it again, that the man might not be troubled if he was not able to procure the very best, provided he did his endeavour to bring the best that his estate could reach.

*The one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering*, &c.] See ver. 19, 20.

Ver. 32. *This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy.*] Who was shut out of the camp, because of the leprosy, which formerly appeared in him.

*Whose hand is not able to get that which pertaineth to his cleansing.*] Who is so poor that he cannot procure what is prescribed to those that are able to make such offerings as are beforementioned, (ver. 10, &c.) for their reception into the congregation again, when they are found to be free from their leprosy.

But here Maimonides puts this case: suppose a man, having brought the offering of the poor, suddenly becomes rich; or, on the contrary, having brought a rich man's offering, immediately becomes poor, what is to be done? He answers; if this happen before the sacrifice be finished, he is to proceed according to the state in which he was when his *sin-offering* was offered: that is, offer the sacrifice of a rich man, *viz.* another lamb, if he was then rich; or the sacrifice of a poor man, if he was then poor.

Ver. 33. *And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying.*] Now he again speaks to them both conjunctly, (which he did not ver. 1.) as he had done xiii. 1. because Aaron and his sons were peculiarly concerned to judge concerning the leprosy in houses as well as in their inhabitants.

Ver. 34. *When ye come into the land of Canaan.*] This seems to import that the leprosy did not infect their habitations, till they came into the land of Canaan. When some of the rabbins say, (as R. Levi Barzelonita observes, Præcept. clxxvii.) that God sent this plague for the good of the Israelites, into certain houses, that they being pulled down, the treasure which the Amorites had hidden there might be discovered. But this looks like one of their dreams, who are not willing to think themselves at any time out of the favour of God.

*Which I give you for your possession.*] From these words (and those in the conclusion of this verse, where Canaan is called *the land of their possession*), Moses bar Nachman draws a better conclusion; that the leprosy was a Divine stroke in this country, and no where else; because it was *a holy land*, bestowed upon the Israelites by God, who dwelt here himself, and punished great offences against his Divine majesty with this sore disease; whereby he banished them from his presence, till they amended.

*And I put the plague of leprosy upon a house*, &c.] These words seem to be a good ground to think, that this plague was a supernatural stroke: not like the contagion which now adheres to the house and clothes of those who have the pestilence. Thus Abarbinel understands it when he saith, *I put the plague*, it shews the thing was "not natural, but proceeded from the special providence and pleasure of the blessed God." And so the author of Sepher Cosri: (par. ii. sect. 58.) "God inflicted this plague of leprosy upon houses and garments, as a punishment for lesser sins; and when men continued still to multiply transgressions, then it invaded their bodies." So that it began in the houses, which were not infected by the inhabitants, but the inhabitants by the houses. And Maimonides will have this to have been the punishment of an *evil tongue, i. e.* of detraction and calumny; which began in the walls of his house, and went no further, but vanished, if he repented of his sin. But if he persisted in his rebellious courses, it proceeded to his household-stuff: and if he still went on, it invaded his garments, and at last his body, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47.) The very same is quoted by Muscatus, out of Midrash Ruth, to this sense: "That God is so very merciful, as not at first to inflict punishment on men's bodies, as appears in the case of Job; whose goods were first destroyed, and then his children, before his body was touched: and in the plagues of Egypt itself, whose vines and fig-trees God smote, and then their cattle, before he killed their first-born. In the same manner, the plague of leprosy first invaded a man's habitation; though not the whole house, but some stones only, in the beginning of it. Then it spread all over, till the house was pulled down. From thence it went to men's garments; and, if they did not amend, to their bodies; till in the issue they were shut out of the camp, from the company of their brethren." R. Levi Barzelonita explains it after the same manner, in the place beforementioned. And Abarbinel thinks the end and intention of this miracle (as he calls it) "to be a caution and admonition from God, that the man might be converted from his sins: as if the stone in the wall had cried out, and the beam out of the timber answered it, (as Habakkuk speaks, ii. 11.) to the master of the house, saying, 'Turn unto the Lord thy God, O Israel: behold, the plague is come into thy house; and if thou wilt not be converted, it shall abide upon thee and on thy children.'" And this he saith is the opinion of their rabbins.

*In a house.*] They had no houses till they came into Canaan; but dwelt in tents.

*Of the land of your possession.*] The Jews were so fond of Jerusalem, that they have excepted it from this plague; because, saith the forenamed R. Levi, Jerusalem was not divided among the tribes; and, therefore, cannot be comprehended under the name of *their possession*. This he had out of the Gemara of Bava kama, where this is reckoned among the ten privileges of the holy city; that *it was not defiled with the plague of leprosy*. (See Con. L'Empereur's annotations on Bava kama, cap. 7. sect. 7.)

Ver. 35. *And he that owneth the house shall come and tell the priest*, &c.] As soon as any inhabitant (for he is meant by him that *owneth the house*) had a suspicion that this plague was in his dwelling, he was bound to give notice of it to the priest; or else was in danger to incur a further punishment.

Ver. 36. *Then the priest shall command that they empty the house.*] Of all the household-stuff: and that the inhabitants also should go out of it.

*Before the priest go into it to see the plague.*] To see whether that which the man suspected was the plague or not.

*That all that is in the house be not made unclean.*] Till the priest had given his judgment, all things in the house were accounted clean: as till a man was pronounced by



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him to have a leprosy, nobody was bound to avoid his company.

*And afterward the priest shall go in to see the house.*] When it was cleared of every thing that might hinder his exact inspection.

Ver. 37. *And, behold, if the plague be in the walls of the house.*] They were principally to be searched, together with the pavement, and the roof; where this plague appeared.

*With hollow strakes.*] There was the same kind of mark of a leprosy in a house, that there was of it in the body of a man: for if a spot was deeper than the skin of the flesh, (xiii. 3.) it was a bad token: in like manner, when there were *hollow* or *depressed strakes* in the wall of a house, (or, as it is in the latter end of this verse, *in sight lower than the wall*), it was a sign of the leprosy, which began to corrode and eat into it. This seems to be the import of the Hebrew word *schickharuroth*, which signifies something that lies deep, and is sunk into the place where it is. For that is a more probable derivation of the word, from *schakah*, than that of Forsterus, who derives it from *schakar*, which signifies false. And so the LXX. translate it by the Greek word Κοιλάδας, signifying the leprosy had so eaten into the stones, as to have *pitted* them (as we speak in our language), *i. e.* made a cavity in them. Which the Jews justly looked upon as a thing very extraordinary; a *miraculous effect* (as Maimonides calls it) of the Divine hand.

*Greenish or reddish.*] Which was the mark of a leprosy in a garment, (xiii. 49.)

Ver. 38. *Then the priest shall go out of the house, to the door of the house.*] Where he was to stay till he had seen the house shut up, that none might go into it, and thereby be endangered to be defiled.

*And shut it up seven days.*] In which time he might be able to make a certain judgment, whether it was the leprosy or not. (See xiii. 4.) For the plague would sooner appear when the house was not inhabited.

Ver. 39. *And the priest shall come again the seventh day, and shall look.*] Make a new inspection, as he did when a man or a garment were suspected to have the leprosy, (xiii. 6. 51.)

*And, behold, if the plague be spread in the walls of the house.*] This was a bad sign in a man's body or garment, (xiii. 5. 51.)

Ver. 40. *Then the priest shall command that they take away the stones in which the plague is.*] As far as it was spread in the walls of the house; which it seems were generally made of stone, when they came to Canaan. Meaner houses, the Jews say, were not infected with the leprosy: nor a habitation called a *house* (as their doctors affirm) unless it had four walls of four cubits high, built of stones and timber, (ver. 45.)

*And they shall cast them into an unclean place, without the city.*] Where they threw their dung and all manner of filth. For such places there were without their cities; as there were others where no manner of filth might be thrown; which were called *clean places.* (See iv. 12.)

Ver. 41. *And he shall cause the house to be scraped within round about,* &c.] All the rest of the walls, where no spots as yet appeared, were to be scraped; that if any of the contagion stuck to them, it might be taken away, and the spreading of it prevented. For which end these scrapings were also thrown out into the same unclean place where the stones were laid.

Ver. 42. *And they shall take other stones, and put them in the place of those stones.*] Put fresh untainted stones in the room of the other which were taken out of the walls.

*And he shall take other mortar, and plaster the house.*] Command them to lay fresh plaster all over the walls, where they were scraped.

Ver. 43. *And if the plague come again, and break out in the house, &c. after he had taken away the stones,* &c.] If after all the forementioned care (of putting in new stones, scraping, and new plastering the walls) the same marks appeared again, which are mentioned ver. 37. the house was to be pulled down, as it is directed in the next verse but one.

Ver. 44. *Then the priest shall come and look.*] Upon notice given him; or, perhaps, he was bound to come after a certain time, and examine the state of it.

*And, behold, if the plague be spread in the house, it is a spreading leprosy.*] Of the same nature with that in a garment, which could not be stopped. (See xiii. 51.)

*It is unclean.*] Incapable to be cleansed from the leprosy, and therefore (as it follows) to be demolished.

Ver. 45. *And he shall break down the house, the stones of it, and the timber thereof, and all the mortar of the house.*] This was a damage to the owner, but it was to prevent a greater unto him, and unto others: and was not done till there was no remedy. For if he had hearkened to the stones that cried out of the wall (as Abarbinel speaks), saying, *Repent, and amend,* &c. (which was the meaning of the plague) the infection would have spread no further. (See ver. 34.) The same author fancies, that this plague in their houses was an emblem of the idolatry they would exercise there, when they came into Canaan: and that the pulling down of *their* houses, was a sign of the destruction of the sanctuary itself, because of their iniquities. This seems to be something forced: but we may not unfitly look upon this manner of proceeding with their houses, when they were infected (some of the stones whereof were taken out, &c. before all was pulled down), as a representation of God's proceedings with them, when they rebelled against him: for, first, some of them were removed; and then the whole nation, by degrees, very much impaired, before they were all carried captive out of their own land.

*And he shall carry them forth out of the city, into an unclean place.*] Order them to be carried to the place, where the stones and the scrapings of the house, mentioned ver. 40, 41. were thrown. Which may well be looked upon as a figure of their being carried away for their wickedness into heathen countries, which in Scripture are called *unclean lands.* Such the land of Canaan was before they came into it, (Ezra ix. 11.) and such were all people uncircumcised, (Isa. lii. 1.)

Ver. 46. *Moreover, he that goeth into the house all the while that it is shut up,* &c.] If he did but enter within the door of the house, while it remained under a suspicion of being defiled, he contracted a defilement himself, under which he lay till night. Which strict care to keep the Israelites free from all such pollutions, is an admonishment to us (as Conradus Pellicanus well notes) to avoid all suspected places and company: according to the exhortation of the apostle, "Abstain from all appearance of evil."

Ver. 47. *And he that lieth in the house shall wash his*

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*clothes.*] It sufficed for the cleansing of him that only entered into such a house, but made no stay there, to be separated for a short time from society: but he that lay there all night, was to do more for his purification; being in more danger to bring away the infection, if there were any.

*And he that eateth in the house shall wash his clothes.*] He that made a meal there was also exposed to danger, and therefore was bound to wash his clothes (which were very apt to catch the infection), though he did not stay so long as to lie there.

Ver. 48. *If the plague had not spread in the house, after it was plastered, then the priest shall pronounce the house clean.*] Just as it was in the leprosy in men's bodies, or garments, (xiii. 6. 53.)

*Because the plague is healed.*] A stop being put to its progress, it was a sign the house was free from the plague, of which it was suspected.

Ver. 49. *And he shall take to cleanse the house two birds, and cedar-wood, and scarlet, and hyssop.*] The very same rites are used for the cleansing of a house, which were appointed for the cleansing of man, (ver. 4.) And the reason of it was, as Abarbinel well conjectures, to denote that the house was smitten for the man's sake; who was to look upon himself as saved and preserved by the Divine mercy.

It is not said here, indeed, that these two birds should be *alive* and *clean*, (as is directed ver. 4.) but that is necessarily understood; for he is ordered immediately to kill one of the birds, and let the other fly away (as in the former case), and nothing unclean could be of effect to cleanse a man from uncleanness.

Ver. 51. *And he shall take the cedar-wood, and the hyssop,* &c.] This whole verse is explained before, ver. 6. which differs not from this in any thing; but only that the living bird is *there* mentioned in the first place, and *here* in the last: and in this verse is more distinctly declared, that all these things should be dipped *in the blood of the slain bird, and in the running water.*

Ver. 52. *And he shall cleanse the house with the blood of the bird,* &c.] There is nothing to be observed here, more than before, but only this, that the house is said to be cleansed *by the living bird,* as well as by the *blood of that which was slain:* its flying away being a declaration the house was free for any man's habitation. Thus the scapegoat, which was let run into the wilderness, took away the sins of the people, as well as the goat offered at the altar. (See xvi. 5.)

Ver. 53. *And he shall let go the living bird out of the city into the open field.*] This justifies what the Jewish doctors say upon ver. 7. (See there.)

*And make an atonement for the house.*] An atonement was made for the house, no otherway than for the altar, (see upon ver. 18.) by cleansing it so as to make it fit for any man to dwell in it.

*And it shall be clean.*] The owner (who was commanded to forsake the house, ver. 36.) or any one else, might return to it, and inhabit it, as before it was suspected to have the plague in it.

Ver. 54. *This is the law for all manner of plagues, and leprosy, and scall.*] The rule whereby to judge and to cleanse all leprosies in the bodies of men; and that leprosy in the head or the beard, called a *scall,* (xiii. 30—38.)

Ver. 55, 56. *And for the leprosy of a garment, and of a house, and for a raising,* &c.] The foregoing verse and these two, are a recapitulation of the laws delivered in the thirteenth chapter and in this.

Ver. 57. *To teach when it is unclean, and when it is clean.*] To guide the priest in judgment when to pronounce a man, a garment, or a house, infected with the leprosy; or when to declare them free from it.

*This is the law of leprosy.*] Here is a conclusion of what belongs to this matter. Which profane minds, who love to disparage the Holy Scripture, and admire no ancient authors but such as Homer, Virgil, and Plautus, (to use the words of Pellicanus upon ver. 39.) may deride as unworthy to be made a part of a Divine law. But men better disposed may discern herein the great goodness of God to the Israelites, whom he had adopted for his peculiar people, in taking care to give them precepts about all manner of things, which were many ways profitable both for the regulating their manners and preserving their health; and accustoming them to an exact obedience to him in every thing. And who doth not see that by these external rites and ceremonies he admonishes us to keep pure consciences, void of offence both towards God and men, in a strict observance of all the rules of our most holy religion?

## CHAP. XV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying.*] For Aaron was particularly concerned to see these laws observed, as well as the foregoing.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them.*] Moses, it is likely, first delivered these laws to them, in the presence of Aaron; who afterward instructed and exhorted them to the observance of them.

*When any man hath a running issue.*] He speaks of that disease which physicians call a *gonorrhœa:* which commonly proceeded from an ill course of life, and had in those countries a great virulency in it. If it proceeded merely from some strain in the back, by carrying too great a burden, or by violent leaping, (and several other natural causes, which Maimonides enumerates in his Mechuss. Kapparah, cap. 2.) the man was not defiled with it, nor concerned in this law. And therefore the causes from whence it proceeded were diligently to be considered, as Maimonides there admonishes; which might be discerned by such effects, as made it a very nasty and offensive disease in those hot countries, as it is sometimes here in these colder climates.

*Out of his flesh.*] The word *flesh* signifies the secret parts, as it doth Gen. vi. 10. xvii. 13. Ezek. xvi. 26. and other places.

*Because of his issue he is unclean.*] Upon that account alone he was to be kept from the sanctuary, and separated from company. (See ver. 31.)

Ver. 3. *And this shall be his uncleanness in his issue.*] The rule whereby to judge of it.

*Whether the flesh run with his issue, or his flesh be stopped from his issue, it is his uncleanness.*] Whether there were a continued distillation of the corrupt matter, or it was so coagulated as to stop in the passage: either way, it made the man unclean.

*Be stopped from his issue.*] Rather, *with his issue;* as the Hebrew words will bear.



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Ver. 4. *Every bed whereon he lieth that hath the issue is unclean: and every thing whereon he sitteth,* &c.] This and the following verses unto ver. 13. are a demonstration that this disease made a man legally unclean to a very high degree: being so offensive, that not only every thing he touched became unclean, but whosoever touched such things was made unclean also. There is little in them that needs any explication; the only difficulty was, to know whether a man laboured under this disease. Which was not wholly left unto his conscience to determine; but his countenance discovered it: the continual flux making a great alteration in the whole habit of his body. For virulent gonorrhœas sometimes last several years (as Tho. Bartholinus saith, he knew one that had it ten years, and was reduced to skin and bone), being frequently accompanied with inflammations and ulcers in the neighbouring parts, from which the filthy humour flows, (Bartholin. Hist. Anatom. Cent. ii. Hist. xxxvi.)

Ver. 5. *And whosoever toucheth his bed.*] Upon which he hath lain.

*Shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water; and be unclean until the even.*] Which was the law in other cases, when men had touched an unclean thing, (xi. 23.)

Ver. 6. *And he that sitteth on any thing whereon he sat that hath the issue.*] Though he did but just sit down, and did it ignorantly; presently rising up again as soon as he knew his error; he became defiled, and might not go to the sanctuary till he was purified, by washing his clothes and himself in water.

Ver. 7. *And he that toucheth the flesh of him that hath the issue.*] That is, any part of his body.

Ver. 8. *And if he that hath the issue spit upon him that is clean,* &c.] By the same reason, if he blowed his nose upon him it defiled him.

*Then he shall wash his clothes.*] *i. e.* The man upon whom the spittle fell.

Ver. 9. *And what saddle soever he rideth upon,* &c.] By the same reason that the seat he sat upon was defiled, (ver. 4.)

Ver. 10. *And whosoever toucheth any thing that was under him,* &c.] Either the saddle, or any thing else that was under him when he rode.

*And he that beareth any of those things,* &c.] Removeth them from one place to another; though it be to carry them out of the way, that others may not be defiled by them unawares.

Ver. 11. *And whomsoever he toucheth that hath the issue (and hath not rinsed his hands in water) he shall wash,* &c.] It is somewhat doubtful, whether these words *(hath not washed his hands in water)* belong to him that had the issue, or to him that his hands touched. Most understand it of the former, that if the man who had an issue touched any other man, and had not first washed his hands, that man whom he touched should be defiled. But the Syriac takes it to refer to the man that was touched by him, who, if he did not immediately wash his hands with water, was to be cleansed after a more laborious manner, by washing his clothes, and bathing himself in water. But I do not see how washing of his hands could cleanse him; when the man that had the issue touched, perhaps, some other part of his body.

Ver. 12. *And the vessel of earth that he toucheth, which hath the issue, shall be broken,* &c.] That it might not be employed hereafter to any use. (See xi. 33. vi. 18.)

*And every vessel of wood shall be rinsed in water.*] Such vessels were not broken, but only well washed, because they were not so easily made as the other, and were of more value. There are so many washings prescribed here, and on other occasions, that it is reasonable to believe there were not only at Jerusalem, and in all other cities, but in every village, several bathing-places contrived for these legal purifications, that men might, without much labour, be capable to fulfil these precepts. And one cannot but think that such frequent washings were enjoined, to admonish them how carefully they ought to preserve purity of heart and life.

Ver. 13. *And when he that hath an issue is cleansed of his issue.*] It having ceased for some time.

*Then he shall number to himself seven days for his cleansing.*] That there might be sufficient proof made whether the issue was stopped; that is, he was really cured.

*And wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh.*] In the conclusion of the seventh day.

*In running water.*] *i. e.* Spring-water (as we speak), which was most pure. River-water was the same, which comes from springs.

*And shall be clean.*] So that he might keep company with his neighbours, but not have communion with God at the sanctuary, till after the following sacrifices were offered: for, if in the end of the seventh day, after his washing, the flux returned again, all this labour was lost, and he was to stay seven days more, as Maimonides observes in his treatise on this subject, cap. 3.

Ver. 14. *And on the eighth day.*] If he continued free from the flux, after his washing on the seventh day, in the evening.

*He shall take to him two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons.*] These were the sacrifices appointed for the meaner sort of people, who were not able to be at the charge of a lamb, or other sacrifices of the flock or herd, (v. 7. xii. 8.) And perhaps the great trouble the man had endured, and given others, while he laboured under this disease, might be considered so far as to put him to as little charge as might be for his purification.

*And come before the Lord, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] But not into the court of the Israelites, till his sacrifices were offered.

Ver. 15. *And the priest shall offer them, the one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering.*] As in the case of a poor leper, (xiv. 31.) who was bound also to offer a trespass-offering of greater value.

*And the priest shall make an atonement for him before the Lord, for his issue.*] Perfectly restore him to partake of holy things, of which he was debarred while he had his issue. And here it may be fit to observe, that the greater part of all the legal defilements depended upon the seat or place of the Divine Majesty, (as the author of Sepher Cosri speaks, par. iii. sect. 49.) whose presence there made their country be called the *holy land,* and was the ground of all these injunctions about cleanliness: to which, he thinks, they have no obligations at this day, now that they live in an *unclean land* (*i. e.* among us gentiles), and want the presence of the Divine Majesty among them.

Ver. 16. *And if any man's seed of copulation.*] Though

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the holy writers speak very plainly of some things, that we think it not so modest to name in that manner; yet it is observable, on the other hand, that in things of the same nature, they use circumlocutions to express them, which we stick not to speak of in blunter words. As when they say, *the water of the feet*, meaning urine; and call going to stool, *uncovering of the feet;* which shews that it is nothing but the vast difference of times and places, which makes that language seem uncivil to us, that was not so to them; and, on the contrary, made them very cautious in their expressions, where we think it unnecessary.

*Go out from him.*] Involuntarily; in his sleep, or otherwise, which the Hebrews call *keri, i. e.* accidental.

*Then he shall wash all his flesh with water, and be unclean until the even.*] This was one of the smallest legal pollutions, from which they were soon cleansed without any sacrifice; and which some of them think did not oblige them to wash, unless they intended to go to the sanctuary. But though that opinion be not true, yet this rite had such a respect to the sanctuary, that now they have none, they do not think themselves bound to use it on such occasions.

Ver. 17. *And every garment, and every skin,* &c.] These things were made so unclean by such accidents, that they might not be used the next day, nor till they were washed.

Ver. 18. *The woman also with whom man shall lie with seed of copulation.*] It is no wonder the holy writers speak so plainly of these matters, being men of great simplicity, free from all wantonness, commonly far advanced in years; among whom marriage and a numerous issue were accounted the greatest blessings, and therefore coveted by all, and renounced by none.

*They shall both bathe themselves in water,* &c.] There is no sort of pollution in the act of marriage, which is of God's own institution, but what this law made: and the law made it, as Theodoret thinks, that the trouble of such constant purification after it, might preserve them from the immoderate use of it. So those words of his signify, Κελεύει καθαίρεσθαι, ἵνα κωλύῃ τῆς συνουσίας τὸ συνεχὲς, ἡ περὶ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἀσχολία, (Quæst. xx. in Levit.)

Ver. 19. *And if a woman have an issue, and her issue in her flesh be blood.*] In the Hebrew the words run much clearer; *and a woman when she shall have an issue of blood, and her issue be in her flesh.* The latter part of which are added, to distinguish this from bleeding at the nose, or from the hemorrhoids (which did not pollute any body); for the word *flesh* here signifies, as it doth ver. 2.

*She shall be put apart seven days.*] From her husband, and from the sanctuary: to which these sorts of uncleanness have a peculiar respect, as I before noted. And Maimonides here, not unfitly, observes, that whereas the Zabii accounted a man polluted if he did but speak with a menstruous woman, or if the wind, which came from the quarter where she was, blew upon him; God only required her not to meddle with holy things, nor to approach to the sanctuary. Otherwise she might eat all manner of common meat, and perform all domestic offices for her husband, as formerly; only not lie with him while she remained in this condition. So he explains this, More Nev. par. iii. cap. 47.

*And whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even.*] If they were grown persons, as Menochius well observes; for infants were excepted from this pollution, by their age and the necessities of nature. The same is observed by Maimonides, in the chapter forenamed; that the more frequent any of these uncleannesses were, the greater and longer purifications were required. As touching of a dead body, especially of friends and neighbours, being the most usual, it could not be cleansed but by the ashes of the red heifer (which were not easily had), and not till seven days were passed. In like manner, fluxes and menstruous pollutions, because they oftener happened, and were more grievous than touching the unclean, those therefore that laboured under them, had need of seven days' purification; but they that touched them, of one day only, before they became clean.

Ver. 20. *And every thing that she lieth upon in her separation shall be unclean,* &c.] The very same sort of uncleanness was contracted in this case, as in the foregoing, ver. 4, &c. For if we believe some authors, it might not only be properly called *her sickness;* but such an one as had some infection in it (at least something offensive) in those hot countries. (See Pliny, lib. vii. 5. and lib. xxviii. 2.)

Ver. 21. *And whatsoever toucheth her bed,* &c.] This and the two following verses contain the very same prohibition in this case, which were given in the other. (See ver. 5, 6, &c.)

Ver. 24. *If a man lie with her at all.*] *i. e.* Unwittingly, not knowing in what condition she was: for if he did it knowingly, both of them were liable to be cut off, (xx. 18.)

*He shall be unclean seven days.*] As having contracted one of the greatest sorts of uncleanness, (ver. 19.) For though this flux was natural and beneficial, and therefore could have no sort of uncleanness in it but what was made by this law: yet there was a great reason for the keeping men from the company of women in this condition, if leprosies, and such-like diseases, were thereby propagated, as Theodoret says some think; Φάσι γάρ τινες, ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης συναφείας, καὶ λώβην καὶ λέπραν ἀπογεννᾶσθαι, &c. Especially since they were so libidinous a people (as he describes them, in words of a very bad signification), that it was highly necessary to lay such restraints upon them; and to make even involuntary pollutions very penal, that they might learn ὅτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐναγῆ ἑκούσια, *that all wilful uncleannesses were far more detestable.*

Ver. 25. *And if a woman have an issue of blood many days out of the time of her separation,* &c.] As before he spoke of the natural course of the blood, so here of a disease; which Procopius Gazæus calls *malum immedicabile, an incurable evil.* So it sometimes proved, as appears by the story of the woman in the gospel, whose case this was, (Matt. ix. 20.)

*All the days of the issue of her uncleanness shall be as the days of her separation.*] She was to be in the same condition with the woman mentioned ver. 19. who was put apart seven days; *i. e.* as long as her uncleanness lasted. Which made the case of those that laboured under this infirmity very lamentable, because it continued in some many years.

Ver. 26. *Every bed whereon she lieth all the days of her issue shall be unto her as the bed of her separation,* &c.] Like the bed and the seat of her mentioned ver. 20.

Ver. 27. *And whosoever toucheth these things shall be unclean,* &c.] As in the case forementioned ver. 21.

Ver. 28. *But if she be cleansed of her issue.*] Cured of her disease.

*Then shall she number to herself seven days.*] For a trial whether it was a perfect cure or not.

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*After that.*] If there were no return of the flux.

*She shall be clean.*] So as to be restored to common conversation: but not to the sanctuary, till the following oblations were made.

Ver. 29. *And on the eighth day she shall take unto her two turtles, or two young pigeons,* &c.] The same sacrifices which were prescribed in the case of a man who was cured of an issue, (ver. 14.) And this relates only to the extraordinary flux, out of or beyond the usual course of nature, (ver. 25.) for it would have been too burdensome unto some persons, if they had been bound to offer thus once a month.

Ver. 30. *And the priest shall make an atonement for her before the Lord,* &c.] See ver. 15.

Ver. 31. *Thus shall ye separate the children of Israel from their uncleanness.*] Take care that they separate themselves; by instructing them, when they are under any of the forenamed impurities, to observe the directions now given. Thus the LXX. and the Vulgar Latin understand these words.

*That they die not in their uncleanness.*] Lest I punish them with death, if they approach unto my sanctuary, having any of the forementioned uncleannesses upon them.

*When they defile my tabernacle that is among them.*] This shews what is meant by *separation* and *putting apart* in the foregoing verses: which was principally from the tabernacle where God dwelt. Out of respect to which, and to preserve their due regard to it (that is, to God himself), all these cautions were given, as I observed before, ver. 15. of this chapter. And see chap. xii. ver. 4. what I noted out of Maimonides, who discourses excellently on this subject, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 47.) where he observes, that there could not well be a more notable means contrived, to maintain a holy fear and reverence to the Divine Majesty upon their minds, than to forbid every person that was any way polluted to come unto his sanctuary. For there were so many sorts of pollutions, made by the law, that it was very hard to avoid falling under some of them: and, consequently, a business of great care, circumspection, and labour, to approach, as they ought, into the Divine presence. For if a man escaped defilement by a dead body, yet he could not easily avoid being defiled by some of the eight creeping things, which he might chance to tread upon; or might fall on his meat, or his drink: and if he escaped these, yet he might be defiled involuntarily by the means mentioned here, (ver. 16.) or by touching a menstruous woman, or one that had a flux of blood; or, at least, by touching their beds, their seats, or something belonging to them, &c. All which kept a man from the sanctuary; which he could not enter therefore when he pleased, but was to stay a certain time before he could be admitted to worship God there; and not then neither, till he had washed himself. "By all which actions, reverence, affection, and devotion, were preserved to the sanctuary; and men were excited to great humility, which in this was principally regarded."

Ver. 32. *This is the law of him that hath an issue,* &c.] In this and the next verse, he recapitulates the matter of this chapter: as he did in the latter end of the foregoing sum up the contents of that.

Ver. 33. *And of him that hath an issue, of the man and of the woman.*] Even of the person that hath an issue, whether it be man or woman, &c.

## CHAP. XVI.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, after the death of the two sons of Aaron.*] This chapter would have naturally followed the tenth chapter, where the death of those two persons is related, if that had not occasioned the inserting some other laws about uncleanness, (see preface to chapter xi.) which being delivered, Moses now goes on to give direction about the great sacrifice, in which the whole nation was concerned: as he treated of lesser and common sacrifices in the beginning of the book.

*When they offered before the Lord, and died.*] See x. 1. This is mentioned again, to make the priests careful, not only to sacrifice unto the Lord alone, but after such a manner as he ordered.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto thy brother Aaron, that he come not at all times into the holy place, within the veil.*] Into the holy place without the veil, he, or some of the other priests, were bound to go every day, morning and evening, when they offered incense: but into this, as none of them might go at all, so he not at all times, when he went into the other; but only upon one particular occasion, which is mentioned here in this chapter.

*Before the mercy-seat, which is upon the ark.*] This being the place of God's special presence, none might enter into it but his principal minister; and he no oftener than the Divine Majesty allowed; which was only once a year, (it appears from ver. 29.) when he offered the great sacrifice here prescribed. And so much was intimated to Moses before, (Exod. xxx. 10.) And the Jews add, that on this day of the year he might go in but four times; once to burn incense; a second time to sprinkle the blood of the bullock; then to sprinkle the blood of the goat; and lastly, to fetch out the censer, wherein he burnt incense. If he went in a fifth time, he died for his presumption, as they say; particularly R. Levi Barzel. (Præcept. cclxxxvi.) Such sacred places the gentiles had in some countries, which, according to this pattern, were opened only once a year. Particularly Pausanias mentions, in his Bœotica, the temple of Dindymene: which they thought it was not lawful to open more than one day in the year: Μιᾷ δ' ἐφ' ἑκάστων ἐτων ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ οὐ πέρα τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνοίγειν νομίζουσι. And the same he saith of another, in the same book; and in his Eliaca, of the temple of Orcus, Ἀνοίγνυται μὲν ἅπαξ καθ' ἔτος ἕκαστον, &c. *It is opened once every year.* (See Dr. Outram's excellent book De Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 3.)

*Lest he die.*] As his sons had done for their presumption, in offering with other fire than God allowed. In the like danger Aaron himself had been, if he had come into the Divine presence without his leave, and without such caution as is given ver. 13. which is the reason of this order here delivered to Moses, and by him to Aaron, for the prevention of any such dangerous mistake.

*For I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy-seat.*] That was God's own dwelling-place, where his glory appeared; into which, therefore, none might enter, but when he appointed, and as he directed. The only difficulty is, what is meant by *the cloud,* wherein he saith he will appear on the mercy-seat. One would think he meant, as usually, the cloud wherein the Divine Glory resided, (Exod. xl. 34, 35.

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1 Kings viii. 10, 11.) But *the cloud* seems to have been on the outside of the tabernacle; and within a *glory*, or great splendour, only unclouded. And therefore most, I think, understand this of the smoke of the incense, that the high-priest burnt when he entered into the most holy place; which was *the cloud* wherewith the mercy-seat was then covered, (ver. 13.) And there is great reason for this opinion: for if there had been a cloud in the most holy place, over the mercy-seat, before the high-priest entered, what need had there been to make a new cloud of smoke, (as he is ordered ver. 13.) when the Divine *Glory* was sufficiently obscured already? Besides, in the place before-mentioned, (Exod. xl.) the *cloud*, as I now observed, is said to be without the tabernacle, and to cover it; the *glory* only being within: and in the other place of the book of Kings, (and 2 Chron. v. 13, 14.) it is said only *to fill the house of the Lord, i. e.* the body of the temple: but not to be settled upon the mercy-seat. Where we may very well doubt whether there was any cloud or not; but only the Divine Glory. The only ground that I can see for it is, that God is said there *to dwell in thick darkness:* which seems to import, that the Divine Glory was wrapped up in a cloud. But, however that be expounded, these words, which we here translate, *I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy-seat*, may very well be rendered, *I will be approached in a cloud, (i. e.* of incense.) For so this word we translate *appear* is used Exod. xxiii. 15. not for God's appearing to to them, but for the people's appearing before him: and this sense the thirteenth verse seems to enforce, as Campegius Vitringa hath observed, lib. i. Observ. Sacr. cap. 11.

Ver. 3. *Thus shall Aaron come into the holy place.*] As he might come into it only once a year; so then with such preparation, and in such a manner, as is here prescribed. And the Jews say, that he was separated from his own house and family seven days before, and dwelt apart from them in a chamber of the temple; that he might the better prepare himself for the offices of this day, by sprinkling the blood of the daily sacrifice, burning incense, and such-like things. And lest he should be either ignorant of his duty (as some proved, in the latter end of their state, when the high-priesthood was bought for money), or forgetful, the Sanhedrin sent some to read before him the rites of this day; who adjured him also to perform every thing according to God's command. The night before also they let him eat but little, that no accident in the night might make him unfit to officiate the next day; and that he might awake the sooner, and begin the service of the day betimes, as they did upon all great solemnities. All this, and a great deal more, is related in Codex Joma, cap. 1. And Mr. Selden, likewise, hath observed, out of Sepher Schebat Jehuda, with what a magnificent pomp the high-priest was conducted from his own house when he went to the temple, seven days before this day of atonement, accompanied by the king and the whole Sanhedrin, the royal family, and the whole choir of priests, &c. (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 11. n. 7.) Something like this was the triumph wherein our blessed high-priest, Christ Jesus, was conducted to Jerusalem, five days before he offered himself there, for the sins of the whole world, (John xii. 1. 12, 13.)

*With a young bullock for a sin-offering.*] To be offered for himself and for his family, as appears from ver. 6. For no other sacrifice was allowed for the sin of the high-priest (though it were dubious), but only a young bullock, (iv. 2, 3.)

*And a ram for a burnt-offering.*] Which accompanied the *sin-offering* at his consecration, (viii. 18.) But first of all the morning sacrifice was offered, with the additionals usual on this day (as the Jews say), *viz.* a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, all for burnt-offerings.

Ver. 4. *He shall put on the holy linen coat,* &c.] There were eight garments belonging to the attire of the high-priest: four of which are here mentioned, which the Jews call his *white garments;* and four more mentioned Exod. xxviii. 4. which they call the *golden garments;* because there was a mixture of gold in them; whereas these were all made of fine linen. Upon other days, when the high-priest officiated, he was bound to put them on all (not one of the eight being wanting); but on this day, when he went into the most holy place, he put on only those four, which were the habit of the ordinary priests as well as his. This, some conceive, was in token of humility, because this day was appointed for confession of sins, and repentance, &c. Upon which account they imagine, also, these linen garments were coarser than those which he wore every day with his golden garments. But all the Jews agree, that these garments, which he wore on the day of expiation, were made of the purest and most precious linen of all other: which they call (in Massechet Joma, cap. 3.) *fine linen of Pelusium,* which was a city in Egypt, famous for the richest and whitest linen, as our Sheringham shews (in his notes on that treatise) out of Pliny and Silius Italicus. And if we may believe the Talmudists, as the high-priest put on fine linen of Pelusium in the morning of this day, so he put on fine linen of India (*i. e.* in their language, of Ethiopia or Arabia, as Braunius observes, lib. i. de Vest. Sacerd. cap. 7. n. 9.) in the evening of it; which was not of much less value than the other. And this is not disagreeable to Moses, who saith God commanded the priest's garments to be made *for glory and beauty,* (Exod. xxviii. 2.) And therefore the high-priest appeared, even upon this day, in a splendid and noble habit; which was not inconsistent with inward humility and lowliness of mind; whereby the comely and beautiful performance of God's service was not to be obstructed. For whereas, upon other days, the high-priest washed his hands and his feet in the brazen laver; on this day, if we may believe the Jews, he washed them in a vessel of gold, as the same Braunius observes out of Massechet Joma, cap. 4. There are those who fancy the high-priest went into the most holy place with the ephod and breast-plate, whereon were the names of the children of Israel: but that is quite contrary to what Moses here delivers, who mentions no other garments but these of fine linen which he wore upon this day; no, not when he went into the holy place, (ver. 23.) And the Hebrew doctors all thus understand it, as Mr. Selden shews out of them and Josephus, (lib. ii. de Succession. in Pontific. Hebræor. cap. 7. p. 250.)

Yet the Roman church hath grounded a solemn practice upon the forementioned fancy; the priests, and bishops too, being wont on Good Friday to minister only in the habit of deacons, while they are reading or singing the office of the passion; but when they come to the sacrifice of the mass (as they call it), then they put on richer vestments, proper to their order. Which is a mistaken imita-

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tion of the ceremonies under the law, upon this great day of atonement; when the high-priest never put on any of his golden garments for the service of it.

*And he shall have the linen breeches upon his flesh.*] To cover his secret parts. For the word *flesh* is to be understood here as in xv. 2.

*And shall be girded with the linen girdle, and with the linen mitre,* &c.] These two, with the two foregoing, make up the four *white garments:* which might possibly, as the Jews say, be made of the finest and richest linen that could be got, that the high-priest might appear splendid in the simplest habit wherein he ministered. But it is evident he was not allowed to appear in those garments which were wrought with gold, and scarlet, and blue, and purple, (Exod. xxviii. 6. 8, &c.) because such very sumptuous apparel, it must be acknowledged, was not so suitable to the service of the day. On which the high-priest (as the Hebrew gloss notes upon this place) did not so much put on the person of a patron, as of an accuser; confessing their sins before God, and begging pardon for them.

*These are holy garments.*] To be used only when he ministered in the sanctuary, (Exod. xxviii. 2.)

*Therefore he shall wash his flesh in water, and so put them on.*] There was no need, upon other days, to wash more than once, in the beginning of Divine service; but on this great day he washed five times, as oft as he shifted his garments, and went from one ministry to another; as appears in part from ver. 23, 24. where see what I have observed. Here he seems to speak of his washing after he had offered the morning sacrifice, &c. in his golden garments: and then began the service of the day in these *white garments* alone.

Ver. 5. *And he shall take of the congregation of the children of Israel.*] The former sacrifices (ver. 3.) were for himself: these for all the people.

*Two kids of the goat for a sin-offering.*] These *two goats* made but one *sin-offering;* which is described more largely and particularly, ver. 8—10. The former, perhaps, which was sacrificed to the Lord, was to procure those good things which they had forfeited by their sins: and the other (the *scape-goat,* as we translate it) to avert those evils which they had deserved: for the name that is commonly given it by the Greeks, signifies its power to turn away punishments. Or the simple reason of it might be, that the Israelites, by this double sacrifice (for both were presented before the Lord), might be the more fully satisfied of the expiation of their sins. There is the like example before of two birds appointed for the cleansing of a leper's house; one of which only was killed, the other let fly away; but both of them are said to *cleanse* the house, and to be for *atonement,* (xiv. 49. 52, 53.) In which some of the ancient fathers thought they saw a notable type of our Lord Christ. Whose sacrifice, as it was prefigured by all the legal sacrifices, (for the paschal lamb itself was a type of him sacrificed for us, 1 Cor. v. 7.) so by this more especially on the day of expiation. Which was of greater and more universal efficacy than all the rest, and therefore represented him more fully than the other did. Insomuch, that these *two goats* joined in one sacrifice, may be thought to represent one Christ, consisting of two natures. For since it was not possible, as Theodoret expresses it, to adumbrate both the "τὸ θνητὸν, καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον, *that which was mortal, and that which was immortal* in Christ; he commanded two to be brought, ἵνα ὁ μὲν θυόμενος, τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ παθητὸν προτυπώσῃ. ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος δηλώσῃ τὸ ἀπαθὲς τῆς θεότητος· *that the goat which was offered in sacrifice, might prefigure the passable nature of his flesh: and that which was let go, might shew the impassable nature of his Divinity,*" Quæst. xxxii. in Levit. And St. Cyril discourses to the same purpose, in his ninth book against Julian.

*And one ram for a burnt-offering.*] Which was no more than was appointed for Aaron himself, (ver. 3.) who herein is equalled with all the princes of the people; in whose name this ram seems to have been offered.

Ver. 6. *And Aaron shall offer his bullock of the sin-offering, which is for himself.*] Not by killing it, which was done afterwards, (ver. 11.) but only by presenting it before God to be sacrificed; which was done with a solemn prayer, wherein he beseeched God to be propitious unto him and his. The form of it is set down in Massechet Joma, cap. 3. sect. 8. He laid his hand upon the head of the bullock, and said, "I have done amiss, and been rebellious, and sinned before thee, I and my house. I beseech thee now, O Lord, remit my rebellion, and my sin which I have committed, and my house," &c.

*And make an atonement for himself, and for his house.*] For his family, as I said, (ver. 3.) and for all the priests; who are called *the house of Aaron,* (Psal. cxv. 10. 12. cxxxv. 9.) And I do not see why all the house of Levi should not also be understood; for they are not comprehended under the name of *the congregation of the children of Israel* (mentioned in the verse before), and therefore must be contained here under the name of the house of Aaron. (See Numb. i. 49.)

Ver. 7. *And he shall take the two goats.*] Mentioned ver. 5. which were to be of equal stature, of the same colour, and the same price, (as the Hebrew doctors say in Joma, cap. 6.) both designed to the same end, the expiation of their sins.

*And present them before the Lord at the door of the tabernacle,* &c.] All the *sin-offerings* which were made for the congregation, were presented either by the high-priest, or by the elders, (iv. 15.) and by them devoted to God, to be sacrificed on his altar. For this *presenting* of the goat is the same with his *offering* of the bullock in the verse foregoing; which was nothing else but his solemn consecration of them, as I said, to be sacrificed. According to which pattern, our blessed Lord and Saviour, a little before he suffered upon the cross, and made himself a sacrifice for us, voluntarily offered himself to die for our sins. Which is the meaning of those words of his, John xvii. 19. where, praying for his apostles, he saith, *For their sakes I sanctify myself:* that is, *offer* myself to die as an expiatory sacrifice for them. For that ἁγιάζειν sometimes signifies as much as προσφέρειν, Dr. Outram hath demonstrated, lib. ii. De Sacrificiis, cap. 3. And so St. Chrysostom here expounds these words, *I sanctify myself,* by προσφέρω σοὶ θυσίαν, *I offer thee a sacrifice;* or consecrate and devote myself to be sacrificed. And it is not an improbable conjecture of another very learned friend of mine, now also with God (Dr. Spencer), that the appointing of two goats to be both presented to God at the same time, and with the same rites, was to preserve the Jews in a belief that there is but one Principle of all things: who both bestows good things, and inflicts evil. Contrary to the opinion of the gentiles,

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who made two principles, one good and the other bad; which was the ancient belief of the Chaldeans, and other eastern people, and from them propagated to the Greeks and Romans. Most of whose sacrifices (as another very learned man of our own country hath observed) had respect to these two principles; to one of which they offered in the morning, and to the other at night. See Dr. Windet de Vita Functorum statu, sect. 3. where he observes, that there are plain footsteps of this old error at this day, through all the east, as far as China: for there was an endeavour to infect Christianity with it, by Manes the Persian, in the reign of the Emperor Aurelian; nor was there any heresy that spread so far as this dotage did.

Ver. 8. *And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats.*] The manner of it is described in the same treatise, Massechet Joma, (cap. 3. sect. 9.) The high-priest went to the east part of the court, on the north side of the altar, having the *sagan* (his vicar) on his right hand, and the head of the house of the fathers on his left. There stood two *goats* with an urn or box, which they call *calpi*, (the very same name which Lucian, and the scholiast upon Aristophanes, give to the same thing, as our learned Sheringham upon that book, and Bochart in his Hierozoicon, have observed.) Into this urn the two lots were cast, which were made of box-wood (as the Misna here says), and in after-times came to be of gold. But Maimonides, in his treatise on this subject, saith, they might be made either of wood or stone, or any metal, provided one of them was not bigger than the other, (nor one of gold, the other of silver, &c.) but both every way equal, as the goats were to be. Upon one of these lots was written the name of the goat which was for the Lord; and on the other that which was for Azazel. And then the priest, shaking the urn, and putting in both his hands, (as it there follows in Joma, cap. 4.) took up a lot in each. And if he brought up God's lot in his right hand, the *sagan*, who stood there, said, "My lord, lift up thy right hand:" if in his left hand, the head of the fathers said, "Lift up thy left hand." And so the priest let the right hand lot fall upon the goat that stood on the right hand; and his left hand lot upon the other.

*One lot for the Lord.*] To be offered unto the Lord at the altar.

*The other lot for the scape-goat.*] Or, as it is in the Hebrew, for Azazel; as some have anciently translated it. Now why a goat was offered in sacrifice, and another goat let go free, laden with their sins, rather than any other creature, may be understood, perhaps, from the inclination of the heathen world in those days, when they worshipped demons in the form of a goat. The Egyptians were famous for this, and the Israelites themselves (it appears from the seventeenth chapter of this book, ver. 7.) were prone to offer sacrifices *le seirim;* which signifies *demons* in that form. And therefore, to take them off from such idolatrous practices, God ordained these creatures themselves to be sacrificed and slain, to whom they had offered sacrifice. And the young ones he appointed for this purpose (for so *seirim* signifies), which the Egyptians most of all honoured, and abhorred to offer or kill. So Juvenal:

—— "Nefas illic fœtum jugulare Capellæ."
Sat. xv. ver. 11.

Now from hence, perhaps, it was, that some fancied Azazel signified the devil; as R. Menachem and R. Eliezer among the Jews; Julian among the heathen; and some great men lately among us. Who conceive, that as the other goat was offered to God at the altar, so this was sent among the demons, which delight to frequent desert places, and there appeared often in the shape of this creature. But this will not agree with the Hebrew text, which says this goat was for *Azazel*, as the other was *for the Lord.* Now none sure will be so profane, as to imagine, that both these goats being set before the Lord, and presented to him, as equally consecrated to him, he would then order one of them to be for himself, and the other for the devil. We must therefore be content with our own translation, which derives the word *Azazel* from *ez*, a goat; and *azal*, to go away; and fitly calls it the *scape-goat:* so Paulus Fagius, and a great many others: against which I see nothing objected, but that *ez* signifies a *she*-goat, not a *he.* Which made Bochartus fetch this word from the Arabic; in which language *azala* signifies to *remove*, or to *separate.* And this agrees well enough with the name of this goat, according as the ancient translators understood it; some of which, as Symmachus, render it ἀπερχόμενον, *the goat going away:* others, as Aquila, ἀπολελυμένον, *the goat let loose:* and the LXX. ἀποπομπαῖον. In which they had no thought of the notion of this word among the Greeks, who called those demons by this name, who were esteemed ἀλεξίκακοι and ἀποτρόπαιοι (as J. Pollux speaks), *averters of evil things from them:* but simply meant, as Theodoret interprets it, ἀποπεμπόμενος εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, *the goat sent away into the wilderness.* And so St. Jerome expounds it, *Hircus emissarius*, which agrees with the notion which Bochartus puts upon the word out of the Arabic tongue. This goat being sent away into remote places, there to remain separate from the flock to which he belonged; and that upon a mountain (as the Jews fancy) in the wilderness of Sinai, which from this goat was called *Azazel:* but I see no ground for this.

Ver. 9. *And Aaron shall bring the goat upon which the Lord's lot fell.*] In the Hebrew the word is, *went up;* for he first took it up out of the urn, and then let it fall upon the goat.

*And offer him for a sin-offering.*] Devote him to God to be a sacrifice for their sins: beseech him to accept of this sacrifice for that end. So the word *offer*, I observe, signifies, ver. 6. order being given afterward for the killing of the goat, (ver. 15.)

Ver. 10. *But the goat, on which the lot fell to be the scape-goat, shall be presented alive before the Lord.*] This shews that the *scape-goat* was equally consecrated and devoted to God, as the other was; though not to be killed, but sent away alive; after the other had been offered in sacrifice.

*To make an atonement with him.*] For this was a sin-offering, though not slain, no less than the other: as appears from ver. 5. which shews these *two goats* made but one *sin-offering;* which was partly slain at the altar, and partly let go (as it here follows) to run whither he would; the more perfectly to represent the taking away of their sins, and *removing their iniquity*, (as the prophet speaks, Zech. iii. 9.) by virtue of this offering for them.

Some, indeed, have thought that this goat was not sacrificed, but only presented alive before God, and so let go; lest it should be thought God could not forgive their sins,



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unless he was appeased by some slain beast: which imagination was destroyed by letting this *sin-offering* be left alive, at full liberty to run quite away. But I can see no ground for such a construction; because these were not *two* but *one* sin-offering, as I said before: which being slain in part, established that opinion in them, of the impossibility of obtaining reconciliation without a bloody sacrifice. Certain it is, that the whole law supposes this, that *without shedding of blood there is no remission*, as the apostle observes, (Heb. ix. 22.) And therefore it will be more agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, if we think, as some do, that the first goat represented our Lord in his sufferings, and this other in his resurrection; whereby he was freed from the bands of death: both his death and his resurrection being for our deliverance, as the apostle shews, Rom. iv. *ult.*

*And let him go free.*] Whither he pleased. For so the Hebrew word *schalac* (*send him away*, or *dismiss him*), signifies, in Scripture, *entire liberty*, such as God demanded for the Israelites from Pharaoh, (Exod. iv. 23. v. 1.)

*For a scape-goat.*] Into remote places.

*Into the wilderness.*] In token their sins were quite carried away, to be found no more; for the goat was not merely sent into the wilderness, but into the most desert places of it, as appears from ver. 22.

Ver. 11. *And Aaron shall bring the bullock of the sin-offering which is for himself*, &c.] This former part of the verse is word for word the same with ver. 6. which shews that *offering* there (as we translate it) was nothing else but bringing it to be offered; or presenting it before the Lord, to be a sacrifice for himself, and for his family. But now his *bringing* it was, that it might be killed immediately, as it follows in the latter part of this verse.

*And shall make an atonement for himself, and his house.*] By killing it, as the next words tell us.

*And shall kill the bullock of the sin-offering which is for himself.*] He was first to offer for himself, before he could acceptably offer for the people, as the apostle observes, Heb. v. 3. ix. 7. And as the Jews tell us, (in Massechet Joma, cap. 4. sect. 2.) he again put his hand upon the head of the bullock, and made the confession and supplication beforementioned upon ver. 6. And when he had done, then he killed the bullock with his own hands. For though all other sacrifices might be killed by any person, yet the high-priest himself was bound to kill this; as they say in the same place of the Misna, (sect. 3.) And having received the blood of the bullock in a bason, he delivered it to another priest, to keep it in continual agitation, till he had offered incense in the holy place, that so it might not grow thick and be clotted; but be kept liquid and thin, fit to be sprinkled before the mercy-seat.

Ver. 12. *And he shall take a censer full of burning coals of fire.*] Which he held in his right hand.

*From the altar before the Lord.*] From the brazen altar where the bullock was slain: for coals were burning before God no where else but there.

*And his hands full of sweet incense beaten small.*] With his left hand he took as much of the incense, mentioned Exod. xxx. 34. 36. as his hand would hold (besides the incense which he burnt every morning and evening, which was a whole pound), and put it into a cup.

*And bring it within the veil.*] With both these, the censer of coals, and the cup of incense (the former in his right hand, the other in his left), he went within the veil, which divided the holy place from the most holy, and set down the censer; and then (as it follows in the next verse, see there) threw the incense upon the burning coals. This the Hebrew doctors take to have been so difficult a work, that, in the Gemara upon Joma, (cap. 1.) they say some of the elder priests were sent to him beforehand, to shew him how he should fill his hand with the incense. And the Misna there says, that they adjured him in these words: "We are the legates of the great Sanhedrin, and thou art our legate and theirs; we adjure thee, we adjure thee by Him whose name dwells in this house, that thou change not any one thing of all that we have said unto thee." And so they parted with tears on both sides. The reason of which solemn adjuration, they say, was, that the Sadducees affirmed, he might burn the incense *without* the veil, and so enter into the most holy place; directly contrary to this text, which required him to do it *within;* where nobody could see what the high-priest did, and consequently could not tell whether he performed the service there aright. Therefore they took this oath of him, in the latter ages of their state, when some of the faction of the Sadducees were thrust into the priesthood, as Mr. Selden probably conjectures, (lib. iii. de Synedriis, cap. 11. n. 2.) This was the first time of the high-priest's going into the holy of holies on this great day.

Ver. 13. *And he shall put the incense upon the fire before the Lord.*] He entered (as the Misna saith in Joma, cap. 5.) with his face towards the south; and so went sideways (for he might not look upon the ark, where the Divine Glory was) till he came to the staves of the ark; where he set down the censer, and put on the incense. And having filled the house with a cloud of smoke, he went out backward (out of reverence to the Divine Majesty), into the holy place without the veil. Where, when he was come, he made this short prayer, "May it please thee, O Lord God, that this year may be hot and also wet; that the sceptre may not depart from the family of Judah, nor thy people Israel want food; and that the prayer of the wicked may not be heard." And then he presently went out of the sanctuary, and shewed himself to the people; that they might not suspect he had done amiss, and miscarried in his office. For so they say it sometimes happened, that the high-priest, having violated these holy rites appointed by God, was struck dead in the holy place.

The incense which was burnt every day in the holy place, at the golden altar, representing the prayers of the saints, as St. John teaches us, (Rev. viii. 3, 4.) this incense, which was burnt in the holy of holies, may well be thought to represent the prayers of the high-priest himself, which he made upon this occasion; as our blessed Saviour did before he offered the great sacrifice of himself (John xvii. of which more hereafter), with the blood of which he now appears in the heavens before God for us.

*That the cloud of the incense may cover the mercy-seat that is upon the testimony.*] So that nothing of it might be seen: it being the place of the residence of the Divine Majesty, (Exod. xxv. 21, 22.) whose glory was inaccessible.

*That he die not.*] By gazing on the Divine Glory. (See ver. 2. and Exod. xxxiii. 20.)

Ver. 14. *And he shall take of the blood of the bullock.*]

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Having done what is commanded in the foregoing verses, he came out of the sanctuary, and went to the priest whom he left at the altar of burnt-offering, stirring the blood in the bason, which he delivered to him, (as I observed ver. 11.) and taking it from him, went with it (the *second* time) within the veil; and standing where he did before, when he burnt the incense, sprinkled it as is directed in the words following.

*And sprinkle it with his finger.*] *The very root or essence of a sacrifice* (as the maxim of the Jews is) *lies in the sprinkling of the blood.*

*Upon the mercy-seat.*] One would think, by this translation, that he sprinkled the mercy-seat itself, with some of the blood. But all the Jews understand it quite otherwise: and indeed the Hebrew words are *al pene, over against the face, i. e.* as they interpret it, (in the Misna beforementioned, cap. 5.) *towards* the mercy-seat. And so it follows in the next words, *and before the mercy-seat shall he sprinkle.* Only this difference there was in the sprinkling: that this particle *al*, they think, imported that he was to make the first sprinkling, here mentioned, *towards the top* of the mercy-seat. The Vulgar Latin wholly omits this part of the verse, and only mentions the latter sprinkling, seven times *contra propitiatorium, over against the mercy-seat* eastward.

*Eastward.*] I should have thought the observation of our learned countryman (Mr. J. Gregory) very remarkable, if he had been commanded only to sprinkle the blood *eastward.* For then there might have been room for his conjecture, that though Aaron at all other times turned his face towards the west (where the most holy place was) and at the very killing of the goat and the bullock, not only looked that way himself, but turned their faces towards the west (as the Jews say in Joma), yet, when he came to perform the chief part of this mystery, *he turned his back upon the beggarly elements of the world,* and sprinkled this blood *eastward,* to represent the man, whose name is the *East, i. e.* Christ. But I do not see how this agrees with this sprinkling the blood *before the mercy-seat;* which could not be done without looking towards the west. And therefore it must be confessed that he did not sprinkle it eastward: but standing eastward of the mercy-seat, with his face towards it, he performed this office, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 16. p. 426.) Or it may be said to be done *eastward,* because that part of the ark before which he sprinkled looked *eastward.*

*And before the mercy-seat shall he sprinkle of the blood with his finger seven times.*] This is a distinct sprinkling from the foregoing, which was done but once, and towards the upper part of the mercy-seat; but this was done seven times, towards the lower part of it, as the Jews understand it: who say he sprinkled eight times in all, but none of the blood touched the mercy-seat. So the Gemara on that place, and Maimonides in his Jom hakippurim, and Obadiah Bartenoca, whose words are these; "The drops of blood did not come upon the mercy-seat, but fell upon the ground;" as two of our very learned countrymen have observed, Mr. Sheringham upon Joma, and Dr. Outram, lib i. De Sacrificiis, cap. 16. n. 4.

*Seven times.*] Concerning this number *seven,* see before, iv. 6. This was the *second* time of going into the holy of holies upon this day.

Ver. 15. *Then shall he kill the goat of the sin-offering that is for the people.*] The blood of which was received in a bason, as that of the bullock was, (see ver. 11.) and he carried it within the veil (as here follows), and did just as he had done before, (ver. 14.) But whether he first burnt incense, as he had done before he brought in the blood of the bullock, is uncertain: it is likely the fume that had been then made still remained; so that there was no need to renew it.

*And do with that blood as he did with the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle,* &c.] For he stood in the same place (as the Misna observes), and there sprinkled once towards the top of the mercy-seat; and then seven times before the bottom of it. Which is not here expressly said, but is to be understood from what goes before; which orders him to do with this blood as he had done with the other.

This now was the *third* time of his going into the most holy place upon this day. (See ver. 2.)

Ver. 16. *And he shall make an atonement for the holy place.*] By the sprinkling beforementioned (both of the blood of the bullock and of the goat, as I gather from ver. 18.) God's own dwelling-place was purified: the blood (which was sprinkled seven or eight times before the mercy-seat) being thrown, it is probable, towards both sides of it.

*Because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions in all their sins.*] The many sins whereby they had transgressed God's holy laws, the whole year before, had made them so unclean, that it provoked God to leave them, and made this most holy place unfit for his habitation; unless he were reconciled to them: for it was seated among an unclean people, as the rest of the sanctuary was; and on that score might need an atonement. (See Exod. xxix. 36, 37.)

*And so shall he do for the tabernacle of the congregation.*] When he had done all this within the veil, he was to do the same without in the sanctuary: where he sprinkled first the blood of the bullock, and then the blood of the goat, against the veil which parted the sanctuary from the holy of holies. So the Misna in the place forementioned; and R. Solomon Jarchi upon these words; "As he sprinkled part of the blood of both sacrifices, once above, and seven times beneath, in the inward sanctuary; so he sprinkled towards the veil without, once above, and seven times below." For they all agree the blood was not sprinkled upon the veil, but before it: by which sprinkling the sanctuary was purified, as the apostle observes, when he saith, *almost all things were by the law purged with blood,* &c. (Heb. ix. 21—23.)

*That remaineth among them in the midst of their uncleanness.*] Surrounded by a sinful people, who are full of legal, as well as other impurities: and had been likewise defiled by many, who had ignorantly come into it, in their uncleanness. So Maimonides judiciously observes. It could scarce be avoided, but some or other would ignorantly, and some presumptuously offend, by going into the sanctuary, or eating holy things when they ought not: and therefore God commanded this expiation to be made for the pollutions of the sanctuary and its utensils by such means, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47.)

Ver. 17. *And there shall be no man in the tabernacle of the congregation when he goeth in to make an atonement in*



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*the holy place.*] During this action none of the priests, who used to attend in the tabernacle, were to come into it, till the high-priest had expiated its uncleanness; which it was supposed to have contracted by their coming into it all the year before.

*Until he came out.*] Of the holy place.

*And have made an atonement for himself, and for his household, and for all the congregation of Israel.*] Finished all that he had to do there, for the expiation of his own sins, and his family's, and all the people's. That is, from the time of his going to offer incense, till he came out to purify the tabernacle. Some of which time he spent in prayer to God, (as I observed ver. 13.) for all the people; as he had done before when he presented the sin-offerings to him; with solemn supplication for himself and for his household, and for all the congregation of Israel; the forms of which are extant in their books. In conformity to which, when our blessed Saviour consecrated himself to be a sacrifice for us, (as I noted upon ver. 7.) he first commended himself to God, in that solemn prayer before his death, John xvii. ver. 1, 2, &c. and then his apostles, who were his household, ver. 9, 10. and so forward to the twentieth verse; and then prayed for all that should believe on him; *i. e.* the whole congregation of Christian people, from ver. 20. to the end. Immediately after which, he went to the place where he was apprehended, and led to be condemned and crucified, John xviii. 1. (See Dr. Outram De Sacrificiis, lib. ii. cap. 3. n. 3.)

Ver. 18. *And he shall go out unto the altar that is before the Lord.*] These words, *before the Lord*, seem to restrain this to the golden altar, where incense was offered in the sanctuary: and so I find it is generally interpreted, even by the Jews themselves, (in Joma, cap. 5. sect. 5.) as well as Christians. But the words, *he shall go out*, plainly signify his coming from the sanctuary, where the golden altar was (and had been cleansed, we may well suppose, together with it, ver. 16.) in the outward court, to the altar of burnt-offering, which was also *before the Lord*, (Exod. xxix. 11.) though at a greater distance from him: and which, one would think, stood in need to be cleansed, as much as the altar of incense. Now, unless it was ordered to be cleansed in these words, I can see no care taken about it at all. In Exod. xxx. 10. there is express mention, indeed, made of making an atonement upon the altar of incense once a year; and nothing said of the other: and if we will so understand it here, then the words, *he shall go out*, must have respect to *his going into the holy place*, mentioned in the verse before.

*And make an atonement for it.*] This is generally understood, as I said, of the golden altar, because such express mention is made of its purification yearly, in the place now mentioned, (Exod. xxx. 10.) And, no doubt, that which is here commanded was done there, when he made atonement for the table, where it stood: but there being the same need, as I said, to expiate the other altar (where no fewer errors had been committed than here, and which stood nearer to an unclean people, who encompassed it), I cannot but think that it is here included.

*And shall take of the blood of the bullock, and of the goat.*] He put the blood of the bullock and of the goat together; and then poured them into another vessel, that they might be well mingled. For here is no command in this place, that he should go round the altar twice; and tip the horns of it, first with the blood of the bullock, and then of the goat, separate one from the other; as the Misna in Joma observes, cap. 5. sect. 4.

*And put it upon the horns of the altar round about.*] He began at the north-east corner, and so went to the north-west; and from thence to the south-west, and lastly to the south-east: and as he came near to each corner, he put the blood upon it. So the Jews describe this matter in the same place, sect. 5.

Ver. 19. *And he shall sprinkle of the blood upon it with his finger seven times.*] Not upon the middle of the altar, but nigh the corners; *viz.* in the place where he ended, when he put the blood upon the horns of the altar. So the Jews say in the place abovementioned, (sect. 6.) And I do not see why the particle *upon* should not be expounded here, as in ver. 15. (if their interpretation be true), to signify, that he sprinkled the blood *before* the altar; which he did not touch.

*And shall cleanse it, and hallow it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel.*] The Jews refer this cleansing to his taking the coals and the ashes from the altar, that he might sprinkle the blood in a clean place. And then the words are to be translated, *He shall sprinkle the blood*, &c. *having cleansed and hallowed it.* But the conclusion of the verse determines us to another sense, which is, that by sprinkling the blood he cleansed and sanctified it, from the *uncleanness of the children of Israel*, whereby it had been defiled: the priests having either come in their uncleanness thither, or not performed their service as they ought there; and the people thereby remaining in their impurities.

Now, when the high-priest had done all this, the Jews say (in the Misna beforenamed) he poured the rest of the blood of the bullock and goat at the bottom of the altar of burnt-offerings (where, I conceive, he concluded this atonement), for there was a conveyance to carry it away, as I observed upon iv. 17. And they make account, also, that if every thing was not done in this order it was ineffectual, and was to be done over again. For example; if the blood of the goat was sprinkled before the blood of the bullock, (contrary to the directions, ver. 14, 15.) he returned, and sprinkled the blood of the goat after that of the bullock, &c.

Ver. 20. *And when he hath made an end of reconciling the holy place.*] Making it fit to continue God's dwelling-place, (ver. 16.)

*And the tabernacle of the congregation.*] By this, I think, is meant the sanctuary, and every thing in it; particularly the golden altar.

*And the altar.*] Of burnt-offerings, where he ended his atonement for the whole house of God.

*He shall bring the live goat.*] Two had been presented to the Lord, (ver. 7. 10.) that is, solemnly consecrated and devoted to be expiatory sacrifices; one of which having been slain, the other was now brought to be made an expiation for sin, after another manner. And he was brought, no doubt, to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, where they were wont to lay their hands upon other sacrifices, (i. 3, 4.)

Ver. 21. *And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat.*] Laying of the hand upon the head of

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the beast, was a rite used in all sorts of sacrifices, whether *burnt-offerings, peace-offerings,* or *sin-offerings.* See i. 4. iii. 2. iv. 4. 33. In which places, mention is made only of *laying on his hand:* but here the high-priest is commanded to lay on *both hands,* as he and his sons did in the sacrifice of the bullock and the ram at their consecration, (viii. 14. 18.) The meaning of which was, the more solemnly and entirely to devote the sacrifice to the use for which it was designed; which, in this sacrifice, was to bear all their sins. For they were all laid upon this sacrifice, unto which the punishment of them was transferred: this rite signifies as much as if they had said, Whatsoever we have done amiss, let not us, but this sacrifice be charged with it: that is, let it bear the punishment which we deserve. Such phrases there are, 2 Sam. i. 16. Esther ix. 25. Psal. vii. 16. and other places.

*And confess over him.*] This must have been understood, if it had not been expressed; for imposition of hands was always accompanied with prayer, of one sort or other, according to the occasion of it. Insomuch, that the Jews say, "where there is no confession of sin, there is no imposition of hands; for imposition of hands belongs to confession." (See Dr. Outram De Sacrif. lib. i. cap. 15. n. 8.) And it is observable, that the high-priest made confession three times on this day. First for himself, and then for his brethren the priests, and now for the whole congregation; saying this prayer, (as they tell us in Joma, cap. 6. sect. 2.) "I beseech thee, O Lord, this people, the house of Israel, have done wickedly, and been rebellious, and sinned before thee. I beseech thee now, O Lord, expiate the iniquities, the rebellions, and the sins which thy people the house of Israel have done wickedly, transgressed, and sinned before thee. According as it is written in the law of Moses thy servant (*viz.* in the thirtieth verse of this chapter), 'on that day he shall make an atonement for you, to cleanse you, that you may be clean from all your sins before the Lord.'" Which last word (Lord) as soon as all the priests and the people, that were in the court heard pronounced by the high-priest, they bowed and fell down flat upon their faces, and worshipped, saying, "Blessed be the Lord; let the glory of his kingdom be for ever."

*All the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins.*] These three words, *iniquities, transgressions,* and *sins,* are the very words used by the high-priest in his confession beforementioned; which comprehend all manner of offences, whether committed deliberately or not against negative or affirmative precepts (as they call them). Grotius, in his notes on this place, hath thus distinguished them, but whether exactly or not cannot be determined. But it is probable that *sins* signify offences committed by error, not deliberately; *iniquities,* such as were deliberately committed against the prohibiting precepts; and *transgressions,* those that were deliberately committed against commanding precepts. All, except those to which *cutting off* was threatened, which were not expiated by any sacrifice.

*Putting them upon the head of the goat.*] By putting his hand on the head of the goat, and confessing their sins over him (with prayer to God to remit them), they were all charged upon the goat, and the punishment of them transferred from the Israelites unto it. Just as the sins of all mankind were afterwards laid upon our Saviour Christ, (as the prophet speaks, Isa. liii. 6.) "Who his ownself bare our sins in his own body," (saith St. Peter, 1 Ep. ii. 24.) the punishment passing from us to him, "Who was made sin for us," (2 Cor. v. 21.) Which expressions are manifest allusions unto this sacrifice on the great day of expiation: which was the most illustrious figure of the sacrifice of Christ; and shews, beyond all reasonable contradiction, that Christ suffered in our stead, and not merely for our benefit. For it is very evident, the sacrifice offered on this day was put in the place of the people; and all their sins, that is, the punishment of them, laid upon its head. And it appears by the form of all other *sin-offerings,* which were occasionally offered at other times, that he who brought them put off the guilt, which he had contracted, from himself, and laid it on the sacrifice which was to die for him. Which he did by laying his hand on the head of it at the door of the tabernacle while it was yet alive. Then with his hand so placed, he made a confession of his sins, for which he desired forgiveness by the offering of this sacrifice: that is, he prayed by these rites, that, the beast being offered and slain, he might be spared from punishment; which was a plain transferring the guilt from himself unto his sacrifice. Which being yet alive, and thus laden with his guilt, was then brought to the altar, and there slain for the guilty person: that is, it died in his stead; for there was no other reason of its being put to death there in that manner.

I have insisted the longer on this, because nothing can better explain the true meaning of *Christ's dying for us:* which was by transferring the suffering due to our sins upon him; as the manner was in the legal sacrifices. Which was a thing, let me add, so notorious in the world, that other nations from hence derived the like custom to that here mentioned by Moses. Particularly the Egyptians, as David Chytræus hath long ago observed, and since him many others out of Herodotus: who tells us, (lib. ii. cap. 39.) that they made this execration over the head of the beast which they sacrificed; Εἴτε μέλλοι ἢ σφισι τοῖς θύουσι, ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συμπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, εἰς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι· *that if any evil was to fall, either on themselves who sacrificed, or upon the whole country of Egypt, it might be turned upon the head of that beast.* And this, he saith, was the custom over all the land of Egypt; and the reason why no Egyptian would taste of the head of any animal. Nor was this the notion of the Egyptians only, but of other countries also; who called those sacrifices which were offered for them Ἀντίψυχα, being sacrificed in their stead; and the life of the beast given for theirs. Thus the Greeks sometimes sacrificed men, when some very heavy calamity was fallen upon them, whom they called Καθάρματα, *expiations to purge them from their sins,* by suffering in their room. For they prayed thus over him, who was devoted every year for the averting evils from them, Περίψημα ἡμῶν γενοῦ, ἤτοι σωτηρία καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις· *be thou our cleansing; that is, our preservative and redemption, or ransom.* And with these words they threw him into the sea as a sacrifice to Neptune. And thus the Massilienses did, as Servius tells us, (upon the third Æneid.) in time of a plague, praying, "ut in ipsum reciderent mala totius civitatis," *that on him might fall the evils of the whole city.*

*And shall send him away.*] As soon as the confession was over, the goat was sent away.

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*By the hand of a fit man.*] By a man prepared beforehand (as the ancients interpret it), or that stood ready for this purpose. Jonathan saith, he was designed for it the year before; others say only the day before; and that the high-priest appointed him: who might appoint any body whom he thought fit; but did not usually appoint an Israelite, as they say in Joma, cap. 6. n. 3.

*Into the wilderness.*] It is not certainly known what wilderness this was; but the Hebrews call it the wilderness of Tzuk, which, they say, was ten miles from Jerusalem. And they say, that at the end of each mile there was a tabernacle erected, where men stood ready with meat and drink, which they offered to him that went with the goat, lest he should faint by the way. And the nobles of Jerusalem, they add, accompanied him the first mile; further than which they might not go, because this day was a sabbath. After which, they that were in the first tabernacle accompanied him to the next; and they that were there to the third; and so forward to the last; that they might be sure to have this great work done of carrying their sins quite away from them. So we read in the treatise on this subject, called Joma, cap. 6. sect. 4, 5. which Maimonides hath explained, as I have now done.

Ver. 22. *And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities.*] This shews more fully still the nature of this sacrifice, in which *all their iniquities, i. e.* the punishment of them was laid, that he might carry them away. For this goat was not capable to bear their sins, but only their punishment; as Christ also did, who knew no sin, and yet was made sin; by having the punishment of our sins laid on him. For, that this *scape-goat*, which was loaded with their sins, was a *sin-offering*, is plainly said before in this chapter; and consequently represented Christ (who is our sin-offering), as well as the other part of this *sin-offering* did, whose blood was carried into the holy place. And in some regard this *scape-goat* was a very notable representation of him; if it be true, that our Saviour entered upon his office, of being the Mediator of our reconciliation with God, upon this great day of atonement, which was the day on which he was baptized, as our Dr. Jackson, together with some good chronologers think. For though the tradition of the western church be, that his baptism was on the sixth of January, yet, as Jansenius, and some others of the Roman communion, do not think fit to follow it, so he judges it more probable to have been on the tenth of September. In the beginning of which month, when the feast of blowing of trumpets was celebrated, (as we read xxiii. of this book, 24.) John Baptist began to lift up his voice like a trumpet, and call the Jews to repentance. Who accordingly flocked to him, and, confessing their sins, were baptized by him in Jordan; where our Saviour also being baptized on the tenth day, which was the day of atonement, and being declared the Son of God by a voice from heaven, was "immediately driven by the Spirit into the wilderness," as St. Mark tells us, i. 12. Which was a manifest indication (he thinks) to John Baptist, that this was the Redeemer of the world prefigured by the *scape-goat;* who, going into the wilderness on the day of atonement, immediately after the people had made confession of their sins, gave him to understand (who was well acquainted with the meaning of the legal rites) that he was sent by God to take upon himself the sins of the world, and carry them away, by being, in due season, offered to God, and slain as a sacrifice to God for them. And this he did at that very time, when the *paschal lamb* was killed, (as I have shewn upon Exod. xii. 6.) to the end that they might take notice he was the Lamb of God, whose sacrifice that lamb prefigured: as by being led into the wilderness on the same day as the *scape-goat* was carried thither, he shewed that the mystery represented by that ceremony was exactly fulfilled in him.

This notion of his I thought good to mention (though, as far as I know, he is singular in it), because it carries some probability in it, if what the apostle saith (Coloss. ii. 17.) be well considered, that the law contained "shadows of things to come, the body of which was Christ." Who was a body consisting of so many different parts, and so complete (as he observes), that no one, nor a few legal ceremonies, could perfectly foreshadow it: but as the ceremonies were many, and almost infinite, so every one did foreshadow some part or piece of this complete body: that is, no remarkable part of it, no special event or action, which concerned our Saviour Christ, but was foreshadowed by some or other legal ceremony: see Christ's Answer to John's Question, numb. 62—64. and his ninth book upon the Creed, concerning the Consecration of the Son of God (which was printed several years after), sect. 4. chap. 24. n. 5—8. where he resumes this argument, and endeavours to answer this question; Why, since Christ was to accomplish the legal priesthood and sacrifice, by his bloody sacrifice upon the cross, he did not offer himself, and die upon this very day of atonement. To which he gives full satisfaction: but it is too long here to be inserted.

*Unto a land not inhabited.*] So the LXX. translate the Hebrew word *gezera*, γῆν ἄβατον, *a land into which nobody came*, or *desolate country*. The Hebrew word properly imports *a land cut off*, (as Bochart observes, lib. ii. Hierozoic. cap. 54. par. i.) that is, from habitable countries: not which *cuts off* what is sent into it, by its rugged and sharp stones, as the Jews expound it. This still sets out the design of this sacrifice, which was to free men so perfectly from the punishment of their sins, that they should not fear the return of them any more. For this goat was not merely sent into the wilderness, but into the most uninhabitable and inaccessible part of it (as the Greek word properly signifies), where none were likely ever to see it again.

*And he shall let go the goat in the wilderness.*] When he came to the last stage, nobody accompanied him that led the goat any further; but he went the tenth mile alone, by himself; and the men in the tabernacle only stood looking to see what he did with it. And the Misna saith (in the place beforenamed), that he threw it headlong down the rock Tzuk; where, they say, it was broke in pieces before it came to the middle of it; or, as Jonathan said, God raised a storm which blew the goat down with a mighty force. But this is contrary to the very words of Moses, who saith, he was to *let the goat go*, or dismiss him, *in the wilderness*, to run whither he would. And it seems contrary also to the intention of this law, which was, that only one of the goats should be killed, the other let go alive. Whereby was represented, that their sins, which were expiated by the blood of the sacrifice, should not return again to be

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charged upon them. Or, that they were as free from their sins as the leprous person was from his confinement, when the bird was let fly into the fields. Which perfect freedom from the punishment of their sins, was further signified by the burning of the flesh, the skin, and the dung of the *sin-offering*, without the camp: which denoted that all memory of the sins, for which this expiation was appointed, was clean removed and abolished.

The Jews will have it, that a piece of scarlet cloth being tied upon the horns of this *scape-goat* (as another was about the neck of the goat which was sacrificed), when the man had brought it to the top of the rock Tzuk, he divided the cloth into two pieces, and let the goat go away with one, but tied the other to the rock, that he might see when it changed colour and became white, as they say it did when the goat was thrown down headlong. Anciently, indeed, they say this scarlet cloth was tied to the gate of the temple, and if it turned white when the goat was sent away (as they pretend it usually did), there was great joy among the people; because it was a sign their sins were forgiven, according to that of the prophet, Isa. i. 18. "though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow," &c. But if it did not change its colour into white, they hung down their heads, and were full of sorrow; they looking upon it as a token of God's anger. Which I relate only for this purpose, that I may take notice how the same authors, who tell this story, confess, that for *forty* years before the destruction of the second temple, that is, from the time of our Saviour's death, this shred of cloth never changed its colour at all. Which, if it be true, was a notable token of the wrath of God coming upon them, for their crucifying the Lord Christ.

Ver. 23. *And Aaron shall come into the tabernacle of the congregation.*] All that the high-priest did about the scape-goat was performed at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation; where he laid his hands upon him, and confessed over him all their sins, (see ver. 20, 21.) which being done, and he having sent the goat away, he is now ordered to come into the sanctuary itself.

*And shall put off the linen garments which he put on when he went into the holy place.*] See ver. 4. The Jews say there were two sorts of white garments which he wore on this day: one in the morning, which was made of fine linen of Pelusium, which was a third part of greater value than those he wore in the evening, which were of Indian linen. Now here he speaks only of the garments that he wore in the morning, wherein he had hitherto officiated; but is ordered, after he had done all this, to put them off; there being many other things to be still performed upon this day; yea, he was to go once more into the holy place, in order to which he put on other garments; as will appear in what follows.

*And shall leave them there.*] Never to be used more, either by him, or by any body else. But they were laid up where they were left; and new ones made against the next year, as the Gemara upon the third chapter of Joma relates. And the same is affirmed by Maimonides, R. S. Jarchi, and others, mentioned by Braunius, lib. ii. de Vest. Sacerd. cap. 25. n. 9. R. Levi Barzelonita also gives the same exposition of it, Præcept. 99. and see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. xi. p. 143.

Ver. 24. *And he shall wash his flesh with water in the holy place.*] Either in the laver which stood in the outward court, or in a room in the tabernacle, which in after-time was called *happarvah;* where the priest, they say, washed himself upon this day every time he changed his garments. And this agrees well enough with the words of Moses, which here follow, that when he had put on his garments, he should *come forth;* that is, from this chamber, to perform such offices as are aftermentioned. The end of this washing, in this place, seems to have been, that he might purify himself after he had touched the goat, which bare all their iniquities, (ver. 21.) as the man that carried him into the wilderness was to wash after he had done that business, (ver. 26.) Though others will have it, that it was in token he had now finished the expiation. Certain it is, here is another washing, distinct from that mentioned ver. 4. when he put on the white garments. Which in part justifies what the Misna saith in Joma, cap. iii. sect. 3. that the high-priest washed *five times* upon this day; all in the house *happarvah*, except the first; which could not be in the court of the tabernacle, because he was to wash before he entered into it. For there were *five* ministries to be performed upon this day, at each of which he changed his garments; and between every ministry, when he changed his garments, he washed himself. There is a long discourse about this, and about washing his hands and his feet, in Torah Cohanim, quoted by our learned countryman, Mr. Sheringham, in his annotations upon Codex Joma, p. 57, &c. which they endeavoured to ground upon the very words of this verse.

Now as the leading of Christ into the wilderness, upon the day of atonement, was foreshadowed by the ceremony of the scape-goat; so his baptism on the same day was as expressly foreshadowed, or prefigured, as any event concerning him, either was, or could be, by the legal ceremony here mentioned, of Aaron's washing his body in the holy place. They are the words of Dr. Jackson, in Christ's Answer to John's Question, sect. 64. where he endeavours to make out this.

*And put on his garments.*] *viz.* His other garments, wherein he officiated upon other days; which the Jews call his *golden garments*, to distinguish them from the *white garments;* which alone he wore when he went into the most holy place. And the Jews call by this name of *golden garments*, all the eight garments of the high-priest: four of which were common to him with the lower priests, and were made only of linen (yet they never call them by the name of *white garments*, which they appropriate to those in which he went to the most holy place); the other four, which gave the name to all the rest, were proper only to the high-priest himself; *viz.* the *robe* (which had bells of gold at the bottom), the *ephod*, the *breast-plate*, and the *golden-plate* upon his forehead: which being put over the other four common garments, made him appear as if he were all clothed in gold. For they either consisted of solid gold, as the plate on his forehead; or had solid gold appendant, as the robe had; or had gold interwoven, as the ephod and the breast-plate. Now he put on these, after he had put off the linen garments, mentioned ver. 4. 23. which were never used but when he ministered in the holy of holies; where he did not appear with the breast-plate of *urim* and *thummim*, and the rest of the golden garments, as some learned men have imagined; particularly Corn. Bertram,

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in his book de Republ. Hebr. cap. vii. where he saith, "Hujus sacerdotis erat semel in anno adytum sanctuarii adire, indutus ipso ephode." *It belonged to the high-priest to go once in the year into the most secret place of the sanctuary, clothed with the ephod.* Which is directly contrary to ver. 4. of this chapter. But many other great men have fallen into the same mistake: (see J. Braunius de Vestitu Sacerdot. Hebr. lib. ii. cap. 20. n. 29. and cap. 25. n. 9, 10.)

*And come forth.*] From the place where he put on his golden garments unto the altar of burnt-offerings.

*And offer his burnt-offering, and the burnt-offering of the people.*] I take this for the daily evening sacrifice, which usually was one lamb; but on this day was two rams, one for himself, and another for the people; unto which there was an additional offering of seven lambs of the first year; as they tell us in Joma, cap. 7. sect. 3. But before this, they there say, he went and read to the people out of the book of the law, which was with great ceremony delivered to him. And he might read either in his pontifical habit, or in his own robes (which he pleased), for reading was no ministry, as the Gemara there observes. This reading began at Numb. xxix. 7, &c. where the sacrifice of seven lambs is ordered upon this day.

*And make an atonement for himself, and the people.*] Rather, *having made an atonement;* which was already done by other sacrifices, not by these.

Ver. 25. *And the fat of the sin-offering shall be burnt upon the altar.*] This also, I think, should be translated in the same manner, *having burnt the fat of the sin-offering:* which was done, I suppose, in the morning, when both the bullock and the goat were offered for sin, (ver. 11. 14.) but was not mentioned till now, to shew that their sacrifices were not perfected till both Aaron and the people were reconciled to God; after which their burnt-sacrifices were acceptable to him. This burning of the fat was ordered in all *sin-offerings,* (iv. 8. 10. 26.) and therefore, was not now to be omitted. And, perhaps, it was reserved to be burnt, when the flesh of the bullock and the goat was burnt without the camp, (ver. 27.) which was in the conclusion of all the services of this day.

Ver. 26. *And he that let go the goat for the scape-goat.*] After the man had dismissed the *goat,* it was not lawful for him to return farther back than one mile to the last tabernacle, where he was permitted to rest himself after his labour, and not remain all night in the wilderness. So they tell us in Joma, cap. 6. sect. 6.

*Shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water.*] This goat being a public Κάθαρμα, or *purgation,* (upon whom all their sins were thrown, was extremely impure; and therefore could not be touched, without rendering the person who led him away unclean in the highest degree: which was the reason that he was bound to wash both his clothes and also his whole body in water, before he could so much as come into the camp. Porphyry observes the same custom among the heathen, who ἐν θυσίαις ὑποτροπαίοις (as his words are), *in such kind of sacrifices as those for the averting evils,* permitted no man who had meddled with them to come into the city, or to go to his own house, μὴ πρότερον ἐσθῆτα καὶ σῶμα ποταμοῖς ἢ πηγῇ ὑποκαθῆρας, *who had not first washed his clothes and his body in some river, or in spring-water,* (lib. ii. περὶ Ἀποχῆς, sect. 44.) For nothing is more known than that such a kind of purification for washing themselves, was a custom all the world over; and continues to this day in the eastern, or other hot countries, not only among the Mahometans, but the pagans, who plunge themselves three times, one after another, into their rivers, rising up with their faces to the east, as all travellers into those parts tell us.

*And afterward come into the camp.*] Have free conversation with his brethren, and, I suppose, without any farther ceremony, be admitted to the sanctuary.

Ver. 27. *And the bullock for the sin-offering, and the goat for the sin-offering.*] Mentioned ver. 11. 15.

*Whose blood was brought in to make atonement in the holy place.*] Of which we read in the same place, ver. 14, 15.

*Shall one carry forth.*] But first they were ripped up, and the *imurim,* as they call them, (mentioned in iv. 8, 9.) taken out, to be burnt upon the altar. And then the priest dissected them, (as the Misna saith in Joma, cap. 6. sect. 7.) not to pieces, as was wont to be done in *burnt-offerings,* but made only deep incisions, letting the parts hang still together; which being done, *four* men, saith R. Solomon, carried them forth upon two staves or bars, *one* being not able to do it: and accordingly the LXX. translate these words ἐξοίσουσι, *they shall carry forth.* But one person, it is likely, had the principal care to see them burnt; which is the reason he only is mentioned.

*Without the camp.*] Into a clean place, where the ashes were wont to be poured out, (iv. 12.) There were *three* camps; (as I noted before, xiii. 46.) *the camp of the people,* unto which Jerusalem answered in aftertimes; *the camp of the Levites,* unto which answered the *mountain of the house* (as they called it), the whole circuit about the temple; and the *camp of God,* or the *sanctuary* with all its courts, unto which answered the temple and its courts. So Maimonides, in his treatise called Beth Habbechira, cap. vii. Now, as these sacrifices were carried to be burnt without the *camp of the people,* when they were in the wilderness, so they were burnt without the city of Jerusalem, after the temple was built there.

Which illustrates the words of the apostle, Heb. xiii. 10, 11, &c. where he takes it for granted, as a thing they all knew, that Jerusalem answered to the *camp of Israel:* and from thence shews, that the mystery prefigured by this goat, *whose blood was brought into the holy place to make atonement* (as he speaks in this verse), was accomplished in our blessed Lord and Saviour, *who, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate,* as the apostle there observes: that is, without the city, yet near the suburbs of Jerusalem; whose type or figure was *the camp of the Israelites* in the wilderness.

And the intent of the apostle in this, and other such-like observations, was to shew, that our Saviour's sufferings on the cross were a most true and proper sacrifice; a sacrifice fully satisfactory for the sins of the world: or rather, more satisfactory for all the sins of men against the moral law of God, than the sacrifices on the day of atonement, the Passover, or other anniversary solemnities, were for sins merely against the law of ceremonies: as the apostle shews in the foregoing part of that epistle, (Heb. ix. 13, 14.)

*And they shall burn in the fire their skins, and their flesh, and their dung.*] Here, it is plain, there was more than one who carried the bodies of these beasts without the camp;

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they being too heavy for any single person to bear. And they burnt them entirely: (see iv. 11, 12.) except what was offered upon the altar. Yet Josephus is pleased to except τὰς ἐξοχὰς, by which he seems to mean their rumps, (lib. iii. cap. 30.) In which he forgot himself: for though these were comprehended under the *imurim* of some sacrifices, (see viii. 3.) yet neither here, nor in the fourth chapter, ver. 8, 9. is there any mention of this fat; nor is it comprehended under the fat mentioned above, (ver. 25.) which the Misna in Joma says, was the fat of the inwards only.

Ver. 28. *And he that burneth them.*] The Vulgar Latin, I think, rightly translates it, *Quicunque combusserit, whosoever burneth them:* for there was more than one, as I said before, employed in this business.

*Shall wash his clothes,* &c.] Being defiled by touching the sacrifices, which were charged with so many sins; as he that carried away the scape-goat was, ver. 26. where there is the very same order in the same words. Now, when all this was done, the Misna saith, (cap. vii. Joma, sect. 4.) the high-priest washed himself again, and put on his white robes, which were proper to this day; and went into the most holy place, to fetch out the censer, with the dish, or cup, which he carried in when he went to burn incense, (ver. 12, 13.) And when he came out from thence, he washed, and put on his *golden garments,* and offered incense upon the golden altar, and trimmed the lamps. Which being done, they brought him his own garments, which he wore constantly; and when he had put them on, they accompanied him to his house, where he entertained his friends with a feast, being come out of the sanctuary in peace; that is, safe and in health. For by shifting his garments, and washing so often, he was in danger to catch cold (as we speak), and they did sometimes fall into various diseases upon this occasion, as P. Cunæus observes out of Maimonides, lib. ii. de Repub. Heb. cap. 14. and some died in the holy place, not having performed the service duly. Which made it very reasonable, that he and his friends should rejoice, when he returned in health and safety.

Ver. 29. *And this shall be a statute for ever unto you.*] Till the coming of Christ, in whom all that these sacrifices signified was accomplished: who put an end therefore to this legal dispensation, (see Exod. xii. 14.)

*And in the seventh month.*] When they had gathered in all the fruits of the earth, and thereby had the more liberty to attend such a solemn service. Which was the reason, perhaps, why there were more solemnities appointed in this month, than in any other month in the year; as appears from the twenty-third chapter of this book. It had been anciently also the first month in the year, being the month, it is likely, wherein the world was created: but upon the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, the month Abib, by God's special command, was ordered to be the first. Yet not absolutely, but only in respect of that which was most eminent, *viz.* for the ecclesiastical account: for as to their civil or temporal affairs, the seventh month (Tisri) still retained the precedence.

*On the tenth day of the month.*] The Arabians imitated this; calling the fast of the tenth day of the month Moharram, by the name of *Ashura;* which is exactly the *Ashor (tenth day)* here mentioned by Moses; from whom these people derived it, before the appearance of Mahomet: who, finding the Jews, when he came to Medina, fasting upon this day *Ashura,* asked them the reason of it: who told him (as the Mahometan writers report) it was in remembrance of Pharaoh's being then drowned in the Red Sea: whereupon he said, I have more to do with Moses than you, and thereupon commanded his followers to fast on this day; (see Dr. Pocock upon Abal-Farajius concerning the Manners of the Arabians, p. 309, 310.) But this is plainly an idle tale, invented by him or his followers; for the Jews would rather have feasted, than fasted upon the day of such a deliverance. But it shews that this day was remarkable among the Jews, and solemnly observed by them, wheresoever they were; and was chosen by God, rather than any other day of the month, (if we may believe Maimonides, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43.) because it was the day on which Moses came down from the mount, with the second tables in his hand, and proclaimed to the people the remission of their great sin, in worshipping the golden calf; in memory of which it was ordered to be entirely a day of repentance and of Divine worship.

*Ye shall afflict your souls.*] By fasting and abstinence, not only from all meat and drink, but from all other pleasure whatsoever: insomuch, that they might not wash their faces, much less anoint their heads, nor wear their shoes, nor use the marriage bed, nor read (if their doctors say true) any portion of the law, which would give them delight: for example, the story of their coming out of Egypt, and leading them through the Red Sea, &c. so far is the Mahometan story from having any colour of truth. It is likely, also, that to increase their grief they rent their clothes (as they did in other fasts in aftertimes), put on sackcloth, girded it close to their flesh, sprinkled ashes on their heads, &c. which were all intended, no doubt, to work in them an inward sorrow for all their sins, with a hearty abhorrence of them, and resolution to mortify and abstain from them. For though the word *soul* be generally expounded the *sensitive* part of us, which is *afflicted* by *fasting,* (as the prophet Isaiah expounds this phrase, lviii. 3. 5.) yet it is absurd to think that God was pleased with this alone, without that inward compunction of *mind,* which made them break off their sins by *righteousness;* which the prophet there declares was the only acceptable fast to the Lord.

The Hebrew doctors here observe, that they did not afflict little children on this day, by making them fast from all food, till they were of the age of eleven years; but only taught them what they were to do when they came of age, that they might be accustomed to the precept. (See Joma, cap. 8. sect. 4.)

*And do no work at all.*] Not only abstain from all pleasure, but from all labour whatsoever: nothing being to be done upon this day but confession of sins and repentance, as Maimonides expresses it in the place beforementioned.

*Whether it be one of your own country, or a stranger that sojourneth among you.*] The Hebrew word *ezrach* is extant only here and xxiii. 42. which signifies as much as one that had his *original* among them, being born an Israelite, as it is there expressed. The opposite to which is *gher* (a *stranger,* we translate it), one that was of another nation, but had embraced the Jewish religion, and lived among them; who in the New Testament is called a *proselyte.*



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Ver. 30. *For on that day shall the priest make an atonement for you.*] If upon this day they afflicted and humbled their souls (as Conr. Pellicanus glosses), with *fasting and prayer and anguish for their sins, with alms also, beseeching God's mercy with tears and signs in sackcloth and ashes; resting from all servile works, and devoted wholly to the Lord.*

*To cleanse you.*] From all the transgressions and sins mentioned ver. 16. from which both the high-priest, and his family, and all the people were to be purged on this day. For which reason the greatest care was to be used to see it rightly observed, because all their happiness depended upon it. For the land of Canaan was promised them, upon condition that they kept the law; offering all the sacrifices therein prescribed; especially this great sacrifice, which was to cleanse them from the guilt of all their neglects or breaches of this law. Which should teach us Christians to conclude, that as the inheritance of that good land was assigned the Jews in consideration of their sacrifices, as the condition of that covenant, by which they were prescribed; so the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven is made over to us by the covenant of grace, in consideration of the obedience and sufferings of Christ Jesus, of which they were a figure. For it is his blood *that cleanseth us from all unrighteousness* (as St. John speaks), and secures our claim to the heavenly inheritance.

*That ye may be clean from all your sins.*] If a man was bound to offer sacrifice for any sin that was certain, he was not excused from it by this sacrifice on the day of expiation; but was bound to make that other sacrifice also. But the day of expiation freed those who were bound to offer sacrifices for dubious offences. So Maimonides saith, (in his treatise of Offences committed through Error, chap. 3. sect. 9.) that those sins which were known to none but God, were taken away by this solemn day of expiation, without any other sacrifice. But the Misna, in the last section of Joma, acknowledges very honestly, that the day of expiation did not purge men from the guilt of the offences they had committed against their neighbour, unless they first gave him satisfaction.

*Before the Lord.*] Who dwelt among them, and would continue to do so, if they observed his laws, and took care to be thus cleansed from all their sins. But, lest any man should mistake this matter, it may be here fit to observe, that there were no sacrifices at all appointed by the law of Moses for capital offences; and therefore when he speaks here of making them clean from *all their sins* upon this day, such as these (for instance, murder, adultery, idolatry, &c.) are not included: for this great sacrifice could not obtain a pardon for them, but only for offences committed against the ritual laws contained in this book; and that also when they were committed through error or ignorance: for if they were done presumptuously, cutting off was threatened to them: (see Numb. xv. from ver. 22. to 32.) And this appears plainly from the sacrifices themselves that are here appointed; which had no virtue in them from their own worth and value, but only from God's institution, to make expiation for any sin. For the death of a bullock or a goat was not of such account with God, that it could prevail for the taking away of guilt, unless he had given it such a power. And that power which he was pleased to allow unto them, was neither infinite, nor could it be so. For the guilt that they were principally designed to abolish, was not of such a nature as to require such an expiation: it arising from things which were neither good nor evil in themselves; and therefore could not create such a guilt. Such were all the uncleannesses from certain natural fluxes, from touching a dead body, and innumerable other such-like impurities: which depending wholly upon the will of God, who by a positive law made such things to bring men under a guilt; by the same will he appointed a proportionable expiation of it by these sacrifices, whose power to cleanse depended also purely upon his pleasure. And if they had any virtue to purge men from the real guilt of sins committed against the eternal laws of God; this they had not of themselves, but from the most gracious will of God, who was pleased to apply to this purpose the future satisfaction of the immaculate Lamb of God, of which these sacrifices were a shadow and type. For a body being prepared for the Son of God, and he offering himself for us, that was a sacrifice of such infinite value in its own nature, that it expiated all manner of sins of all men. To this effect, that excellent person Joh. Wagenseil discourses, in his confutation of R. Lipman's Carmen Memoriale, p. 488.

Ver. 31. *It shall be a sabbath of rest unto you.*] In the Hebrew the words are *a sabbath of sabbaths*, i. e. *a great* or *perfect sabbath*, like that of the seventh day in every week; on which they might do no manner of work. And so *the seventh day* is called just as this is, *a sabbath of rest*, or *sabbath of sabbaths:* (see Exod. xxxi. 15. xxxv. 2.) which gave occasion to those jeers we meet withal in Martial and others, at the Jews' fasting on their *sabbath-days:* for reading Moses's books carelessly, they fancied the Jews observed as strict a fast upon every *sabbath-day*, as they did on this, which was but once a year.

*And ye shall afflict your souls by a statute for ever.*] See ver. 29.

Ver. 32. *And the priest whom ye shall anoint*, &c.] The high-priest, who should be anointed and consecrated in his father's stead (when he was dead), is here ordered to make this atonement yearly. That is, what was now done by Aaron, was to be done by every high-priest successively, when he was legally put into his office; by vesting him with the priestly garments, anointing him, and offering the sacrifices of consecration, (viii. 7. 10. 22.)

This statute confined the sacred work of this day to the high-priest, who alone could perform it: but it shews withal, as the apostle observes, the great imperfection of this legal priesthood, which could not, *by reason of death*, continue always in one person: but there were *many priests*, succeeding one another in the office, which became often vacant. Whereas our great High-priest, *because he continued for ever, i. e.* never dies, *hath an unchangeable priesthood: and therefore is able to save to the uttermost*, or evermore, *those that come to God by him*, (Heb. vii. 23—25.)

*And shall put on the linen clothes, even the holy garment.*] He was to take a special care not to officiate on this day in any other garments but those mentioned ver. 4. which were peculiarly appropriated to this service, and called *the white garments;* which were a figure, perhaps, of the perfect purity of our great High-priest, who, as it there immediately

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follows, (Heb. vii. 26.) *is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners.*

Ver. 33. *And he shall make an atonement for the holy sanctuary,* &c.] In this verse he only sums up the whole duty of the day; in which a general atonement was made, for all things, and for all persons. The only thing to be observed is, that the expiation of the *sanctuary,* the *tabernacle,* and the *altar,* preceded the expiation of the *priests* and of the *people,* who were to be expiated by the sacrifices offered there. But the expiation of the *high-priest* himself, who was to make the expiation of the sanctuary, preceded all the rest; as is apparent from ver. 11.

Ver. 34. *And this shall be an everlasting statute.*] The repetition of this the third time, (see ver. 29. 31.) shews of how great importance it was, that this annual solemnity should be observed.

*Unto you.*] The high-priests (beforementioned), of whom he speaks in the plural number, because none of them could continue always, (as I have observed ver. 32.) but enjoyed the office successively, upon the death of their predecessors.

*To make an atonement for the children of Israel, for all their sins, once a year.*] This is only a repetition of what was said ver 30. that it should be incumbent on the high-priest, by a perpetual obligation, to make an atonement for the people's sins on this day; as it was incumbent on the people (ver. 29.) to afflict their souls upon this day.

*And he did as the Lord commanded Moses.*] The service of this day was immediately performed by Aaron, according to the forenamed order.

## CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] After he had ordered the great anniversary sacrifice, in the foregoing chapter, he gives some directions about other sacrifices, for which there would be occasion every day.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto Aaron and his sons, and all the children of Israel.*] Who were all concerned in what follows; and therefore this command is directed to the whole *house of Israel,* (ver. 3.) to whom this was delivered, it is likely, by their elders: or else Moses himself went from tribe to tribe, and spake to their several families.

*And say unto them, This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded.*] Enjoined by a special law.

Ver. 3. *Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat.*] *viz.* For a sacrifice or offering, (as it follows ver. 4.) these being the only creatures of the herd and the flock that were permitted to be brought to God's altar. There are those, indeed, who think Moses speaks of killing these creatures for common use; which it was lawful for them to do any where, after they came to the land of Canaan, (Deut. xii. 15.) but now they were not to kill them for their food, unless they brought them to the door of the tabernacle, and there first sacrificed some part of them to the Lord, before they tasted of them themselves. By which their sacrificing to demons was prevented, (to which they were prone, ver. 7.) and they also constantly feasted with God while they dwelt in the wilderness. But this is better founded upon Deut. xii. 20, 21. where it is supposed that they had thus done, while they remained in the wilderness; and were so near to the house of God, that they might easily bring thither every beast they killed for ordinary use. But they were dispensed withal as to this, when they came into Canaan, and could not possibly, when they had a mind to eat flesh, go so far as to the tabernacle or temple, which was many miles from some of them. Instead whereof, they were bound to come at the three great festivals, and appear before God at his house, wheresoever they dwelt.

*In the camp, or that killeth it out of the camp.*] This seems to shew that he doth not speak of killing these beasts, *ad usum vescendi,* as St. Austin's words are, *for the use of eating* (for that they did not do *out of the camp,* but in their tents), but *de sacrificiis,* he speaks *concerning sacrifices.* For he prohibits (as he goes on) private sacrifices, lest every man should take upon him to be a priest, &c.

Ver 4. *And he bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer an offering unto the Lord.*] In ancient time every man had performed the office of a priest in his own family: but now that liberty is taken away, because they had abused it to idolatry: and every man was bound to bring his sacrifice to the house of God, where none but the sons of Aaron could officiate, and had the most sacred obligations on them to offer only to the Lord. The very heathens themselves, in future times, found it necessary to enact the very same; as appears by Plato in the latter end of his tenth book of Laws, where he hath these memorable words: Ἔστω νόμος ὅδε τοῖς ξυμπᾶσι κείμενος ἁπλῶς, ἱερὰ μηδὲ εἷς ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἐκτήσθω. *Let this be a law imposed absolutely upon all, that no man whatsoever have a sacred place in private houses;* but when he hath a mind to offer sacrifice, let him go to the public temples, and deliver his sacrifice to the priests, whether men or women, οἷς ἁγνεία τούτων ἐπιμελής, *whose business it is to take care that these things be performed in a holy manner.* By which it appears, that these were two established principles of religion in wise men's minds, to sacrifice publicly, and to bring their sacrifices to the priests, who were to take care to offer them purely. Unto which Moses adds one thing more, that their public sacrifices should be offered only at one place: which was a most efficacious preservative from all strange worship; nothing being done but under the eye of the ministers of religion, and the governors of the people. Insomuch that St. Chrysostom (as our learned Dr. Spencer observes, lib. i. de Rit. et Leg. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 4. sect. 1.) calls Jerusalem, which was afterwards established to be this place, καθάπερ τινὰ σύνδεσμον λατρείας, *a kind of bond or knot, whereby the whole nation was tied to the Judaical religion.*

*Before the tabernacle of the Lord.*] Before the Divine Majesty, which dwelt in the tabernacle; round about which they all inhabited, and were so near it while they travelled in the wilderness, that, as there was no trouble in bringing all their sacrifices thither, so they knew certainly whither to go. And thus the Hebrew doctors observe it was when they came into Canaan; where, while the tabernacle was fixed in Shiloh, none might sacrifice any where else: but when it wandered uncertainly (after Shiloh was destroyed), being sometimes in Mispeh, sometimes at Gilgal, and at Nob, and Gibeon, and the house of Obed Edom, they fancy it was lawful to sacrifice in other places. For so



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we find Samuel did, 1 Sam. vii. 9. ix. 13. (where he sacrificed in a high place), xi. 15. xvi. 2. and David, 2 Sam. xxiv. 18. and Elias, 1 Kings xviii. 23. But these may be thought extraordinary acts, done by an immediate warrant from God; for none of these persons were priests, but prophets guided by Divine inspirations. (See Dr. Outram lib. i. De Sacrific. cap. 2.)

*Blood shall be imputed unto that man; he hath shed blood.*] He was to be punished as a murderer; that is, die for it. For to have *blood imputed to a man,* in the Hebrew phrase, or to be *guilty of blood,* is to be liable to have his blood shed, or to lose his life. Which, as of old it was the punishment of every one who killed another man, (Gen. ix. 6.) so here he is condemned to die who sacrificed any where but at the tabernacle.

*And that man shall be cut off from among his people.*] This, not another punishment (unless we suppose it relates to his posterity), and therefore the first word should be translated, not *and,* but *for.* And the meaning either is, that the magistrate should pass the sentence of death upon him, or God would destroy him himself. The latter sense is most probable, because he threatens (ver. 10.) to execute vengeance with his own hand, upon him that was guilty of eating blood. It is thought, indeed, by some, that *cutting off* doth not signify *death;* but, as in other places of this book, *cutting off* is so evidently joined with *death,* that so little cannot be meant by it, as depriving such persons of the privileges of God's people, (for instance, when any offered his children to Moloch, xx. 2—5. or did not afflict his soul on the day of atonement, xxiii. 29, 30.) so here in this place it most certainly signifies the putting him that was guilty of this crime to death; because he was to be punished as a murderer. Which severe penalty was enacted in this case, to preserve the Israelites from idolatry. For if they had been permitted to offer sacrifice where they pleased, they might easily have forsaken God by altering the rites which he had ordained; nay, by offering to strange gods: particularly to the demons, which, in those days, frequented the fields, and endeavoured to persuade the ignorant that they were gods, as seems to be intimated in the next verse and ver. 7.

Ver. 5. *To the end.*] Or, *for this cause; i. e.* to avoid that heavy punishment beforementioned.

*That the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices.*] Or, *shall bring:* as the Vulgar Latin translates it (regarding the sense more than the words), "Ideo sacerdoti offerre debent," &c. *Therefore they ought to bring to the priest their sacrifices,* &c.

*Which they offer in the open field.*] Where the pagans erected their altars, to procure fruitfulness to their fields. Insomuch that Libanius saith (in his oration ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν), that the temples, or holy places, were the *very soul or life of the fields:* Ψυχὴ γὰρ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοις ἀγροῖς τὰ ἱερά. And that *in them lay the hope of the husbandmen:* καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῦσι ἐν αὐτοῖς αἱ ἐλπίδες. How old this idolatry was, we cannot certainly tell; but it continued a long time among the Israelites, as we learn from the prophet Jeremiah, xiii. 27. and Hosea xv. 11. where he saith, "Their altars were as heaps in the furrows of the field:" that is, there were abundance of them, notwithstanding this early prohibition given by Moses. And among the gentiles, Festus tells us they offered sacrifices to the *terrestrial gods, in terra, upon the very ground* (according to the Hebrew phrase here, *on the face of the field),* but to the *infernal gods, in terra effossa, in holes or pits digged in the earth;* and to the *celestial, in ædificiis a terra exaltatis, in buildings exalted above the earth; i. e.* upon altars: which had their name from hence, *ab altitudine, from their height,* as both he and Servius also tell us. And every one knows that they delighted to set them in high places, on the tops of mountains and hills; especially where there were groves and shady trees, under which they set them, even in valleys, and in the highways, fields, and meadows. For they were so fond of them, that those who were against erecting of temples to their gods (as Zeno was), yet never sacrificed without altars, which they set in the open air, to signify they believed he whom they worshipped could not be circumscribed.

*Even that they may bring them unto the Lord.*] Or, *they shall bring them even unto the Lord:* who had settled his habitation at the tabernacle, and would be worshipped no where else with sacrifices.

*Unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation unto the priests.*] Here seems to be another reason why they were not permitted to offer in the field; because God would have none but the priests (men appointed by himself to attend for this purpose at his house) to offer sacrifices to him, according to the rites he had prescribed.

*And offer them for peace-offerings unto the Lord.*] Upon these words Nachmanides grounds the forenamed opinion, that whilst the Jews continued in the wilderness, they ate no meat at their own private tables, but what had been first offered to God at the tabernacle. *Behold,* saith he, *God commanded that all which the Israelites did eat should be peace-offerings.* Which was afterwards altered when they came to Canaan, and lived remote from the house of God. And such a custom prevailed among the gentiles, who would not sit down to eat at their tables till they had offered bread and wine unto their gods. Thus it was among the Chaldees, as appears from Dan. i. 8. But then they had many altars every where, even in their own private houses. Whereas here in the wilderness there was but one altar, which could not contain all the fat that was to be burnt on it every day, if we suppose the Israelites to have commonly killed beasts for their own eating. It seems to be the truer opinion, that they seldom or never did that while they were in the wilderness; but all the beasts they killed were for sacrifice, of which Moses here speaks. So R. Levi Barzelonita, (Præcept. clxxxvii.) and other Jewish doctors; they are here forbidden *to offer a sacrifice to God any where without the tabernacle.* He mentions indeed only *peace-offerings;* but the reason is, because they were most common; being offered not only for all the mercies they had received, but for all they desired to obtain from God; as Abarbinel observes upon the seventh chapter of this book, where the several sorts of them are mentioned. Men were more forward also to bring these *offerings* than any other, because they were to have their share of them, and feast upon them.

Ver. 6. *And the priest shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar of the Lord at the door of the tabernacle.*] This depends upon the foregoing command of offering all their sacrifices at the tabernacle; that so the blood might be sprinkled upon the altar (and poured out at the bottom of

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it, as it is required in other places of this book), and not kept together in a vessel, or a hole in the ground, as the manner of the ancient idolatry was, when they offered their sacrifices in the field, and sat about this blood, and feasted upon the flesh of their sacrifice. So Maimonides saith the custom of the Zabii was, (More Nevochim. par. iii. cap. 46.)

*And burn the fat.*] So the manner was in all sacrifices: which is said also to be *for a sweet savour unto the Lord,* (see i. 8, 9. iii. 3. 5. iv. 35, &c.)

Ver. 7. *And they shall no more.*] It seems by this they had been guilty of other idolatrous practices, besides that of worshipping the golden calf, (Exod. xxxii.) And so much is expressed Deut. xxxii. 17. And it was a sin of which their fathers had been long guilty, especially in Egypt, (Josh. xxiv. 14. Ezek. xx. 7. xxiii. 2, 3.) which they had not left, but continued in the wilderness, (Amos v. 25.)

*Offer their sacrifices unto devils.*] These words shew the reason why God commands them, under such a heavy penalty, to offer only in one place at the tabernacle; because, while they sacrificed in the open fields, they had been in danger to be seduced by demons, who were wont to frequent those places (especially in deserts), and present themselves to ignorant people as if they were gods, and entice their devotion towards them. Which demons, or evil spirits, appeared, it is likely, in the form of goats; and therefore are here called *seirim,* which properly signifies *goats.* And hath made some imagine, that they really sacrificed to these creatures, as some of the Egyptians did, who held goats be be sacred animals. So Diodorus tells us, (lib. ii.) Τὸν δὲ τράγον ἀπεθέωσαν, &c. *they deified a goat;* upon the same account that the Greeks worshipped Priapus. Herodotus, in his Euterpe, cap. 46. saith the same of the Mendesii, who, he saith, worshipped the males more than the females. And many other authors mentioned by Bochartus (in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 53.) report the same. But I question whether the Egyptians were guilty of such idolatry in the days of Moses. Nor is there more truth in their opinion, who think the Israelites now worshipped images in this form of goats. Which the LXX. seem to have thought, when they translated it τοῖς ματαίοις, *to vain things,* as idols are called in Scripture. And yet this very word, *seirim,* is by the Greek translators rendered Δαιμόνια, Isa. xiii. 21. which we here follow; only instead of *demons* translating it *devils:* whom the ancient Zabii worshipped, they appearing to them in the form of goats; and this custom was universally spread (as Maimonides thinks) in Moses's time, which was the cause of this precept, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46.)

And, indeed, nothing is more common in the writings of the ancient heathen, than the mention of fauns and satyrs, and ægipanes, whose shape below was that of a goat. And to this day, in the solemn conventions of witches, the chief devil that presides in their assemblies, is said, by all that have examined such matters, to have the form of a goat. And our famous countryman, Alexander Hales, in his discourse upon the scape-goat, (which is in his Summa, par. iii. q. 55.) derives the reason of it from the frequent appearance of demons in this shape in the wilderness; as Mr. Selden observes in his Prolegomena to his book De Diis Syris. They that would see more of these *seirim,* may consult I. G. Vossius, lib. i. de Orig. et Progr. Idol. cap. 8. and Bochartus's Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. vi. cap. 7.

There is one, indeed, (Anton. Van Dale) who hath lately endeavoured to explode all these fancies, as he esteems them, of demons: which he would have to be the mere invention of the ancient Chaldeans; and from them derived to other nations. But he will never be able to make any wise man believe, that the world was so sottish as to worship the images of goats (which he takes to be meant by *seirim*), if there had not been an appearance of something in that shape which they accounted Divine.

*After whom they have gone a whoring.*] *i. e.* With whom they have committed idolatry. For this sin was justly called by the name of *whoredom,* ever after they were solemnly contracted and espoused to God, to be his peculiar people. (Exod. xix. 5.) Which is the reason that he is said so often to be a *jealous God,* (particularly Exod. xx. 5.) highly incensed, that is, at their worshipping other gods besides him. For this and such-like words are never used but concerning idolatry; which Ezekiel describes as the foulest whoredom, (xvi. 22.) and particularly mentions this whoredom with the Egyptians, ver. 26. and the Assyrians, ver. 28, &c.

*This shall be a statute for ever unto them throughout all generations.*] These words seem to me to determine the sense of the foregoing precept, to which they relate, (from ver. 2, &c.) not to be, that all the meat they killed for their own tables should be peace-offerings; for that, all confess, was not a *statute for ever* (if it were one at all) *throughout all generations;* but only while they were in the wilderness.

Ver. 8. *And thou shalt say unto them, Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers which sojourn among you.*] These words also shew he speaks in the foregoing of bringing all sacrifices whatsoever to the tabernacle; the same law which was given before to the Israelites, being now extended to all strangers that sojourned among them. By whom he means all such as were proselytes to the Jewish religion. So the LXX. here translate it; and they add the very same words to ver. 3. where *the house of Israel* is only mentioned in the original Hebrew. The only question is, what sort of proselytes are here intended? And I take it he speaks of the proselytes of righteousness (as the Jews call them), who were circumcised, and thereby embraced the whole religion of Moses. And this, I find, is the general opinion: though some few learned men contend, that any stranger, who had renounced idolatry (whom they called *a proselyte of the gate*), might bring his sacrifices to the altar. Which one can hardly allow, (though asserted by so great a man as Grotius, lib. i. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 16.) because he speaks of the same strangers here, which are mentioned ver. 10. where all such strangers are forbidden to eat blood. Which plainly belongs to such strangers as were become Jews by circumcision: for other strangers might eat it, as appears from Deut. xiv. 21. where the Israelites are allowed to sell what died of itself to a stranger, that he might eat it if he pleased: and such creatures had their blood in them.

*That offereth a burnt-offering or sacrifice.*] *i. e.* Any other sacrifice besides *burnt-offerings,* viz. *sin-offerings,* or *trespass-offerings,* or *peace-offerings.* None of which were accepted, but from such as were admitted into the Jewish re-

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ligion: though the pious gentiles, the Jews say, might bring *burnt-offerings.*

Ver. 9. *And bringeth it not to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer it unto the Lord.*] As he ordered their *peace-offerings* to be, ver. 4, 5.

*Shall be cut off from among his people.*] This demonstrates, that the foregoing precept and this belong to the same matter; being enforced with the same penalty, (ver. 4.) And it also shews, that the *strangers* beforementioned, signify such gentiles as were circumcised: for otherwise they were not of the body of the people of Israel, from which they are threatened to be cut off, if they did not observe this law.

Ver. 10. *And what man soever he be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you.*] See ver. 8.

*That eateth any manner of blood.*] This is forbidden before, iii. 17. and repeated again, vii. 26. (see both those places), where it is explained what blood he means; either of birds or beasts. Nothing is said of fishes, because they were not offered at the altar, and have little blood in them: nor is there any direction given any where how they should be killed. It is said, indeed, in this place, that they should not eat *any manner of blood;* but the meaning seems to be, neither of blood offered at the altar, nor of beasts killed for their own use: or else it is to be limited as before, to the blood of beasts and birds, (ver. 13.) for fishes were not at all considered. And here the reason is added why they should not eat blood (which was not mentioned in the forenamed places), because it was the life of the beast, and was therefore reserved to make atonement for their souls.

*I will even set my face against that soul,* &c.] That is, be extremely angry with him, and severely punish him, by cutting him off (as it here follows) from the body of the nation. Maimonides observes in the forenamed place, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46.) that this is the same expression which is used against him that offered his children to Moloch, xx. 3. and that this phrase is never used in Scripture concerning any other sin, but only these two, *idolatry* and *eating blood.* For the eating of blood gave occasion (he shews) to one kind of idolatry, in the worshipping of demons: whose food the ancient idolaters imagined the blood was; by eating of which their worshippers had communion with them. (See Psal. xvi. 4. and Grotius there.)

Ver. 11. *For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls,* &c.] Some think here are two distinct reasons against eating of blood: but the words, as they lie in the Hebrew, may well be translated, *Because the life of the flesh* (of any beast, that is) *is in the blood,* therefore *I have given it to you* (or, appointed it for you) *upon the altar, to make an atonement,* &c. Which is as much as to say, the life of the beast lying in the blood, I have ordained it to expiate your sins, that by its death, in your stead, your life may be preserved: and, therefore, I require you not to eat that which is appointed for so holy an end. For it would have been very unseemly if they had vulgarly used that to which they owed the favour of God and their very lives.

Nothing could be more rational than this precept, *viz.* that a thing so sacred, as to be peculiarly *appointed for them upon the altar,* should not lose that honour and esteem that was due to it. As the blood would have done, if it had been allowed to be commonly eaten; for that is very contemptible which goes into the draught (as our Saviour speaks), and at last becomes ordure.

*For it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.*] The blood, that is, of the sacrifices, which by God's appointment are offered to expiate your sins; that is, to preserve you from perishing. For to *make an atonement,* and to be a *ransom,* are the very same thing; as appears from Exod. xxx. 12. compared with ver. 15, 16. And to be a *ransom,* is to deliver from death, as appears from the words in that place—they shall every man give a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, *that there be no plague among them.* For the sins of the sacrificer being laid upon the beast which he offered, by imposition of his hand on its head, and confessing them there, they were taken away by the blood of that beast, unto which they were translated. And that not merely by the obedience of him that offered the sacrifice (which the followers of Socinus say God accepted), but by the blood of the sacrifice itself, as these words expressly declare, which was offered in his stead. Thus Theodoret upon these words; *God commanded the soul of the irrational creature, with its blood,* ἀντὶ τῆς σῆς, &c. *to be offered, instead of thy rational and immortal soul.* And thus the Jews themselves understand it; particularly Aben Ezra, upon these words, saith, *the soul, instead of the soul; i. e.* the soul of the beast was offered instead of the soul of the man. And R. Solomon Jarchi to the same purpose; *one soul comes, and makes expiation for another soul.* And Maimonides more largely; *I have spared the soul of the man, and given this blood upon the altar; that the soul of the beast may make expiation for the soul of the man.* And so Abarbinel, and many more, which may be seen in Dr. Outram's most learned book De Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 22. n. 11.

Ver. 12. *Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger that sojourneth among you eat blood.*] What other reason soever there was before for not eating blood, (see Gen. ix. 4.) this is the reason why God forbade it to *the children of Israel;* and to all that joined themselves unto their religion.

Ver. 13. *And whatsoever man there be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, which hunteth and catcheth any beast or fowl that may be eaten.*] Though no other beasts or fowls be mentioned but those that were taken in hunting (that being a very common thing in those days), yet the precept extends to all those that were bred at home, and were allowed by the law for their food. So a MS. author, mentioned by J. Wagenseil, in his annotations upon Sota, cap. 2. excerpt. Gemara, n. 6. where he puts abundance of cases upon this subject.

*He shall even pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust.*] Though it was not the blood of a sacrifice offered at the altar, but of a beast or bird killed for their own use, they might not eat it, but bury it in the ground; lest any beast should lick it up, as it is commonly interpreted. Maimonides hath found a deeper reason for this, which is, that nobody might meet and feast about it. By which means Moses broke their society and fellowship with demons; who, in those times, were thought to feed upon the blood, in a bowl or hole, whilst their worshippers sat about it eating of the flesh. So he writes in the place often beforementioned, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46.) And this was the more necessary while they remained in the wilderness, because demons were wont to haunt such places, and

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there appear; but not in cities or habitable places. (See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 4. p. 201.) If a man, therefore, saw his neighbour kill a beast, and neglect to cover its blood with dust, he was bound to go and do it himself; because God speaks here unto *the children of Israel, i. e.* to all of them, (ver. 12.) as R. Levi Barzelonita glosses, Præcept. clxxxv. And the forenamed MS., mentioned by Wagenseil, saith, they covered the blood with this form of benediction; "Blessed be the Lord our God, the King of the world, who hath sanctified us with his precepts, and commanded us to cover blood." Which shews they thought this a precept of great weight.

Ver. 14. *For it is the life of all flesh,* &c.] Whether of beasts or fowl beforementioned: and therefore prohibited to be eaten by them (as was before observed), because it was offered to God, and accepted by him for their life, when they had forfeited it by their sins.

*Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh.*] See ver. 12. where the same thing is said, but not so fully as here: for he only saith in that verse, *No soul of you shall eat blood:* but in this, *Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh.*

*For the life of all flesh is the blood thereof.*] This is so often repeated (no less than *three* times in this verse), the more to deter them from eating blood: which was the life of the beast, and therefore offered to God, as the Lord and Giver of life; and consequently belonged to nobody else.

Ver. 15. *And every soul that eateth that which dieth of itself.*] And consequently had the blood remaining in it; as all things, also, which were not rightly killed had (the Hebrews think), and therefore here forbidden.

*Or that which was torn with beasts.*] Which was nothing else (as Maimonides speaks) but the beginning to be a dead carcass, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 48.)

*Whether it be one of your own country, or a stranger.*] By a *stranger,* is meant one that had embraced the Jewish religion: for other gentiles might eat such things. Nay, the Israelites themselves (as Maimonides observes), when they went to war, and entered the countries of the gentiles, and subdued them, might eat that *which died of itself,* or *was torn of beasts;* nay, swine's flesh, and such-like food, when they were hungry, and could find no other meat. (See Schickardi Mishpat Hamelek, cap. 5. Theor. 18.)

*He shall both wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water,* &c.] When he had eaten these things unwittingly, and came to know it, he was thus to purify himself. If he did it knowingly, it was a high crime against an express law, repeated more fully Deut. xiv. 21. and punished, as some think, with death. But I suppose they mean he was obnoxious to the Divine displeasure, and in danger to be cut off by him, if he did not offer a sacrifice to expiate his offence: which seems to be allowed in such cases, as it was for greater offences, (vi. 1, 2, &c.) And the Jewish doctors say, he who violated this law, was only to be beaten: for *cutting off,* either by the hand of God, or the court of judgment, was not threatened to sins of so light a nature as this. So Maimonides observes in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41.

Ver. 16. *But if he wash them not, nor bathe his flesh, he shall bear his iniquity.*] Be liable to be punished by God, for the neglect of the means of his purification. And if while he continued thus unclean, he adventured to eat of the *peace-offerings,* he was in danger to be *cut off from his people,* (vii. 20.)

## CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] It is not said, when the Lord delivered these laws to Moses; but it is likely after the other, and before those that follow.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them.*] They were all concerned in these laws about marriage; and therefore they are directed to the whole body of the people: who received them, I suppose, by their elders and heads of the tribes, to whom Moses delivered them, and charged they should be communicated to every family and household. (See xvii. 2.)

*I am the Lord your God.*] I have a right to give you laws (being your sovereign, upon more titles than one), to which all human customs must yield, though long practised, and spread every where in the world. This reason is mentioned *six* times in this chapter; and oftener in the next. (See ver. 4.)

Ver. 3. *After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do: and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do.*] The manners of these two countries (of Egypt, wherein they had dwelled a long time; and of Canaan, wherein they were going to settle) they were in the greatest danger to imitate: especially in taking the liberty of making such marriages as they saw practised among them, against which they are here severely cautioned. But though these words seem to have a particular respect to those marriages, yet Maimonides extends them to all their other practices, for which they could see no reason: *magic* being in much use among them, in dressing their trees, and ploughing their ground, and such-like common things: in which they had a respect also to the disposition of the stars of heaven, which led them to the worship of them; as he shews at large in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37. R. Levi Barzelonita also extends these words to the customs of all other nations, (Præcept. cclxii.) which he that observed was to be beaten. But the *doings,* or customs, which Moses here speaks of, seem to be those that follow, ver. 6, 7, &c. as appears from ver. 24, &c. And the other customs of those nations, about their clothes, and cutting their hair (which the forenamed author mentions), are forbidden in other places.

*Neither shall ye walk in their ordinances.*] The Hebrew word *chukkoth,* which we commonly translate *statutes,* and here *ordinances,* seems to import that the incestuous marriages here mentioned were allowed by the laws and constitutions of those countries; which made their wickedness the more intolerable, (ver. 24.)

Ver. 4. *Ye shall do my judgments, and keep my ordinances, to walk therein.*] Frame your lives according to the laws and rules which I give you to observe; and not according to their wicked practices, which were grown into customs and precedents. The Gemara Babylonica, mentioning these words, saith, it is a tradition of their doctors, that by *mishpatim* (which we translate *judgments*), are to be understood such natural laws as all mankind are bound to observe, though there were no written commands for them: such as those against idolatry, and those about un-

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covering the nakedness of such near relations, as are here mentioned, and murder, &c. And by *chukkim* (*ordinances*, or *statutes*), such laws are meant as depended only on the pleasure of God; and obliged none but those to whom they were given: such as those about meats, and garments, and leprosy, &c. Against which, lest any one should object, it is here added, *I am the Lord your God.*

*I am the Lord your God.*] I, who am your sovereign Lord; and, by redeeming you from the Egyptian bondage, am become, in a special manner *your God*, have ordained these things. Therefore let no man dispute them, or make a question of them, as the forenamed Gemara expounds these words. See Selden, lib. i. de Jure N. et G. cap. 10. p. 122. where he observes, that the laws called *statutes* are, in their language, such as depend only *on the royal authority*.

Ver. 5. *Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments.*] Observe the laws beforementioned. For the word we here translate *statutes*, is the same with that translated *ordinances* in the foregoing verse.

*Which if a man do, he shall live in them.*] Not be *cut off*; but live long and happily, in the enjoyment of all the blessings which God promised in his covenant with them.

*I am the Lord.*] Who will faithfully keep my covenant, and fulfil my promises, (Exod. vi. 3.)

Ver. 6. *None of you.*] In the Hebrew the words being *isch, isch* (as much as to say, *man, man*), that is, no man; the Talmudists take it as if he had said, neither Jew nor gentile. For all mankind, they say, are comprehended under these laws about incest. Nay, the very Karaites (or those who adhere only to the Scripture, and reject a Talmudical exposition) are of this mind, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. i. de Uxore Heb. cap. 5. But the Talmudists themselves do not all understand this matter alike. For some of them think all the gentiles (at least those who were under the dominion of the Israelites) were bound to refrain from all incestuous marriages; to which death is threatened by the law. But others of them think they were concerned only in those six things which were unlawful before the law of Moses was given. (See Selden, lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1. and cap. 11. p. 596, &c.) But the ancient Hebrews give a good reason for all these laws, as Grotius observes, lib. ii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 5. sect. 13. n. 2.

*Shall approach.*] Some of the Jews have been so rigorous, as to expound this word, as if it bound them not to have any familiarity with the persons afternamed, (R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. clxxxviii.) which is against all reason and natural affection. The plain sense is, they should not *approach*, or *come near* to them, for the end afterward mentioned, *viz. to uncover their nakedness.* Nay, this very phrase is used for the same thing, Gen. xx. 4. without the addition *of uncovering their nakedness.*

*Any that is near of kin to him.*] It must be confessed, that these words *near of kin* do not sufficiently express the full sense of the Hebrew phrase; nor are they of a determinate signification: for a man may be *near of kin* to a woman, who is not *the remainder of his flesh*, as the Hebrew phrase is: that is, *so near of kin to him, that nothing comes between them.* This is properly the *nearness of flesh* here spoken of; she that is immediately born of the same flesh that a man is, or she out of whose flesh he is born; or she that is born out of his flesh; that is, in plainer words, a man's sister, mother, or daughter. These are a man's own immediate relations; which the Karaites call *the foundation and root of all that is here forbidden*, as Selden notes, lib. i. Ux. Hebr. cap. 2. For the sake of whom the rest here mentioned are prohibited, having a *nearness of flesh* to them, *viz.* his father or mother's sister; his granddaughter, and his niece. For the best explication of this phrase, is the express particulars mentioned by God himself in this place.

*To uncover their nakedness.*] To have carnal knowledge of her, as the Scripture modestly speaks in other places. For *nakedness* in the holy language signifies the secret parts, which natural modesty teaches all civilized people to cover; and not to reveal them to any but those whom they marry. Therefore *not to uncover the nakedness* of the persons here named, is properly, not to take them in marriage; and much less to have knowledge of them without marriage. Answerable to this is the name of a virgin whom the Hebrews call *alma*, which is as much as *covered*, clothed, or veiled: because those parts were never exposed to any one, but those to whom they were espoused and joined in marriage.

*I am the Lord.*] By my authority, who am your sovereign, and the sovereign of the world, these laws are enacted: and I will punish those that break them.

Ver. 7. *The nakedness of thy father, or the nakedness of thy mother, thou shalt not uncover.*] It is commonly thought by interpreters, that the particle we translate *or*, is here as much as *that is*, (for so it signifies in some places, particularly 1 Sam. xxviii. 3.) So that the latter part of the verse is only an explication of the former, and makes them but one prohibition, against a man's marrying his mother. And this, indeed, the next words seem to imply, *she is thy mother;* who bare thee, and therefore not to be taken to be thy wife, much less to be otherwise known by thee. But we may as well think, that *the nakedness of the father and of the mother* are both here mentioned, to shew neither the daughter might marry her father, nor the son his mother; and consequently, that in all the following particulars, women were concerned just as men were; though the men be only mentioned. And under the name of *father* and *mother* are comprehended grandfather or grandmother, or other progenitors before them.

*She is thy mother, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.*] This is the very first prohibition; it being a going back in nature for a man to marry his mother. Which, though it was practised in those days by the Canaanites, and Egyptians, and by the Persians also, in aftertimes, and some other eastern countries, yet in the western part of the world (as Mr. Selden observes) such marriages were *nunquam non execranda, execrable in all ages*, (lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 11. p. 601, &c.) Such were the marriages of Œdipus with Jocasta, of Nero with Agrippina, Pelopeia and Thyestis her father, of whom Ægistus was born; which every body detested. (See Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 5. sect. 2.) For the law of nature was against such marriages, notwithstanding the practice of persons, nay whole nations, whom God gave up to πάθη ἀτιμίας (as St. Paul shews), *dishonourable affections*, for their other sins; especially for their forsaking him, and falling to idolatry.

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Maimonides gives this as the general reason of prohibiting this, and all the following marriages: because the persons here forbidden to be so joined together, are all, in a manner, such as are wont to live together in the same house (for so fathers, mothers, children, brothers, and sisters do), who might easily be tempted to lewdness one with another, if even marrying together were not severely forbidden. And thus the LXX. translate the words of the foregoing verse; none of you shall approach to any *that is near of kin to him*, πρὸς οἰκεῖα σαρκὸς, or, as other copies, πρὸς οἰκεῖον σαρκὸς, *to those that are so near of kin, that they usually dwell in the same house;* as parents and children; brothers and sisters; and the brothers and sisters of our parents. Mahomet, as lewd and impudent as he was, had not the boldness to control these laws; but, in the fourth chapter of his Alcoran, expressly forbids his followers to marry their *mothers*, their *mothers-in-law*, &c. and a great many of the rest which here follow.

Ver. 8. *The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover.*] That is, of a step-mother. Such was the incest of Reuben with Bilhah, (Gen. xxxv. 22.) and of Absalom with the wives of his father David, (2 Sam. xvi. 21, 22.) and of Antiochus Soter with Stratonice; who, abhorring from such a conjunction, was taught that all things were honest that pleased the king. But the thing itself is so hateful, that the very naming it is a condemnation; and therefore it is all one with the prime natural law, which prohibits the conjunction of *parents* and *children*. "For she that is one flesh with my father (as a great man speaks), is as near to me as my father, and that is as near as my own mother. As near, I mean, in the estimation of law, though not in the accounts of nature; and, therefore, though it be a crime of a less turpitude, yet it is equally forbidden, and is against the law of nature, not directly, but by interpretation," (book. ii. chap. 2. Ductor. Dubitantium, rule iii. n. 29.)

*It is thy father's nakedness.*] He having known her, it was not permitted the son to have her also. Nay, the Jews say, if the father had only espoused her, it was not lawful for the son to have her to wife; or if he had divorced her, it was not lawful for the son to have her, even after he was dead. (See R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cxci. Buxtorf. de Sponsal. p. 16, 17.)

Ver. 9. *The nakedness of thy sister.*] As the nearness of flesh (mentioned ver. 6.) above a man, is his mother; and below him, is his daughter: so, on the side of him, is his sister.

*The daughter of thy father.*] Though she were begotten by his father of another wife, not of his mother; yet he might not marry her.

*Or the daughter of thy mother.*] Born of her by another husband, not by his father.

*Whether she be born at home, or born abroad.*] Be legitimately born in wedlock; or illegitimately, out of wedlock; as the Talmudists expound it: see Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 10. p. 591. where he observes, that though the Egyptians (as Philo and others report), with such-like nations, thought the marriage of brothers and sisters to be lawful, and it was practised also in Greece; yet the greatest men in the western countries condemned such marriages; which some of the Greek philosophers also disallowed: and Euripides himself called barbarous, even when it was practised. Insomuch, that in after-ages this wicked custom was quite abolished; and that before Christianity was well settled among them. For Sextus Empiricus saith, that in his time it was utterly unlawful: see there, cap. xi. p. 603. 605, &c. where he shews the Romans always abhorred such marriages; nay, it was late before the Persians took up this abominable custom, after the example of Cambyses: who being in love with his own sister, as Herodotus relates, (in his Thalia, cap. xxxi.) and having a mind to marry her, which was never practised before in that country; he commanded the royal judges (as he calls them), who were the interpreters of the laws, to advise whether he might lawfully do it, or not: who, to please him, and yet not seem to give an illegal opinion, answered, νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεὸν, &c. *That they could find no law which permitted a brother to marry a sister: but there was a law, that the Persian king might do even what he would.* (See Grotius, lib. ii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 5. sect. 13.)

*Even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover.*] It shall be unlawful to thee to marry any of the forenamed sisters. For though the marriage of brother and sister was necessary in the beginning, when God created but one man and one woman, by whose children the world was peopled; yet, when it was so, there was great reason that it should be made utterly unlawful, as many have demonstrated; particularly Bishop Taylor, in his Ductor. Dubitantium, book ii. chap. 2. rule iii. n. 24, 25, &c. "For now it is next to an unnatural mixture (as he speaks), it hath something of confusion in it, and blending the very first partings of nature, which makes it intolerably scandalous and universally forbidden; for if it were not, the mischief would be horrible and infinite."

Ver. 10. *The nakedness of thy son's daughter, or of thy daughter's daughter, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover.*] This law concerns a man's grand-daughter, by his son or his daughter, whether legitimately or spuriously begotten, as R. Levi Barzelonita expounds it, (Præcept. cxciii.) Who adds, in the next precept but one, this is another prohibition, *thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter;* which (saith he) is not expressly mentioned in this law, because it was not necessary. For a man's grandchildren, either by sons or daughters, which are more remote, being forbidden, there was no need to say it was unlawful for him to marry his own daughter.

*For theirs is thy own nakedness.*] They have their original from thy nakedness. For which reason some of the Jews extended this to those descendants which were still farther off, as a hedge to this law. So R. Levi calls it, in the place forenamed. The ancient Romans also (as our Mr. Selden shews) were very strict in restraining the marriage of men with their nieces, either by their brothers or sisters, and with others mentioned in the following laws of Moses, lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gentium, &c. cap. 11. p. 605, &c.

Ver. 11. *The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, begotten of thy father (she is thy sister), thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.*] This prohibition, seeming to be the same with that, ver. 9. some of the Hebrews have expounded this concerning the daughter of a mother-in-law begotten by another father. For the words may be thus translated, as Mr. Selden observes the order of them will bear, (lib. i. de Uxore Heb. cap. 4.) *The nakedness of the daughter of thy*



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*father's wife (for she that is born of thy father is thy sister) thou shalt not uncover.* And with this the Greek and several other versions of the Bible agree, who make the prohibition of *the wife's* daughter to end before he speaks of his own sister. And it is the sense of the principal men among the Karaites, as he shews, cap. 6. But this is against the constant sense of the Hebrew doctors, who say it is lawful to marry the daughter of a mother-in-law which she had by another husband; for there is no *nearness of flesh* at all between these two. And therefore, as in the ninth verse, the marriages of all brothers and sisters, in general, are forbidden; so here, more particularly, the marriage with a sister by the same father, though not by the same mother: which was necessary to be expressly forbidden; because, before the law, the sons of Noah thought it lawful to marry a half-sister (as we speak) by the father's side, though not by the mother's. (See Buxtorf. de Spons. et Divort. p. 15, 16.) And this was the ancient law of Solon among the Athenians, that they might marry ὁμοπατρίους, their sisters *by the same father*, but not ὁμομητρίους, their sisters *by the same mother;* as Joh. Meursius shews in his Themis Attica, lib. i. cap. 18. And if the one of these had not been in so many words prohibited, as well as the other, the Jews might still have continued in that practice, which was usual before the law. (See Sam. Petitus in Leges Atticas, p. 440.)

Some are of the opinion, that, in the ninth verse, the son of a second venter is forbidden to marry the daughter of the first: and here, the son of the first venter, to marry the daughter of the second. And others fancy, that the sister here meant is one that was adopted by his father.

Ver. 12. *Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister.*] And it made no difference whether she was his father's sister legitimately or illegitimately begotten by his grandfather; as R. Levi Barzelonita represents the opinion of the Hebrew doctors, (Præcept. cxcvii.) Such marriages also were prohibited by the ancient Romans, as Mr. Selden observes in the place forenamed, (lib. v. cap. 11. p. 605.) though before the law of Moses they are supposed to be lawful; for it is commonly thought that his father Amram married his aunt Jochobed, (Exod. vi. 20.) and therefore no wonder it was practised in other countries, who were not acquainted with this prohibition: particularly at Sparta, where Herodotus saith (in his Erato, cap. lxxi.) Archidamus their king married Lampito, who was sister to his father Zeuxidamus, δόντος αὐτῷ Λευτυχίδεω; Leutichydes (who was father both to her and to Zeuxidamus) giving her to him in marriage.

*She is thy father's near kinswoman.*] So near, that as he could not be permitted to marry her, so his son also, who was not but a little farther removed from her, was forbidden to touch her. And by the same reason that a man might not marry his aunt, an uncle might not marry his niece. Which, though practised among the Romans after Claudius married Agrippina, till the time of Constantine; yet it was a new thing, as Claudius himself acknowledges in Tacitus, ("Nova nobis in fratrum filios conjugia," lib. xii. Annal. *marriages with our brother's daughters are new things with us.)* And all he could say for it was, that it was common in other nations, "nec lege ulla prohibita," *and not forbidden by any law.* And indeed the newness of it so frightened Domitian, that he would not venture upon it; nor did many use it. Which shews that this law had some foundation in nature; which made those men cautious about such marriages, who had nothing else to guide them. Or, at least, there had been such a long custom against them, in the western part of the world, that men, who were otherwise very bad, would not help to alter it.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister: for she is thy mother's near kinswoman.*] There is the same reason for this, as for the former prohibition: the aunt, by the mother's side, being as near to a man, as his aunt by the father's.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's brother.*] This is explained in the next words, *thou shalt not approach to his wife:* that is, not marry thy uncle's wife. And therefore much less might an uncle marry his brother's daughter: as Herodotus tells us Darius married Phrataguna, the daughter of his brother Atarnes, who gave him all his estate with her; and Leonides, king of Sparta, married Gorgo, the daughter of his brother Cleomenes. See lib. vii. (called Polymnia) cap. 224. and 239.

*She is thy aunt.*] By such near affinity, that marriage is forbidden with her, as well as with an aunt by consanguinity, (v. 12, 13.) In which the ancient Romans also were very strict, as our Selden observes in the place abovenamed. And it made no difference, whether he were only espoused to her, or had after marriage divorced her, or was separated by death: or whether he was his father's brother legitimately, or spuriously, as R. Levi Barzelonita observes, Præcept. cxcix. and cc. Where he notes, that though the father's brother's wife be only mentioned, yet the mother's brother's wife is also prohibited. This is repeated xx. 20.

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter-in-law: she is thy son's wife,* &c.] Though only espoused to him; and therefore much more when solemnly married; as the same R. Levi explains it, Præcept. cci. where he hath the same observation as before; that if she was afterward divorced, he might not marry her: and that it is probable the wife of a bastard son is prohibited; for he is his son; though a child by a slave, or a stranger, is never called a man's son.

Ver. 16. *Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife,* &c.] Unless he died childless; for in that case the next brother was bound to marry her, (Deut. xxv. 5. see Buxtorf. de Spons. p. 25. and Grotius in Matt. xiv. 4.) Much less might a man marry his brother's daughter (as was before noted), who was nearer to him, and of his own flesh. Which was so much abhorred by the ancient Romans, that Claudius Cæsar durst not celebrate his marriage with Agrippina, till he had got a decree of the senate for it, "Quo justæ inter patruos, fratrumque filias, nuptiæ etiam in posterum statuerentur:" *which made the marriage of uncles with their brother's daughters to be lawful for the future: which hitherto had been without example.* So Tacitus relates in the forenamed book of his Annals, (cap. 5.) where he saith, notwithstanding this decree, there were none found, but only one man, who desired such matrimony; and most thought he did it to gain Agrippina's favour: "Neque tamen repertus est, nisi unus, talis matrimonii cupitor," &c.

Ver. 17. *Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of a wo-*

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*man and her daughter.*] If a man married a widow that had a daughter, it was a wicked thing to marry that daughter, either while her mother lived, or after she was dead.

*Neither shalt thou take her son's daughter, nor her daughter's daughter, to uncover her nakedness.*] To preserve them from this, the Jews added, as a hedge to this law, a prohibition to marry the grand-daughters of such daughters, as R. Levi Barzelonita tells us, (Præcept. ccv.)

*For they are her near kinswomen.*] Of such consanguinity with her (from whom they directly come), as makes it very criminal in him that is one with her to marry them.

*It is wickedness.*] The Hebrew word *zimmah* imports more than *wickedness*. The LXX. translate it ἀσέβημα, *impiety;* the Vulgar Latin, *incest;* others, *nefarious wickedness,* which is the word in the civil law for those marriages that are contrary to nature. Such were these in some measure, though not in the highest degree.

Ver. 18. *Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister.*] There are a great many eminent writers, who, following our marginal translation [*one wife to another*], imagine that here plurality of wives is expressly forbidden by God. And they think there is an example to justify this translation in Exod. xxvi. 3. where Moses is commanded to take care the five curtains of the tabernacle were coupled together, *one to its sister* (as the Hebrew phrase is), *i. e. one to another.* And so the Karaites interpret this place; that a man, having a wife, should not take another while she lived. Which, if it were true, would solve several difficulties: but there are such strong reasons against it, that I cannot think it to be the meaning. For as more wives than one were indulged before the law, so they were after. And Moses himself supposes as much, when he provides a man should not prefer a child he had by a beloved wife, before one by her whom he hated, if he was the eldest son. Which plainly intimates an allowance in his law, of more wives than one. And so we find expressly their kings might have, though not a multitude, (Deut. xvii. 17.) And their best king, who read God's law day and night, and could not but understand it, took many wives, without any reproof: nay, God gave him more than he had before, by delivering his master's wives to him, (2 Sam. xii. 8.) And, besides all this, Moses speaking all along in this chapter of consanguinity, it is reasonable (as Schindlerus observes) to conclude he doth so here: not of *one woman to another;* but of *one sister to another.* There being also the like reason to understand the word *sister* properly in this place, as the words *daughter* and *mother* in others, (ver. 17. and xx. 14.) where he forbids a man to take a *woman and her daughter,* or a *woman and her mother,* as Theodoric Hackspan judiciously notes, Disput. i. de Locutionibus Sacris, n. 29. (See Selden, lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6. and Buxtorf. de Sponsal, p. 28, 29.)

The meaning therefore is, that though two wives at a time, or more, were permitted in those days, no man should take two sisters (as Jacob had formerly done) begotten of the same father, or born of the same mother, whether legitimately or illegitimately, as the forenamed R. Levi expresses it, (Præcept. ccvi.) Which, though it may seem to be prohibited before, by consequence and analogy (because the marriage of a brother's wife is forbidden, ver. 16.) yet it is here directly prohibited, as other marriages are; which were implicitly forbidden before. For, ver. 7. the marriage of a son with his mother is forbidden: and ver. 10. the marriage of a father with his daughter.

*To vex her.*] There were wont to be great emulations, and jealousies, and contentions, between wives (some of them being more beloved than others, and also superior to them), which between two sisters would have been more intolerable, than between two other women: who not being "a consanguinitate, æquiore animo sub eodem marito, ætatem una agant," (as Petrus Cunæus speaks, lib. ii. de Repub. Heb. cap. 23.) *of the same consanguinity (as two sisters are), might live with more equal and quiet minds under the same husband.* The Vulgar Latin understands this, as if Moses forbade them to make one sister their *wife,* and the other their *concubine;* which could not but beget the greatest discords between them.

*In her life-time.*] From hence some infer, that a man was permitted to marry the sister of his former wife, when she was dead. So the Talmudists; but the Karaites thought it absolutely unlawful, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. i. de Uxore Heb. cap. 4.) For it is directly against the scope of all these laws, which prohibit men to marry at all with such persons as are here mentioned, either in their wives' life-time, or after. And there being a prohibition (ver. 16.) to marry a brother's wife, it is unreasonable to think Moses gave them leave to marry their wife's sister. These words, therefore, *in her life-time,* are to be referred, not to the first words, *neither shalt thou take her,* but to the next, *to vex her,* as long as she lives. Chaskuni refers it to both the sisters, according to the Targum, and makes this the sense; *lest they should both be afflicted widows as long as they live:* for nobody would marry either of them, being defiled by such an incestuous conjunction, for which God cut off their husband.

In this the ancient Christians were so strict, that if a man, after his wife died, married her sister, he was by the tenth canon of the council of Eliberis, to be kept from the communion five years.

Ver. 19. *Also thou shalt not approach to a woman.*] No, not to his own wife, as the forenamed R. Levi expounds it, (Præcept. ccvii.) though all other women also are comprehended, even their Canaanitish slaves, as he observes.

*As long as she is put apart for her uncleanness.*] Which was seven days, (xv. 19.) All the laws about marriages unto this place, seem to have a special regard to the wicked customs among the Egyptians; who, above all other people, were then polluted with such incestuous mixtures. And now he proceeds to direct them to abhor the customs of the Canaanites; who were polluted more than other nations with adulteries, and offering their children to Moloch, and the rest of the foul crimes which follow. For against the practices of these two nations, the Egyptians and the Canaanites, Moses cautions them, (ver. 3.) and accordingly first mentions the doings of the Egyptians unto this place; and then those of the Canaanites in the following verses.

Ver. 20. *Moreover, thou shalt not lie carnally with thy neighbour's wife.*] While he lived with her: for this was to commit adultery.

*To defile thyself with her.*] This signifies the foulest impurity, as appears from ver. 23. and was punished with death, (xx. 10.)



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Ver. 21. *And thou shalt not let any of thy seed.*] *i. e.* Of their children, as it is explained Deut. xviii. 10. This was a spiritual adultery, and therefore here mentioned.

*Pass through the fire to Molech.*] It is certain that Moloch was particularly worshipped by the children of Ammon, (at least in future ages, 1 Kings xi. 7.) but seems to have been the name of many of the heathen gods, and the same with Baal: both of them signifying *dominion*. This appears by comparing Jer. xix. 5. with xxxii. 35. But more especially it signifies the *sun*, the prince of the heavenly bodies, (see Vossius de Orig. et Progr. Idolol. lib. ii. cap. 5.) as the queen of heaven was the *moon*, (Jer. vii. 18.) Now it is evident, by several passages in Scripture, that the ancient pagans (whom the Israelites were prone to imitate) not only made their children *pass through the fire*, but also *offered* them in sacrifice unto Moloch. The former I take to be forbidden in this law; the latter in xx. 3. where giving their children to Moloch is prohibited under a severe penalty, of being put to death for that crime: whereas there is no penalty annexed here to their making them *pass through the fire*. Which I take therefore to have been a less crime than the other; though an idolatrous rite, practised by those who abhorred the cruelty of offering the very life of their dear children to Moloch. Instead of which, this rite was devised, of making them pass through the fire (for though the word *fire* be not here in the Hebrew text, yet it is understood by all, and expressed Deut. xviii. 10.) by way of purification, and *lustration*, as they called it; and by this means to dedicate them to the worship and service of Moloch. And therefore, being a rite of initiation, whereby parents consecrated their sons and daughters to their deities; we never find it mentioned in Scripture, but only concerning children (not concerning men and women), whom the Israelites are forbidden to dedicate in this manner; which was, in truth, to alienate them from the Lord God of Israel.

Now, that this was practised among the ancient pagans as a rite of initiation, appears particularly in the mysteries of Mithra (see Suidas upon that word); and continued long among the Persians, if we may believe Benjamin Tudelensis, in his Itinerarium, p. 214. (See G. Schickardi Tarich, p. 126, &c.) And this very phrase, *make to pass unto* (for the word *fire*, as I said, is not here mentioned), signifies as much as *ad partes ejus transire, to be addicted to any one;* like that phrase προσέρχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, *to come unto God*, (Heb. xi. 6.) And so this Hebrew phrase is used Exod. xiii. 12. and may very well be thus understood here, for devoting, or making over their children unto Moloch. For the heathen thought their children unclean, and obnoxious to the anger of their gods, and consequently in danger to be taken away from them, if they were not thus expiated, as Maimonides tells us, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37.) And, on the contrary, they fancied, (as R. Levi Barzelonita observes, Præcept. ccviii.) that if only one of their children were thus consecrated to Moloch, all the rest were blessed, and should be prosperous. For he very nicely takes notice that the Israelites are forbidden to make *any of their seed* to pass through the fire: it not being the manner, he saith, to make them all pass. But the idolatrous priests (to make the people more willing to this service) cunningly persuaded them, that if any one child was offered to Moloch, it procured a blessing upon all; and if there was only one child in a family, they laid no obligation on the parents to do this.

The manner of doing it, at this distance of time, cannot certainly be known. Some say their parents carried them through two fires upon their shoulders. Others, that they were led between them by their priests: and so R. Levi in the place beforenamed; "The father delivered the child to the priest, in the name of the idol; just as it is said concerning legal sacrifices, (xv. 14.) 'he shall give them to the priest.'" Others think that the priest, or somebody else, waved the child about in the very flame, while men and women danced round the fire; nay, leaped through the flame. And Joh. Coch. observes, upon the title Sanhedrin, cap. 7. n. 7. that some are of opinion, the children thus dedicated did not walk, but dance through the fire: which being an emblem and representative of the sun, plainly signified such children were consecrated to that deity. And this comes nearer to the Hebrew phrase, as we translate it, that they did not pass *between fires*, but *through the fire*. But which way soever it was done, whether they waved the child through the very fire, and presented it to Moloch, before whom the fire was kindled, or led it between two fires; when they had so done, the priest restored the child to the father again. And in some such way Ahaz made his son "to pass through the fire, according to the abomination of the heathen," (2 Kings xvi. 3.) which cannot be meant of his burning him: for Hezekiah his son outlived him, and succeeded in his throne. (See Theodoret in Kings iv. quæst. 47. Maimon. de Idol. cap. 6. sect. 14. n. 4—7. and Vossius's notes; with Simeon de Muis in Psal. cvi. 37.)

*Neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God.*] By offering their children to Moloch, they in effect rejected and disowned (as I before observed) the Lord God of Israel: which was to *pollute his name*, by giving that honour, which was due to him alone, unto another God: for he gave them children; who were therefore to be devoted to none but him.

*I am the Lord.*] The only sovereign of the world; who will severely punish the transgressors of this law.

Ver. 22. *Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it is an abomination.*] A detestable wickedness; condemned by all nations, though practised by some lewd persons among them. Insomuch that the apostles of Christ make mention of it with the greatest abhorrence, (Rom. i. 27. 1 Cor. vi. 9. 1 Tim. i. 10.) For not only several of the Roman emperors were infamous upon this account, but some also of the Greek philosophers.

This prohibition is repeated, according to Maimonides, in Deut. xxiii. 17. whom our translation follows; there shall not be a *Sodomite of the sons of Israel*. But Onkelos interprets that place otherwise.

Ver. 23. *Neither shalt thou lie with any beast,* &c.] *i. e.* Of any kind whatsoever. Some are apt to say, what need was there of such prohibitions? when it is so monstrously unnatural, to mix with creatures of a different species from us, as all beasts are. But such persons do not understand, that this was not only practised in Egypt, (against whose doings he cautions them, ver. 3.) but was also made a piece of religion: women devoted to the worship there used, most filthily submitting to the lust of their sacred goats. So Strabo tells us, lib. vii. p. 802. that at Mendes, where they worshipped Pan, Τράγοι ἐνταῦθα γυναιξὶ μίγννν-

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ται, *goats* (which were there also worshipped) *lay with women*. For which he quotes Pindar; as do also Priscianus and Ælian, lib. vii. de Animal. cap. 19. as Casaubon there notes. And Herodotus vouches this upon his own knowledge, and saith they did it *openly* (so ἀναφανδὸν signifies) when he was in Egypt. His words are these, in his second book called Euterpe, cap. 46. Ἐγένετο δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τέρας· γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγετο ἀναφανδόν. *This prodigy happened in this part of Egypt* (*i. e.* among the Mendesians) *when I was there, a goat had to do with a woman in the view of all.* Τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο. How long this beastly custom had been among them, none can tell, but these words import that then it was notorious; and so far from being kept secret, that they rather made an ostentation of it. Which I look upon as an argument that this had been a very old practice; otherwise they would have blushed at it.

Ver. 24. *Defile not yourselves in any of these things.*] This seems to relate particularly to the sins beforementioned, ver. 20—23. (See ver. 26.)

*For in all these the nations are defiled, which I cast out before you.*] The seven nations that inhabited the land of Canaan, (mentioned in many places, particularly Deut. vii. 1.) were so overrun with these filthy vices, that God could not bear with them, but ordered them to be destroyed for this very reason. Which was a sufficient caution to the Israelites, who came in their room, to keep themselves from such impurities.

Ver. 25. *And the land is defiled.*] To make the Israelites the more abominate such doings, he represents the very land, in which they dwelt, as sensible of the foul wickedness of the inhabitants; who were a loathsome burden to it, which it could not digest.

*Therefore do I visit the iniquity thereof upon it.*] I am about to punish them upon that account.

*And the land itself vomiteth out its inhabitants.*] A most eloquent figure, expressing the excessive loathsomeness of their wickedness: which made their own country nauseate them, and throw them out, as our stomach doth meat that offends it. The same expression is used, ver. 28. xx. 22. Rev. iii. 16. Theodoret expounds this word by βδελύσσειν, which signifies their *expulsion*, as an *execrable* people. And, indeed, the word *vomit* in Scripture is used for that which is most detestable and abominable, (Isa. xxviii. 8. Jer. xlviii. 26. Habak. ii. 10.)

Ver. 26. *Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments.*] These laws I have given you. (See ver. 4, 5.)

*And shall not commit any of these abominations.*] From this word *abominations*, which the nations God cast out to make room for them, are said to have committed, ver. 27. some conclude, that every one of the foregoing marriages, mentioned in this chapter, are in their own nature sinful; the nations who had no positive law to forbid them, being cast out for such pollutions. But the mere force of this word will not warrant such a conclusion; because several things are called in this book *an abomination*, which have no moral turpitude in them; but were made so by God's positive laws, as Mr. Selden observes (lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 11. p. 598.) from Lev. xi. 10. 20. 41, 42. where several sorts of creatures are forbidden to be eaten, as *abominable:* and the sacrifice of a bullock or a sheep that had a blemish, is said to be *an abomination*, (Deut. xvii. 1.) not from the very nature of the thing; but from the prohibition which God had made against such offerings.

It is most reasonable, therefore, to refer the *abominations* here spoken of to those foul things mentioned in the latter end of this list, (ver. 20—23.) and to those in the beginning, (ver. 7—9, &c.) For lying with one's mother, or mother-in-law, or sister, was always *an abomination*. But we cannot say the same of every one of the rest (the law itself following, or rather requiring, in one case, the marriage of a brother's wife), which were made an abomination by the law now given to the Israelites.

*Neither any of your own nation, nor any stranger that sojourneth among you.*] That is, any proselyte who had embraced their religion. (See xvii. 8.)

Ver. 27. *For all these abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you,* &c.] He admonishes them to beware of these abominations, by the example of those who were utterly undone by them. For God is no respecter of persons; but would punish them in the same manner, if they did the same things.

Ver. 28. *That the land spew not you out also,* &c.] As it did at last, (Jer. ix. 19. Ezek. xxxvi. 17.)

Ver. 29. *For whosoever shall commit any of these abominations, even the souls that commit them, shall be cut off from among their people.*] The multitude of the offenders shall not keep off the punishment; but they shall suffer by the hand of the judges, or by the hand of God, if they neglect their duty. (See Gen. xvii. 14.)

Ver. 30. *Therefore shall ye keep mine ordinances.*] Live by all these rules which I have now given you.

*That ye commit not any of these abominable customs, which were committed before you.*] By observing every one of these laws, they were kept at a distance from those greater abominations, mentioned in the beginning, and in the latter end of these prohibitions. The positive laws (or ordinances) now added, being in the nature of an *antemurale*, or an *outwork;* to stop their proceeding to the higher crimes, which were against the law of nature.

*I am the Lord your God.*] As their Lord, he had authority to make these laws: and as their God, they had particular obligations to observe them. Nay, it was a singular token of his love to them, that he prescribed these laws of chastity and modesty: that thereby he might preserve them a holy people to him, pure and free from those abominable filthinesses, and those indecent conjunctions, that were practised in the world. For, as the ancient rule was, "semper in omnibus conjunctionibus, non solum quod liceat considerandum est, sed et quod honestum est:" *in all marriages it is always to be considered, not merely what is lawful, but what is honest and seemly.* Which is more true in the Christian religion, than in any other: for thereby marriage is advanced, to represent the unity that is between Christ and his church. And besides, in contracting marriage, we are not only to have regard to our own conscience (as Joh. Brentius wisely observes, upon the forenamed rule of the ancient law), but to succession also, and to inheritances. And therefore, "id agendum, quod et boni viri honestum judicant; et a legitimo magistratu permittitur:" *that is to be done, both which good men judge to be honest, and is allowed by lawful governors.*

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## CHAP. XIX.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] The following precepts, which contain in a manner all their duty, seem to have been delivered to Moses immediately after the former; being in a great part a repetition of some principal things which had been already commanded.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto all the congregation of the children of Israel.*] It is uncertain whether he delivered these precepts only to their elders and heads of their tribes, to be communicated by them to the people; or at several times he called every family of every tribe, and spake these words to them himself.

*And say unto them, Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy.*] This very thing was said to them before, with respect to several meats which are forbidden them, xi. 44. (See there.) And now is repeated with a peculiar respect (as Maimonides thinks, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47.) to the filthy marriages and abominable idolatries mentioned in the foregoing chapter; as it is repeated again in the next chapter, (xx. 7. 26.) with respect to some other things. It being a general reason, why they should be separated from all other people, by the observation of peculiar laws (which is the meaning of being *holy*), because they were the worshippers of Him, whose most excellent nature transcended all other beings, not only in purity, but in all other perfections.

Ver. 3. *Ye shall fear every man his mother and his father.*] This duty is called *honour* in the fifth commandment, (Exod. xx. 12.) and the father there put before the mother; which being here called *fear*, and the mother put before the father, it shews, saith Maimonides, that *honour and fear are equally due to both*, without any difference. And the proper expressions of *fear* and *reverence* are (according to those doctors), not to sit in their seat, nor to contradict them in any thing they say; much less to cavil against them; nor to call them by their proper names, but to add the title of *Sir*, &c. (as we speak) or the like. And the expressions of *honour*, are not to sit down in their presence; and to provide them with necessaries, if they fall into poverty, &c. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 13. p. 557, &c. and R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. xxvii.)

*And keep my sabbaths.*] Obedience, as well as reverence, is included in the word *fear:* but if parents commanded them to break the sabbath-day, or to profane any other day consecrated to God's service, they were not to be obeyed.

*I am the Lord your God.*] I rested on the sabbath-day; who am your sovereign, and therefore have power to require you to rest on any other days. Particularly on the great day of atonement, (xvi. 31.) when I am so gracious as to accept of an expiation for all your sins. This is repeated ver. 30. and xxiii. 3.

Ver. 4. *Turn ye not unto idols.*] Not so much as to look upon them; no, nor to think of them, (as R. Levi Barzelonita expounds it, Præcept. ccxxv.) much less to inquire after what manner the gentiles worshipped them, (which is expressly forbidden Deut. xii. 30.) for by this means they might be allured to idolatry. The word we here translate *idols*, is a word of contempt, signifying *a thing of nought*. Or, as some of the Jews will have it, this word *elilim*, is compounded of the particle *al*, signifying *not;* and *El, i. e.* God. As much as to say, *which are not gods;* and therefore called in Scripture *vanities*, which can do neither good nor hurt.

*Nor make to yourself molten gods.*] This seems to have respect to the golden calf, which they made to worship, and is called a *molten calf*, (Exod. xxxii. 4.) But all graven images are no less forbidden: for if to look towards an idol was a sin, much more was it to make an image of any sort to worship it. The Jews are something curious in their observations upon this precept. For, in the book Siphra, they say that they might not make molten gods for others, much less for themselves. Whence that saying, "He that makes to himself an idol, violates a double precept; first in making it, and then in making it to himself." (See R. Levi beforementioned, Præcept. ccxxvi.)

*I am the Lord your God.*] The same reason is given in the foregoing verse for the observation of their sabbaths: and that of the seventh day every week, was ordained in memory of the creation of the world; and consequently intended as a preservative from idolatry, (as I observed upon Exod. xx. 8.) which, perhaps, makes these two precepts be here put together. But it is evident Moses doth not observe the order wherein these precepts were first delivered; but rather inverts it, beginning with the fifth commandment, and so going back to the fourth; and here to the two first.

Ver. 5. *And if ye offer a sacrifice of peace-offerings unto the Lord.*] As they were to avoid all idolatry, so they were to be careful to perform the service due to the true God in a right manner. *Peace-offerings* are only mentioned, because they were the most common sacrifices, being of three sorts, (see chap. vii. 11, &c. and xvii. 5.)

*Ye shall offer it at your own will.*] Either of the herd, or of the flock; male or female, (chap. iii. 1. 6.) Or rather, (as the Vulgar Latin and the LXX. understand it) they were to offer it so, that it might be *acceptable to the Lord;* according to the rules prescribed in the seventh chapter.

Ver. 6. *It shall be eaten the same day ye offer it, and on the morrow.*] This shews he speaks particularly of those *peace-offerings* which were a *vow*, or *a voluntary offering*, (chap. vii. 16.) for sacrifices of *thanksgiving* might not be kept till the morrow, but were to be eaten on the same day, ver. 15. of that chapter: (see the reason of this, Exod. xxiii. 18. the latter end.)

*And if aught remain till the third day, it shall be burnt with fire.*] See chap. vii. 17.

Ver. 7. *And if it be eaten at all on the third day, it is abominable.*] See chap. vii. 18.

*It shall not be accepted.*] See there. This seems to justify the sense which the Vulgar puts upon those words, ver. 5. which we translate, *according to thy will.*

Ver. 8. *Therefore every one that eateth it shall bear his iniquity.*] See chap. vii. 18.

*Because he hath profaned the hallowed things of the Lord.*] By keeping them till they were in danger to stink, or to be corrupted.

*That soul shall be cut off from his people.*] By the judges, if the thing was known: otherwise by the hand of God.

Ver. 9. *And when ye reap the harvest of your land.*] Which was a time of great joy, when they offered, it is likely, many *peace-offerings* of that sort beforementioned.

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*Thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field.*] But leave a sixtieth part (as their wise men have determined it), and that in the extreme part of the field, rather than any other place, that the poor might know where to come for it; as R. Levi Barzelonita explains it, Præcept. ccxiii. And this, whether they were in the land of Israel, or out of it; as Mr. Selden observes out of the Talmudists, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6. p. 692. where he shews it was the custom to add something to the sixtieth part, proportionable to the largeness of the field, or the multitude of the poor, or the greatness of the crop.

*Neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest.*] That is, if an ear or two of corn fell (as they cut it, or bound it up) out of the sheaves, or from under their sickle, they were not to gather them up from the ground, but leave them for the poor, as oft as they fell: but not if there fell three ears at a time, as the Talmudists determine: (see Mr. Selden in the place abovenamed; and the same R. Levi, Præcept. ccxiv.)

Ver. 10. *And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard.*] When they had cut off the great bunches, they were not to examine the vine over again for the scattered grapes, or small clusters.

*Neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyard.*] If any fell to the ground as they gathered them, they were not to take them up. That is, if one or two clusters fell; but not if three, much less if more: for they construe this as they do the precept about ears of corn, (ver. 9.) They also say, they were bound to leave the corners of the vineyard uncut, as well as the corners of the field. (R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. ccxxx. and ccxxxi. and Mr. Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6. in the place beforenamed.) And these precepts obliged such strangers as sojourned among them, (mentioned chap. xvii. 8. and xviii. 26.) who, before they were admitted to embrace the Jewish religion, were examined whether they understood that they must observe such and such precepts, particularly these here mentioned, which were propounded to them plainly and distinctly: and after they had promised to keep them, they were circumcised, &c. As G. Schickard observes out of the Talmud, the custom was, after the destruction of Jerusalem, in Mishpat Hamelek, cap. 5. Theorem xvii.

*Thou shalt leave them for the poor and the stranger.*] Though by *stranger* the Jews think is understood a proselyte of righteousness (as they call him who had embraced their religion, by receiving circumcision), yet they did not hinder any poor gentile from partaking of this charity; as the same R. Levi says. And if any one transgressed any of the precepts contained in these two verses, he was beaten; as Mr. Selden shews, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 8.

*I am the Lord your God.*] I give you the country to which you go, with these reserves for the poor: and have been so bountiful to you, that I require you to be so to them.

Ver. 11. *Ye shall not steal.*] Here are several moral precepts put briefly together, for the maintaining justice and truth; without which societies cannot be preserved. And, first, he forbids theft; the coveting of other men's goods being the source of the other sins that follow. And whether they were the goods of an Israelite, or of a gentile idolater, that any man stole, he was bound to make restitution, as R. Levi observes, Præcept. ccxxxii. (See Exod. xxii. 1.)

*Neither deal falsely.*] This is a Divine caution (as the Hebrew doctors observe) against denying a thing that was deposited with them; or which they had found, &c. which they would never pretend they had not, if they were disposed to be sincere and upright in their dealing.

*Neither lie one to another.*] Words being intended to declare the mind, and for no other end; he that hears us speak hath a right in justice to be done him, that what we speak be true. For otherwise he doth not know our mind by our words; and then we had better be dumb. But though all kind of lying be contrary to the intention of God, in giving us speech; yet this relates particularly to such lies whereby a man's neighbour was injured; defrauded, for instance, of his goods which he had deposited with another; or of the just debts which were owing him, &c. But though the simple denying of such things was not punished with beating, as Mr. Selden represents the opinion of the Talmudists, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 11.) yet he that denied a thing deposited with him was not admitted to be a witness in any case, though he had not forsworn himself, unto which this lying disposed him. So R. Levi, Præcept. ccxxxiii.

Ver. 12. *And ye shall not swear by my name falsely.*] Much less was it lawful for them to confirm the lies forementioned with an oath. So the Jewish doctors interpret it, as Mr. Selden observes in the same place. If any man did, and was found guilty, he was adjudged to restore the principal, and a fifth part more, (chap. vi. 5.) And whether he forswore himself knowingly, or ignorantly, he was to expiate his crime with a sacrifice. But if he was ignorant of that command concerning a sacrifice; or if, though he had the thing which he denied in his keeping, yet he had really forgot it, when he swore he had it not; he was freed both from the fifth part and from the sacrifice. (See chap. v. 4.)

*Neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God.*] By calling God to witness unto a frivolous thing, or to a rash resolution: as if a man swore in his anger he would not speak to such a person, but afterward did; or, he would not eat of such meat, &c. In such cases, the Jews say, when a man's heart was touched with repentance for his rashness and incogitancy, he was to go to some wise man, or to three neighbours, and desire them to absolve him from his oath, of which he truly repented. Which they did, when they found him truly penitent; saying, *Be thou loosed*, or, *It is remitted to thee*, or the like. So Mr. Selden observes out of Maimonides, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 11. n. 9.

Plato hath said some remarkable things concerning *forswearing*, and also of *lying*, and *deceit:* for which I refer the learned reader to his eleventh book of Laws, p. 216, 217. edit. Serrani.

*I am the Lord.*] And therefore expect the greatest reverence to my name; and that you should deal honestly one with another.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him*, &c.] Here are several precepts, almost coincident in their sense, but have some peculiar negations belonging to them. For (as R. Levi Barzelonita observes), "in all things from which God would have them carefully abstain, he multiplies admonitions," (Præcept. cxxxvi.) Ac-

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cordingly here to *defraud* is to keep in one's hand that which belongs to another: and such a person, he saith, is called an *oppressor* in Scripture. The Vulgar Latin refers it to that which men get from others by *calumny:* as the next words relate to that which is wrested from them by open violence.

*Neither rob him.*] The same R. Levi expounds this of that which is taken from another by manifest force, and doth not belong to him that takes it, (Præcept. ccxxxvii.) For so the Hebrew word *gazilah* signifies, that which a man wrests out of the hand of another against his will, (1 Chron. xi. 23.)

*The wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night till the morning.*] For this was a kind of force and robbery, to detain what was owing to him against his will. In Deut. xxiv. 15. the words are, "Thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it." From whence the Hebrew doctors conclude there were two sorts of people that wrought for hire; one were *day-labourers*, whom Moses speaks of in this verse; another *labourers by night*, of whom he speaks in Deuteronomy. Neither of which were to stay for their wages beyond the time appointed; but the one were to have it before sun-set, the other before morning; for it was due as soon as the day or the night was done. So the Misna, *The day-labourer requires his wages all night, and the night-labourer all day.* See the forenamed R. Levi, (Præcept. ccxxxviii.) who gives this reason for it; that "the merciful God would have his creatures subsist; which poor labourers cannot do if they want their wages to buy them victuals." Upon which account, the detaining of their wages is said to be *a crying sin*, in that Deut. xxiv. 14. and in St. James, v. 4.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt not curse the deaf.*] No Israelite, whether man or woman, was to be cursed, though he could not hear the curse, and so was insensible of the injury, as R. Levi explains it, (Præcept. ccxxxix.) For there was the addition of barbarous baseness in it, to curse or revile a person who was not capable to answer for himself, nor do himself right: and the case of the sick, and the infirm, or the absent, was the same with the deaf. As for others, who were not deaf, it was forbidden to curse them, saith Maimonides, because it provoked to anger and rage, which stirred men up to take revenge.

*Nor put a stumbling-block before the blind.*] This is as inhuman as the former; proceeding from so great malice, that the Hebrew doctors seem to think men incapable of it; and therefore expound it of giving ill counsel to simple people, and advising them to their damage. So R. Levi; (Præcept. ccxl.) which is no less contrary to nature than laying a stumbling-block in the way of those that cannot see to avoid it; and a far greater sin, because it abused their minds, and might tend to the hurt of their souls.

*But shalt fear thy God.*] Believing he sees and hears, and will avenge the cause of those who cannot right themselves, because they know not who injured them. If any man was convicted of either of these crimes he was beaten.

*I am the Lord.*] And am therefore to be feared and obeyed.

Ver. 15. *Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment.*] The Jews take this to be an admonition to their judges, that they should have an equal regard to the plaintiff and defendant, and not prefer the one before the other. Whence these words are thus explained in Siphra: "Thou shalt judge thy neighbours justly; not letting one party stand, and bidding the other sit; nor suffering one to speak as much as he pleaseth, and bidding the other be short." (See Selden de Synedr. lib. ii. cap. 13. n. 10.) But none hath explained this so largely as Maimonides, in the whole twenty-first chapter of Sanhedrin, where he, in general, defines the just administration of justice to consist in an equal respect to both parties in the suit; so that one of them have not the liberty to say what he will, and the other be cut short: and then descends to many particulars, wherein equal respect to both parties is to be observed; some of which, it will be fit to mention, because they illustrate the words of St. James, in the second chapter of his Epistle, ver. 2—4. "If two parties appear in a cause, one of which is clothed in precious garments, the other is ragged, or in a poor habit, let it be said to him that is the more honourable, Either do you bestow upon your adversary as good apparel as you have on yourself, or else put on such as he wears, that you may be both alike, and then appear before the court of judgment. By no means let the one sit, and the other stand; but let them both be commanded to stand: or, if it please the judges to give them both leave to sit, let not one of them sit in a high place, the other in a low, but both on the same bench, one by the side of the other." See R. Levi Barzelonita, (Præcept. ccxvii.) who observes, that mankind are preserved by a righteous judgment; and therefore, if a judge was found to have given an unjust sentence, he was condemned to make restitution to him, whose cause he had perverted, (Præcept. ccxli.)

*Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor.*] See Exod. xxiii. 3.

*Nor honour the person of the mighty.*] This R. Levi explains, (Præcept. ccxlii.) as he did the first clause: "The judge shall not bid the great man sit down while the meaner stands; but both shall stand before the judge, as if they were in the presence of the Divine Majesty, who standeth in the midst of the judges," (Psal. lxxxii. 1.) If, by the favour of the judges, both were permitted to sit, yet, when sentence came to be pronounced, both rose up and stood; according to Exod. xviii. 13.

*But in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour.*] The observation of Maimonides seems to be too nice and curious, who from this place gathers, that though the lowest court of judgment ordinarily consisted of no less than *three* judges, yet, by the law, one of them might sit alone as judge in matters not capital; because it is said here, in the singular number, *in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour:* for, at the same time, he acknowledges their wise men require that he should take some assessors to him, when they say, *Do not judge by thyself alone, for there is no sole judge, but one only,* viz. GOD. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 14. n. 2. and Guil. Schickardi Mishpat Hamelek, cap. 4. Theor. xiv.)

Ver. 16. *Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people.*] The Vulgar Latin takes the Hebrew word *rachil* to signify one that goes about with calumnies. But it may simply signify, as we translate it, a *tale-bearer:* whom Aben Ezra compares to a *merchant* or *pedlar* (as the Hebrew word imports), who buys of one what he sells to

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another, and goes about the country, as a tale-bearer doth from house to house, carrying to one what he hath heard at another; saying, such a one hath said so and so of you; whereby peace and concord are destroyed among men. For commonly such men carry false stories to their neighbours, or add to the true, and secretly backbite others: which hath moved many to think a *detractor* is meant by this word, who hopes by his tales of others to get some advantage to himself, as every trader doth by his merchandize. Whence the Jews say, "An evil tongue kills three: him that speaks; him that hears; and him of whom he speaks." R. Levi, Præcept. ccxliii.

*Neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbour.*] Much less be a false witness against him, to the endangering of his life. So it is commonly interpreted, because the accusers and witnesses stood before judges who sat in the courts of judgment. But R. Levi Barzelonita, and the rest of the Hebrew doctors, generally understand it otherwise; that no man should suffer his neighbour to perish in judgment, or other ways, when he could free him by his testimony or assistance: (Præcept. ccxliv.) So it is said in Siphra, in so many words: "Whence do we gather that he who can clear another by his testimony, must not suppress it in silence? Because it is said, Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbour." Whence it follows, that if a man saw his neighbour any way in danger, he was bound, if he could, to deliver him; not only when his life was in hazard, but that which is as dear as life, one's honour and chastity. Thus, if any one went about to force a woman, espoused to another, &c. he that saw it was bound to rescue such a person, though with the death of him that made the attempt. For this was a piece of justice which they committed to private men, as Mr. Selden shews out of the Jewish authors, (lib. iv. de Jure N. et G. cap. iii. p. 481, &c.) But then, they restrain this charity only to themselves; and from the word *neighbour* argue, that they are bound to do thus only to an Israelite. Nay (which is strange), some of them are so selfish, and so ill-natured, that they fancy they are forbidden to do such kindness to a gentile. (See there, p. 485.

Ver. 17. *Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart.*] When thy brother hath done thee any wrong, do not conceal a secret hatred against him in thy breast, but tell him plainly of his fault; as the next words seem to direct. It appears by this, they were ill interpreters of the law, who thought it forbade only external acts of sin, but not evil affections which were not executed.

*Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour.*] Time after time (if he will not be sensible of it at first) argue the case with him, and reprove him for his fault. And if he will not amend, do it publicly (as the Vulgar Latin interprets it), and bring him before the judges. So R. Levi, Præcept. ccxviii. But he extends this to all sins, whether against God, or against themselves; which, he thinks, they were bound to reprehend privately, and then publicly, if the offenders did not grow better.

*And not suffer sin upon him.*] He interprets it, *But not put him to confusion.* For nothing is more grievous to a man than that: and therefore reprehension ought to be mild and gentle, especially when the offence is against one's self; but in those against God, greater sharpness is allowable. So he discourses, Præcept. ccxlvi. the words in the original being, *Thou shalt not bear sin upon him;* charge him with his guilt too severely; or, as others take it, *Thou shalt not accuse him of any crime whereof he is not guilty* Our translation, in the margin of our Bibles, takes it as if, by not reproving their neighbour, they brought the guilt of his sin upon themselves; for so the words there are, *That thou bear not sin for him:* which is an excellent sense, if the Hebrew word *alau* did not signify *upon him*, not *for him.* And yet some of the Jews have thus understood it; this saying of Rabbi Chanina being famous among them, "Jerusalem had not been destroyed, but because one neighbour did not reprove another:" see Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 9. p. 280. Where he observes, the doctrine of the ancient Jews was (drawn from this text), that when one man offended another in things concerning themselves, relating to their civil affairs, he was to be reproved by his neighbour, once, or twice, or thrice, if the matter required; but without sharpness, and so that he was not exposed to public shame: but if the offence was against God, in matters of religion, they say private reproof was first to be given; and if that did not work amendment, then public before all. And they admitted public reprehension upon no other score: but said, "He that publicly puts his brother to shame, shall have no part in the other world."

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt not avenge.*] Not deny to do their brethren a kindness, out of a remembrance of any injury received from them; as R. Levi interprets it, (Præcept. ccxlvii.) By which means, as he observes, strife and contention were abolished, and peace and concord established among men. It may be thought, also, that as they are forbidden to take revenge themselves for the wrongs any one did them; so likewise to seek for redress from the public, merely to satisfy their wrath and desire to have the injurious person suffer, and not to prevent the like or greater mischiefs for the time to come.

*Nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people.*] When thou dost thy neighbour a kindness, do not spoil it by upbraiding him with all his faults. For the Hebrew word *natar* signifies having something in *reserve* in one's mind, particularly *anger* or *wrath;* which our translation frequently supplies to make out the sense, (Jer. iii. 12. Psal. ciii. 9. Nahum i. 2.) And so the LXX. understand it here, καὶ οὐ μηνιεῖς, &c. *and thou shalt not be angry with the children of thy people.*

*But thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*] In not doing to him what thou wouldst not have done to thyself; and taking such care of him, and what belongs to him, as thou wouldst have him to do of thee and thine. This, saith R. Aquiba, (as R. Levi observes, Præcept. ccxix.) is the *great sum of the law; i. e.* many precepts depend upon this: for he that thus loves his neighbour, will neither steal any thing from him, nor violate his wife, nor murder so much as his good name, nor remove his land-mark, nor offend him any other way: the same, in a manner, with what St. Paul saith, Rom. xiii. 8, 9, &c.

The only question is, Who is to be understood here by their *neighbour?* which the Jews would restrain to themselves, and have the meaning to be, that one Israelite should love another; but he is not bound to love a stranger in the same manner: which is directly against Moses's command, ver. 34. And certain it is, the word



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*neighbour* comprehends more than Israelites, as appears by the last commandment, which forbids them *to covet their neighbour's wife*, which did not give them leave, sure, to covet the wife of a gentile, provided they did not covet the wife of an Israelite. A *neighbour*, therefore, is every other man, as in Deut. xxii. 26. and more plainly in Exod. xi. 2. where the Egyptians are called their *neighbour*. And therefore D. Kimchi saith very honestly, upon Psal. xv. 3. *a neighbour is every one with whom we have any dealing or conversation*. Which justifies our blessed Saviour, in making this command, of *loving their neighbours as themselves*, to reach all men with whom they had to do, (Luke x. 27, 28.)

*I am the Lord*, &c.] Unto whom you are all equally subject; and upon that account ought to love one another. (See ver. 34.)

Ver. 19. *Ye shall keep my statutes.*] This may be thought to be premised to what follows; lest such commands as are contained in this verse, seeming small, should be neglected by them.

*Thou shalt not let thy cattle* (or rather *make* them) *gender with a diverse kind.*] As horses with asses, goats with sheep, &c. whose mixture one with another they were by no means to procure. But if they did of themselves come together, it was lawful to use such heterogeneous creatures as were so produced. For they did not abhor the use of *mules*, which were either begot by accident among them, or brought from other countries to them.

The reason the Jews commonly give for this precept is, because God having made all things perfect in their kind, it was a presumptuous attempt to go about to mend his creation, and add to his works. By this means also men were deterred from unnatural mixtures, which they saw to be abominable in brutes. So R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. ccxlix.) and Philo, whose words are very ingenious, (lib. de Creatione Princip.) "Things of the same kind were made for society one with another;" but things heterogeneous (as we call them), were not intended to be mixed and associated; and therefore, he who attempts to mingle them, ἄδικος νόμον φύσεως ἀναιρεῖ, *wickedly destroys the law of nature*. To the same purpose Josephus: (see Selden, lib. vii. de Jure N. et G. sec. Heb. cap. 3. p. 798.) Maimonides also himself gives this reason of this precept, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 49. where he saith, "No creature hath a desire commonly to mix with a creature of another kind; and therefore men ought not to promote such a desire." But after all, there might possibly be a respect in this precept to some idolatrous customs which Moses intended to prevent or abolish: for there is good ground to think the following precepts in this verse were so intended; and in aftertimes, some gentiles did procure such mixtures of creatures as are here forbidden (mules, for instance), in honour of their gods: see our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. de Leg. Heb. Ritualibus, cap. 20. where he endeavours to prove, that by *cattle* in this place is peculiarly meant *oxen* and *asses*, which were used in husbandry; and are of such different natures, that none would ever have thought to procure their conjunction, unless he had been moved to it by the devil.

*Thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed.*] The reasons of this, according to the Jews, are the same with the former: and R. Levi extends it to trees; which, he saith, they were not to ingraft of different kinds one upon another. But it concerns, they say, only such seeds and plants as are for men's food; not those which are for medicine, (Præcept. ccl.) But Maimonides found a particular reason for this precept, from the idolatrous customs of the old Zabii; who not only sowed different seeds, and grafted trees of a diverse kind one upon another, in such or such aspect of the planets, and with a certain form of words and fumigations; but also with abominable filthiness, at the very moment of the incision. Which he proves out of a book, concerning *the incision of an olive into a citron:* and doubts not, that God forbade his people to *sow with mingled seed*, that he might root out that detestable idolatry, and those preternatural lusts, which abounded in those days, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37.)

*Neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *A garment of mixtures of schaatnez shall not come upon thee.* But, that they might certainly know what *schaatnez* was, it is explained in Deut. xxii. 11. to signify (as we translate it) a garment of woollen and linen mixed together. The Jews have taken abundance of pains to find out the original of this word; which Bochartus derives from the Arabic word *saat*, which signifies to mingle, and *nez*, which signifies to weave. (Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45.) But Joh. Braunius, I think, hath demonstrated, that it doth not import the weaving of any different things together, but only of *linen* and *woollen;* and that by *woollen* is to be understood only what is made of the *wool* of sheep, not of camels or goats, which they called by the same name, (lib. i. de Vestitu Sacerd. Heb. cap. 4. n. 2, 3. 6.) Where he observes out of Maimonides, in his Halach. Kelaim, that if a man saw an Israelite wear such a garment, it was lawful for him to fall upon him openly, and tear his garment in pieces; although he were his master, who taught him wisdom. And the reasons for this abhorrence are commonly such as are given of the former precepts; to preserve them from the horrid confusion which was among the gentiles, by incestuous and unnatural mixtures. But Maimonides takes it to have been principally intended as a preservative against idolatry; the priests of the gentiles in those times wearing such mixed garments, of the product of plants and animals, with a ring on their finger, made of some metal; as, he says, he found in their books, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37.) By which mixture, it is likely, they hoped to have the beneficial influence of some lucky conjunction of the planets or stars, to bring a blessing upon their sheep and their flax.

Ver. 20. *Whosoever lieth carnally with a woman that is a bondmaid, betrothed to a husband.*] The Jews had some servants that were gentiles; who, if they embraced the Jewish religion, were baptized; sometimes with the reservation of their servitude, and sometimes with the full grant of liberty. But some there were in a middle condition, partly free and partly servile; *viz.* when part of their redemption-money had been paid, and part was still behind. Now, as, while a woman was a perfect slave, no Israelite might marry her; so, when she was partly free, though he might espouse her, and the espousals were valid, yet they could not be of full force till her liberty was perfected. And of such a maiden the Hebrew doctors understand Moses to speak in this place, that was in part free, but not wholly, as the next words interpret it.

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*And not at all redeemed, nor freedom given her.*] Not entirely, but in part redeemed; and consequently her freedom not absolutely granted to her.

*She shall be scourged.*] If she had been perfectly free, both he that lay with her, and she herself, should have been put to death, (Deut. xxii. 23, 24.) But being not fully free, and consequently not fully his wife who had espoused her, it was not reckoned adultery; and therefore punished only with scourging, (see Selden, lib. v. de Jure N. et G. cap. 12. p. 613.) And Maimonides, I observe, thus expounds it, of a woman that was not a mere servant, and yet not completely free, but between both, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 41.) But whereas we mention here in the text the scourging only of the woman; in the margin it is rightly noted, that the Hebrew words are, *there shall be scourging; viz.* of them both, as the Vulgar Latin, with great reason, understands it. And the Hebrew word *bikkoreth* properly signifies scourging with *thongs* made of a bull's or ox's hide; as Bochartus observes in his Hierozoicon, (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 29. and cap. 33. n. 8.)

*They shall not be put to death, because she was not free.*] Her master not having set her quite at liberty, her marriage was not complete; which freed her from suffering death, though some punishment she deserved, because it was begun.

Ver. 21. *And he shall bring his trespass-offering unto the Lord, unto the door,* &c.] Which was not enjoined her, because she had not wherewithal to offer for her expiation; all she had being her master's, and not her own.

*A ram for a trespass-offering.*] Which was the proper sacrifice in such a case, (chap. v. 17, 18.)

Ver. 22. *And the priest shall make an atonement for him with the ram of the trespass-offering.*] She needed an atonement as well as he, being equally guilty in consenting to the fact; and being espoused to another, seems to have had a greater guilt upon her; and therefore was left in a lamentable condition, without any public assurance of God's pardon.

*For his sin which he hath done.*] Which had so much guilt in it, that besides the punishment he suffered in being scourged, this satisfaction was to be made to God.

*And the sin which he hath done shall be forgiven him.*] By virtue of the sacrifice, which would not have been accepted if she had been perfectly a freewoman: but the sin would have cost his own life and hers also, (Deut. xxii. 23, 24.)

Ver. 23. *And when ye shall come into the land, and shall have planted all manner of trees for food.*] The precept is so general, that the boldness of R. Zerika is unaccountable, who would have it understood only of the vine, which, if it be not cut, its grapes are not so large, nor the wine so good, nor fit to be offered at the altar, &c. as his opinion is represented in Pirke Eliezer, (cap. xxix.) But Moses expressly mentioning *all manner of trees for food,* there is no colour for this limitation; and a very good account may be given of this prohibition, if we have respect only to natural reason. For young trees grow better, if they be stripped of their fruit; the juice of which is waterish and unconcocted, having neither pleasant smell nor taste, as Nachmanides observes; and therefore not fit for food; and upon that score not fit to be offered as the first-fruits to God.

But, besides all this, Maimonides affirms there was an idolatrous custom among the Zabii, to which this law of Moses may reasonably be thought to be opposed: for they imagined all trees would be blasted, or their fruit fall off, whose first-fruit was not part of it offered in their idol temples, and the other part eaten there: as their children, they thought, would not thrive, unless some of them passed through the fire. And therefore God commanded his people to forbear to eat the fruit of any tree till the fourth year; and not doubt of the fruitfulness of their plantations, though they did not consecrate the fruit of the years foregoing, after the manner that the gentiles did: More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37. where he observes some trees brought forth fruit in one year, some not till the second, and others not till the third, according to the different ways wherein they were planted.

*Ye shall count the fruit thereof as uncircumcised.*] That is, as unclean, and therefore to be cast away as the foreskin was.

*Three years it shall be as uncircumcised to you; it shall not be eaten of.*] And therefore they plucked off the buds when they put forth, that they might not grow into fruit; or, if any by chance did, they threw it away, as unfit for food. But this is meant only of such fruit-trees as they planted after they came into Canaan; not of such as they found already planted there. And it was the same thing, whether he planted them himself, or bought an orchard, or vineyard, &c. of another Israelite, or had it left him as an inheritance, or bestowed on him as a gift; the three first years the fruit was not to be used.

Ver. 24. *But in the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy, to praise the Lord withal.*] It was to be offered as the first-fruit to God, and eaten by the priests; which, as Maimonides saith in the book forenamed, (cap. 49.) was to excite them to liberality, and give a check to their appetites as well as to covetousness. Yet there are those who say this fruit of the fourth year was to be eaten by the owners before the Lord at Jerusalem (when his dwelling was settled there), as they ate the second tithe. So R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. ccxx.) shews at large. And they observe many benefits which the Israelites received by this means; not only in exciting their thankfulness to God, but their love to that holy place: unto which some of their family might conceive such an affection, as to settle there, and learn the law.

Ver. 25. *In the fifth year shall ye eat of the fruit thereof, that it may yield unto you the increase thereof.*] He would not have them think that they should lose any thing, by staying till the fifth year for the fruit of their trees; but promises them here, that, by forbearing so long, their trees should be the more exceeding fruitful.

*I am the Lord.*] Who bestowed this land upon them, to hold of him by what tenure he pleased; by whose blessing they might expect to receive the *increase thereof* abundantly; without the help of such wicked arts as Maimonides says the Zabii used: who, letting certain things lie till they were purified, and, when the sun was in such or such a degree, sprinkling them about the trees which they had planted, with certain magical ceremonies, they fancied flowers and fruits would be produced sooner than they could have been without these practices.

Ver. 26. *Ye shall not eat any thing with the blood.*] This



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is an admonition, as R. Levi Barzelonita fancies, (Præcept. cclii.) against gluttony and drunkenness; such as the rebellious son was guilty of, (Deut. xxi. 18, &c.) which made men prone to shed blood; for so he understands this precept, *Thou shalt not eat upon blood; i. e.* eat till thou art excited to shed blood: unto which he applies Deut. xxxii. 15. *Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked.* But this is a very forced interpretation; and our translation is not exact: for he doth not say, *Ye shall not eat* any thing *with the blood;* but, Ye shall not eat *upon the blood,* or *at the blood;* which Oleaster very sagaciously suspected to be a piece of *superstition unknown to him;* and so did the LXX. when they translated it, *ye shall not eat,* ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων, *upon the mountains,* which was an idolatrous custom, mentioned in Hosea iv. 13. and here forbidden, as Procopius and Hesychius imagine: but the Hebrew word *haddam* no where signifies a *mountain,* but *blood,* as the Vulgar here truly translates it. There is a Greek Scholion which renders these words, οὐ φάγεσθε ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος, *ye shall not eat on the house-top;* which, in all likelihood, as some have conjectured, was a mistake of the transcriber for ἐπὶ τοῦ αἵματος, *upon the blood,* which is the literal translation of the Hebrew phrase, and imports something more than is prohibited, chap. xvii. 12. where he simply saith, *no soul of you shall eat blood;* but here warns them against an idolatrous practice of the Zabii, who, to enter into the society of demons, and obtain their favour, were wont to gather the blood of their sacrifices into a vessel, or a little hole digged in the earth; and then, sitting about it, to eat the flesh of the sacrifices; imagining, that by eating, as it were, of the same food (for they thought the demons fed upon the blood, as their worshippers did upon the flesh), they contracted a friendship and familiarity with them. So Maimonides relates in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46. For the prevention of which idolatrous custom, God ordered their sacrifices to be offered only at one place, where his own house was; and there the priests sprinkling the blood, and they eating the flesh of their peace-offerings, God and they feasted together upon them. Nachmanides is wont to oppose Maimonides in his notions; yet this was so plain, that he confesses, (as Dr. Cudworth hath observed, in his treatise of the Right Notion of the Lord's Supper, chap. *ult.*) that blood itself was forbidden in the law, upon the account of the heathens' performing their superstitious worship in this manner, by gathering together blood for their demons, "and then coming themselves, and eating of it with them, whereby they were their demon's guest; and by this kind of communion with them, were enabled to prophesy and foretell things to come." And this interpretation is the more probable, that they hoped, by eating of the blood of the sacrifices, or the flesh, or both, to have such familiarity with them, as to receive revelations from them, and be inspired with the knowledge of secret things; if we consider the two other prohibitions in this verse, that are joined with this of *not eating upon blood;* which shews that it was a rite of divination.

*Neither shall ye use enchantment.*] In the Hebrew the words are *lo tenachashu;* which, all agree, signify some superstitious observation or other, whereby they made omens, and guessed what should happen to them; either from men's sneezing, or the breaking of a shoe-latchet; or the name of a man they met withal; or some creature's crossing their way, or passing upon their right hand, or their left. And most, following the LXX. and the Vulgar Latin, take it for divination by the flying, or crying, or pecking of birds. But the word *nachash,* signifying a *serpent,* and having no relation at all to birds, the famous Bochartus thinks *tenachashu* (which seems to be derived from thence) to relate rather to the ancient ὀφιομαντεία, *divination by serpents,* than to their ὀρνιθομαντεία, *divination by birds;* for it was very much in use among the gentiles in old time, as appears from Homer, (in his seventh Iliad.) where Chalchas seeing a serpent devour eight sparrows with their dam, divined how long the Trojan war would last: and many such instances he heaps up together in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. i. cap. 3. R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. ccliii.) refers this to any kind of divination: by their staff falling out of their hand; by a serpent creeping on their right hand, or a fox going by their left, &c. which made them forbear any work they were about; but he thinks withal, it may signify, as we translate it, *enchantment:* to cure wounds (for instance) by reading a verse of the law; or laying the book of the law, or a phylactery, upon a child's head to procure sleep; which are such superstitions as are now in use among some Christians, who hang the first verse of St. John's Gospel about people's necks to cure an ague. But such things could not be meant by Moses, who had not yet delivered them a copy of his laws; nor can we certainly fix upon any other in particular which were then in use; see J. Coch upon the title Sanhedrin, cap. 7. n. 18. and Maimonides de Idololatria, cap. 11. sect. 4—6, &c. where he gives a great number of instances of such superstitious observations as were in use among the heathen: some of which are mentioned by Theophrastus in his characters of Superstition; and by Plutarch, in his book on the same subject; and are derided by Terence in his Phormio, act. iv. scen. 4. with which superstitions the greatest persons were anciently very much infected; and they were so settled in men's minds, that when they became Christians, they could not presently shake them off; as appears by the frequent reprehensions which St. Chrysostom (and others) give to those who continued to be governed by them; particularly in his eighth homily upon the Colossians, he chides his people severely for contemning the cross of Christ, and calling in old drunken women with their salt, their ashes, and soot, to free those that were bewitched. And more especially in his sixth homily against the Jews, he sharply rebukes those that used ἐπῳδαὶ καὶ περίαπτα, *charms, and things hung about the neck,* to cure agues; whereby they got a worse disease in their souls, and wounded their consciences, &c. And in other places he reprehends their observing of omens, good and bad; some of which were very strange. (See tom. vi. p. 610, 611. edit. Savil.)

*Nor observe times.*] Take no notice of days, according to the precepts of astrologers, who made some to be lucky, others unlucky. For the Jews generally think something of this nature is here forbidden, the Hebrew word *teonenu* being derived, they imagine, from *onah,* which signifies *time,* (as R. Levi, beforementioned, saith, Præcept. cclv.) such an hour being thought, by superstitious people, to be fit for business; but another very cross to it. Which opinion God seems to have intended to extinguish, by appointing the sabbath as the only day of the week upon

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which they should rest from their labours, leaving all the other six days to be employed in their business, without any difference of days or hours. But there being no such signification, as many think, of that word in the Hebrew language, they rather derive *teonenu* from *anan*, a *cloud*, imagining Moses to forbid them to mark the flying of the clouds, or to make observations from their motions; which was a thing common among the gentiles. But Maimonides, who, in the eleventh chapter of Avoda Zara interprets it, as we do, of observing times, by esteeming one day fortunate, and another unfortunate, mentions another notion of this word from *ain*, an *eye;* and saith, in the same treatise, that jugglers, who delude men's sight, in playing their tricks, are comprehended under the name of *meonim*. And there are those also, who, deriving this word from *anah*, to *answer*, think it intends such as pretended to tell their fortunes.

I shall not determine which of these is most likely; but only observe, that there was no superstition of this sort more ancient than that of astrology, which was in use among the old Chaldeans, who pretended to cast men's nativities (as we speak), and thence to tell their fortunes. But this sort of men were rejected, as Strabo tells us, lib. xv. by the astronomers of that country, and so they were by the best philosophers in other nations, as Tully tells us, who calls their pretences *Chaldæorum Monstra*, lib. ii. de Divin. And therefore, no wonder God cautions his own people against them, as he doth not only here, but by his prophets, especially Jeremiah x. 2, 3. "Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven, for the heathen are dismayed at them," &c. But then this caution was most necessary, when they were going captives into that country, which at that time was undoubtedly infected with this error, but may be thought, perhaps, not to have been so in the days of Moses; and therefore I say no more of it, but this, that all those whom we call *jugglers*, were sometimes comprehended under the name of *Chaldeans;* who seemed to perform wonderful things, as vomiting fire, and transforming straws into birds, &c. which relate to the other notion of *meononu*, derived from עין, which signifies an *eye;* which they deluded by the sleight of their hand, or other means.

Some of the Jews confess, that their nation is at this day extremely addicted to these things. See Wagenseil's Annot. on Sota, p. 529, &c. where he recites a long passage to this purpose, out of Fredericus Franciscus Offingensis, a converted Jew; whom one of his own nation undertaking to confute, he confirmed the charge.

Ver. 27. *Ye shall not round the corners of your head.*] Or, *The ends of the hair of your head.* For the Hebrew word *peah*, which we translate *corners*, signifies also the *ends* or *extremities* of any thing: and the meaning is, they were not to cut their hair equal, behind and before; as the worshippers of the stars and the planets, particularly the Arabians, did, (as R. Levi Barzelonita interprets it, Præcept. cclv.) For this made their head have the form of a hemisphere.

The LXX. translate it οὐ ποιήσετε σισόην ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν. Where *sisoe* is the same with the Hebrew *sisith*, which signifies that lock which was left in the hinder part of the head, the rest of the hair being cut in a circle. And thus the ancient Arabians cut their hair, as Herodotus tells us, in imitation of Bacchus. Whence, as Bochartus notes, (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 6.) the Idumeans, Ammonites, Moabites, and the rest of the inhabitants of Arabia Deserta, are called *circumcised in the corners, i. e.* of the head, (Jer. ix. 26.) And the Greek scholiast on that place saith, that in his time the Saracens were so cut.

But there are those who think this refers to a superstitious custom among the gentiles, in their mourning for the dead. For they cut off their hair, and that round about; and threw it into the sepulchre with the bodies of their relations and friends; and sometimes laid it upon the face, or the breast of the dead, as an offering to the infernal gods, whereby they thought to appease them, and make them kind to the deceased. For that this relates to the dead, is probable from the like law, repeated Deut. xiv. 1. and from the next verse to this. (See Maimonides de Idol. cap. 12. 1, 2. 5.)

*Neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard.*] There were five corners (as their phrase is) of their beards; one on either cheek, and one on either lip, and one below the chin: none of which, much less all, they might shave off, as the manner of the idolatrous priests was; if we may believe Maimonides, par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 37. But if the former have respect to their mourning for the dead, I do not see why this should not also be so interpreted; the gentiles being wont (as Theodoret observes) to shave their beards, and smite their cheeks, at the funerals of their friends.

Ver. 28. *Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh.*] Either with their nails, or with knives, or other sharp instruments; as the manner of the heathen was.

*For the dead.*] To pacify the infernal spirits, and make them propitious to the dead; which was the end at which the gentiles aimed in slashing themselves. Otherwise, simple tearing their flesh out of great grief and anguish of spirit doth not seem to be prohibited, no more than tearing off their hair; which were in use among the Jews, without any offence against this law, Jer. xvi. 6, 7. xli. 5. and other places. (See Maimon. de Idol. cap. 13. sect. 10—13. I. Gerard. Vossius de Idol. p. 209. edit. 1. and Gierus de luctu Hebræorum, cap. 10. sect. 2, 3.) Huetius thinks that law of Solon's, which was transcribed by the Romans into the twelve tables, *that women in mourning should not scratch their cheeks*, had its original from this law of Moses. (Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 12. n. 2.)

*Nor print any mark upon you.*] If this refer to the dead (as the foregoing prohibition doth), then these marks were made by the gentiles in their flesh, at the funeral of their friends; that, by the compunction and pain they felt in their bodies, they might appease the infernal powers. And so Aben Ezra understands it: though there be no footsteps, that I can find, of this, in any other author; but it is probable only from what goes before. There is far greater reason for another exposition, that these *prints* were made in the flesh, that they who had them might be known to belong to such or such a god. For it was the custom of idolaters, saith the often named R. Levi, (Præcept. cclvii.) to devote themselves to their gods by notes or signs, *signifying they were their servants* (for every one knows, in future times, slaves had marks set upon them to certify to whom they belonged), *redeemed with their price, and stamped with their marks*. And these marks were made with a hot iron, in

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their hands, foreheads, or necks; or they were pricked with a needle dipped in glastum, as he says, which made blue spots in their skin; as the manner was among the Arabians, especially the Scenitæ. And they expressed either the very name of the god, to whose service they were consecrated, or else, by a proper character, denoted whom they honoured: as a thunderbolt signified they were devoted to Jupiter; a spear or helmet to Mars; a trident to Neptune, &c. And these were signs (or sacraments, as we may call them) whereby they were solemnly addicted to their worship.

It is possible there might be some nations then that made some marks in their flesh as an ornament to them: for at this day the women in Greenland do not paint their faces, which are very swarthy, but stigmatize them in several places, by drawing a needle and thread dipped in whales' grease through the skin, in what figure they please. Such Tho. Bartholinus saith he had seen; though he fancied they did not this as an ornament, but in token they were marriageable; for they that were not, had no such marks. (Anatom. Histor. Cent. iv. Hist. 90.) But if any such thing were in use in ancient times, it easily might degenerate into the idolatrous custom beforementioned: for nothing more certain than that they made such marks in honour of Mars, the god of battle; and that he who devoted himself to Hercules, received στίγματα ἱερὰ, ἑαυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, *sacred marks, giving up himself to that god;* as Herodotus speaks (lib. ii. cap. 13.) of one that fled to his temple in Egypt. And Lucian saith of the priests of the Syrian goddess, στίζονται δὲ πάντες, &c. *they were all marked; some in their wrists, others in their necks: from whence all the Assyrians* στιγματηφοροῦσι, *carry such brands,* or marks, *in their flesh.* And so are the Jews, that were initiated in the Egyptian rites, said (by the author of the third book of Maccabees) to be stigmatized with the leaves of ivy, which were the insignia of Bacchus. From which ancient practice, it is probable, Christians have derived the custom of printing the Jerusalem cross upon the arms of those who go to visit our Saviour's sepulchre. (See Tollius in Carmina inedita Gregor. Nazianz. p. 160.) I shall add no more, but that the Jews themselves were so inclined to receive such a badge as this, that they made no scruple to print the name of their own God in their flesh; as appears by that saying mentioned by Schickard out of the title Sopherim: "If any man write the name of God upon his flesh, let him neither wash nor anoint in that place." (See his Mishpat Hamelek, cap. ii. Theor. 5. and Carpzovius's Annotations upon it.)

*I am the Lord.*] For this reason such marks were forbidden, because the Israelites were peculiarly devoted to him, as their sovereign Lord and Benefactor (for the Syriac adds *your God),* and therefore were not to own any other but him, whose mark they had received in circumcision; which made all other absolutely unlawful.

Ver. 29. *Do not prostitute thy daughter, to cause her to be a whore.*] It is scarce to be imagined that any man would prostitute his daughter, to be a common strumpet; though he might possibly overlook the lewdness to which she had given up herself. Therefore here, in all probability, is prohibited the exposing their daughters, as a piece of religion, to the service of such filthy deities, as were worshipped in those days, by acts of uncleanness in their temples. For which purpose both men and women were there kept as persons consecrated to such uses. Our great Selden hath observed something of this in his discourse upon Succoth-Benoth. (See Syntagma de Diis Syris, ii. cap. 7.)

Those are fanciful interpretations which R. Eliezer and R. Akiba make of these words; who say, a man prostitutes his daughter who did not get her a husband when she was marriageable; or married her to an old man. (Gem. Sanhedrin, cap. 9. n. 1.)

*Lest the land fall to whoredom.*] Unto which nothing could contribute so much as to make whoredom a piece of religion.

*And the land become full of wickedness.*] By such *abominable idolatries* (as St. Peter calls them), and many other foul sins, particularly murders, which flowed from hence; as Maimonides observes in his More Nevochim. par. iii. cap. 49.

Ver. 30. *Ye shall keep my sabbaths.*] Not the days consecrated by the gentiles to the service of their gods; but the solemn days which I have appointed for the remembrance of my benefits. (See ver. 2.)

*And reverence my sanctuary.*] This reverence consisted principally in coming to it so prepared as the law required; in such purity and cleanness as was there prescribed: and then behaving themselves there with an awful humility. But the better to secure this reverence, the masters in Israel ordained, that no man should come into the *mountain of the house* with a staff, or a sword, or a girdle with a purse, or with shoes on his feet; and that no man should spit there, nor make it a thoroughfare; nor go out of it with his back towards the sanctuary, but go backward leisurely with his face towards it, till he was out of the gate, &c. So Maimonides in his Beth Habbechira, cap. 7. R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. ccxxi. and see Petrus Cunæus, lib. ii. cap. 12. de Republ. Hebr.

But the great thing which secured the reverence due to the sanctuary, was, that which I mentioned at first, the strict purity from all legal defilements, with which they were to be prepared; which made it very difficult to be in a condition to approach it. For when there were so many ways of being defiled, and so much time required to make men clean again, and so many things, in many cases, to be done for that purpose, it was not possible that they should be fit to come thither very often, without exceeding great care and diligence; as I observed before out of Maimonides, (par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 47.) which very much tended to preserve their reverence to the sanctuary: for men led by sense, as they were, make nothing of those places to which they may go when they please; but those to which they cannot be admitted, without much solemnity, and only at certain times, and after great pains to fit themselves for it, they are apt to have in great esteem.

*I am the Lord.*] Whose majesty dwelt in that house; unto which therefore nobody might approach, either for prayer or for sacrifice, without an awful sense of him. For so Maimonides explains it in the place now named; "the sanctuary itself was not be reverenced, but He who commanded that reverence."

Nor did this reverence belong only to the tabernacle or temple, instituted by God's express command, for that ceremonial service, which was unlawful to be performed any where else (for then it might seem proper only to that ceremonial dispensation, and to be now vanished under the

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gospel); but the perpetual practice of the Jewish nation shews, that they thought themselves obliged by this precept to use reverence in their synagogues, which were neither instituted by any written precept of the law, nor for any ceremonial service, which was confined to the temple, but for public assemblies, to hear the law read and expounded, and to offer the prayers of the people to God; for in the Psalms of Asaph (where there is the only mention we find of synagogues in the Old Testament), they are called, not only *houses* and *assemblies* of God, but also *sanctuaries* (as the word is here in Moses), Psal. lxxiii. 17. lxxiv. 4. 7, 8. lxxxiii. 12. See Mr. Thorndike in his Rights of the Church in a Christian State, p. 213.

Ver. 31. *Regard not them.*] Do not go to consult them; nor follow their directions.

*That have familiar spirits.*] It is uncertain what is here meant by *oboth*, which we translate *familiar spirits*. But the word *ob* signifying a *bottle*, or hollow vessel, (Job xxxii. 19.) the Jews think it probable that *oboth* here signifies such as the Greeks call Ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, *who had a spirit or demon speaking out of the belly*, or chest, with a hollow voice, as if it came out of a bottle. So the woman whom Saul went to consult, is called *baalath ob*, a *mistress of such a spirit;* where, it is plain, *ob* signifies the *spirit*, or *demon*, (see chap. xx. 27.) and he or she that had familiarity with such a spirit, was properly called *baal*, or *baalath ob*, the master or mistress who possessed it, and gave answers by it, with a voice that seemed to come out of the lower parts of the belly. In one place, indeed, the LXX. translate it, οἱ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντες, (Isa. xix. 3.) *They that speak out of the earth;* because the voice coming from the lower parts of her that was possessed, seemed to come out of the earth; as Mr. Selden explains it in de Diis Syris.

R. Levi Barzelonita saith, the manner of it was thus: (Præcept. cclviii.) After certain fumes, and other ceremonies, a voice seemed to come from under the arm-holes (so he takes it, and so it is said in Sanhedrin, cap. 7. n. 7.) of the person that had the familiar spirit, which answered to the questions which were asked. For this he quotes Siphra. But if it came from under the arm-holes, still it was so low and hollow, as if it had been out of the bottom of the belly, or the cavities of the earth. Others imagine such persons had the name of *oboth*, because they were swelled with the spirit, as a bladder is when it is blown. However it was, this continued till the times of the gospel, as appears from Acts xvi. 16. for she that had the spirit of Python was the same with an ἐγγαστρίμυθος, as Plutarch informs us. (See Casaubon and L. de Dieu on that place.) The famous Pythia, who delivered the oracles of Apollo, sat over a hole, and by her secret parts received the spirit which swelled her, and made her utter oracles; as Origen observes, lib. vii. contra Celsum; and St. Chrysostom, Hom. xxix. in 1 Epist. ad Corinth. (See Beyerus in his Annot. upon Selden de Diis Syris, p. 226, &c.)

There are those that look upon all that these authors say as old stories, to which no credit is to be given. But Aug. Eugabinus affirms, that he himself had seen such women, called *ventriloquæ* (which is the same with the Greek ἐγγαστρίμυθοι), from whom, as they sat, a voice came out of their secret parts, and gave answers to inquiries. And Cælius Rhodoginus (lib. viii. Antiq. Lect. cap. 10.) saith, this is not to be entertained with laughter; for not only he saw such a woman, and heard a very small voice coming out of her belly, but innumerable other people, not only at Rhodigium, but in a manner through all Italy; among whom there were many great persons (who had her stripped naked, that they might be sure there was no fraud), to whom a voice answered unto such things as they inquired. Hieron. Oleaster also, upon Isa. xxiv. 4. saith, he saw such an one at Lisbon, from under whose arm-holes, and other parts of her, a small voice was heard, which readily answered to whatever was asked.

*Neither seek after wizards.*] The Hebrew word *jideonim*, importing *knowledge*, as all confess, signifies such as we call *cunning men;* who pretended to tell what was lost, or what fortune people should have; and these were men (as far as I can judge), as the other were mostly women, who held intelligence with some demon; for this word seems to have the very same derivation in Hebrew which the other hath in Greek, for all say Δαίμονες are as much as δαήμονες, *knowers;* and *jideonim* are as much as *joadim*, which is the very same, *futurorum conscii*, as Mr. Selden observes; and so the LXX. translate it, γνῶσται, (2 Kings xxi. 7.) though here and chap. xx. *ult.* they render it ἐπαοιδοὶ, and elsewhere τερατοσκόποι. This knowledge they pretended to obtain (as some think) by looking into the entrails of their sacrifices; or, as Maimonides will have it, by putting the bone of a certain bird, called *jaduà*, into their mouths, with certain fumes and adjurations, which made them fall into an ecstacy, and foretell things to come. (R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cclix.) And there are those who think that these *jideonim* were such as pretended by charms to cure diseases, &c. of which we can have no certainty, and it seems to rely only on the LXX. in this place, who, as I observed, translate it by a more general word in another.

*To be defiled by them.*] With the foulest sins. For seeking to these was a forsaking of God, and one peculiar kind of idolatry; and therefore they that were guilty of it were to be stoned (as the same R. Levi observes) if they committed this sin knowingly, and there were witnesses of it. If there were no witnesses, then they were left to God to be cut off by his hand, (chap. xx. 6.)

*I am the Lord your God.*] Unto whom you are to seek for all that you desire.

Ver. 32. *Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head.*] That they might accustom themselves to modesty and humility, (as Maimonides glosses upon this law, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 36.) for the maintenance of which the usage was, they say, to rise up to them, when they were at the distance of four cubits; and as soon as they were gone by, to sit down again; that it might appear they rose up purely in respect to them. To this nature directed all civilized people; who anciently, as Juvenal says, (Sat. xiii.) believed this a great wickedness, to be punished with death, if a young man did not rise up to an old.

> "Credebant hoc grande nefas, et morte piandum,
> Si juvenis vetulo non assurrexerat"——

And such a law there was established among the Lacedemonians, τοὺς γέροντας αἰσχυνέσθωσαν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ πατέρας, *that aged persons should be reverenced no less than if they were their fathers.* And so Plato, πᾶς αἰδείσθω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ἔργῳ καὶ ἔπει, *let every one reverence him that is elder than himself, in deed and in word,* (lib. ix. de Legibus,

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p. 875.) where he requires that a youth should honour a stranger that was his ancient; and hath this memorable saying, Καλλωπίζεσθαι χρὴ τῷ καλῶς δουλεύσαι, &c. *that youth should glory more in obeying well, than in ruling well: and first of all in obeying the laws; for this is all one with serving God; and next in giving honour to old men; and to those especially, who have passed their days honourably and with glory.* (See more to this purpose in Henricus Stephanus de Juris Civilis Font. et Rivis.) And there was the greater reason for this reverence towards old men in this nation, there being nothing else among them but age and experience that could distinguish them; for they were all equally noble, and equally rich; of the same profession, and brought up in the same manner.

*And honour the face of the old man.*] Or, of the *elder;* that is, or those who are skilful in the law, as the Jews interpret it; and I see no reason to contradict it (as some have done), since he speaks of aged persons before. See Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 14. where he deduces this at large: and another excellent writer of our own, Mr. Thorndike, in his Rights of the Church in a Christian State, p. 214, &c. "For if such as taught the law had not been honoured before men, nobody would have minded their words, nor received what they propounded, about things to be known or to be done;" as Maimonides's words are, in his More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 36. And it made no difference of what age he was, whether an old man or a young (for some elders, it appears by Daniel, were not aged); but the same honour was given to him, even by wise men, as R. Levi Barzelonita shews, (Præcept. ccxxii.)

*And fear thy God.*] This is the fountain of all virtue; particularly of the forementioned; God having imprinted a venerable character upon those who are grown aged, especially on such as are wise, and instruct others in virtue. But some of the Hebrews think that in this verse there are three degrees of honour enjoined to three ranks of men; one to the aged; the next to the wise and learned; and the third to the judges; who they imagine are here meant by *Elohim* (God) whom they are commanded to fear or reverence.

*I am the Lord.*] Most high above all; and therefore greatly to be feared.

Ver. 33. *And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him.*] Not so much as by upbraiding him with his being a stranger, or his having worshipped idols heretofore; for of such a stranger they understand this, as was become a proselyte to their religion. (See chap. xvii. 8. 12, 13. and Exod. xxii. 21.) But common humanity teaches every body to be kind to all manner of strangers, and not merely to refrain from oppressing them, or giving them vexation. Plato hath most excellent discourses about this in several places; particularly lib. v. de Legibus, where he shews, that God is the avenger of all wrongs done to strangers, more than of those that are done to our fellow-citizens: Ἔρημος γὰρ ὢν ὁ ξένος ἑταίρων, &c. *For a stranger being destitute of friends and kindred, is the greater object of pity, both of men and of God; and therefore, he that can hurt most, should be most ready to help him,* &c. (See p. 729, 730. edit. Serrani.) Upon which account he makes it lawful for a stranger to pluck any of the best fruit, as he is upon his way, whether grapes, figs, or apples, &c. (lib. viii. p. 845.) And the corn being divided, as he would have it, into twelve parts; and a twelfth part divided into three; he orders one of those third parts to be given to strangers, p. 847, 848. Τὸν γὰρ εἰσεπιδημήσαντα χρὴ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, *for a stranger or sojourner ought to be comforted, in a most friendly manner,* &c. (See lib. xii. p. 952, 953.)

Ver. 34. *But the stranger that dwelleth with thee shall be as one born among you.*] They understand this only of such a stranger, who by circumcision was become a perfect proselyte; whom they were to be so far from oppressing, that they were to treat him as if he had been a native Jew, and love him as a brother.

*And thou shalt love him as thyself.*] He had commanded them, (ver. 18.) *to love their neighbour, i. e.* an Israelite (they expound it), *as themselves;* and now he commands them to love a stranger with the same affection; which demonstrates, they think, he was become an Israelite; and therefore was to have the same privileges with themselves, both in all civil and sacred things. And this, no doubt, was true, that they were bound to treat such a proselyte with a tender affection, and to make no difference between him and an Israelite. For he was to be admitted to eat of the paschal lamb, and of the peace-offering, and he might marry with an Israelite; insomuch, that Moses saith, *one ordinance shall be for both,* (Numb. xv. 15.) All the difference I can find was, that they never admitted any stranger to be a member of the great Sanhedrin. But notwithstanding all this, I cannot think it reasonable to exclude all other strangers from their affection; but they were bound to love them, and to be kind to them, though not to embrace them with such a strict friendship as the other. And, to confirm this, it may be observed, that in the fourth commandment, *the stranger within their gate* signifies, as they confess, not him that was a perfect proselyte, but only one that had renounced idolatry: and so they understand the word *stranger* in the twenty-fifth chapter of this book, (ver. 47.) and I see no reason why such a *stranger* should not be admitted here to have a share in their affection, who was become a worshipper of the true God, though he had not taken upon him to observe the whole law.

*For ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*] This reason is little less than a demonstration, that such *strangers* as I now mentioned are comprehended in the foregoing precept. For the remembrance of what their condition was in Egypt, is that whereby they are moved to have pity on those whom they found among themselves in the same; and they and the Egyptians were not of the same religion, but they found such kind entertainment there a long time, as they were to give to those who were of their religion.

This argument indeed became stronger, when any persons were incorporated with them, and became more one with them than they were with the Egyptians; but was of great force to procure kindness to those who did not live by their laws.

*I am the Lord your God.*] Who have done so much for you when you were mere strangers, that you should not stick to be kind to those who are in the like condition.

Ver. 35. *Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment.*] The Hebrews refer this word *judgment* to all the following particulars; and think that Moses uses it here to shew of what moment this law is, which he calls *doing judgment;* so that he who measures or weighs hath the office of a

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judge: and if he commit any fraud in his measures or weights, he is a corrupter of judgment, and is called wicked, abominable, accursed. They are the words of R. Levi Barzelonita, Præcept. cclx. where he adds, that such men are the cause of five mischiefs, which are imputed to unjust judges: "who defile the land; profane the name of God; remove the presence of the Divine Majesty; bring a sword upon the people; and at last carry them captive out of their own country." And therefore great punishments have been enacted in all countries against this crime, as destructive to human society; particularly Justinian ordained that such offenders should be beaten ἰσχυρῶς ὡς ἀσεβεῖς *sorely, as impious people.*

*In mete-yard.*] By which they measured lands, cloth, and such-like things; for *middah* (as Fosterus observes) is the measure of continued quantity, *viz.* in things dry.

*In weight.*] By which they paid and received money in those days; and sold brass and iron, and things of like nature.

*Or in measure.*] The Hebrew word *mesurah* (from whence seems to come the Latin *mensura,* and our English word *measure*) denotes the measure of discrete quantity (as we speak), as of corn; and of all continued fluid quantity, as of wine and oil. And the forenamed R. Levi will have it to signify the very least of such measures; about which, saith he, the law concerns itself, that men should be exact in them, as well as in the greatest. And so Hesychius here notes, that Moses provides against all injustice in small things, as well as in great; for what the possession of a field or a house is to a wealthy man, that the measure of wine or corn, or the weight of bread, is to the poor, who have daily need of such things for the support of their life.

Ver. 36. *Just balances, just weights.*] This verse only positively requires strict justice in those things, wherein the former verse forbade all deceit. And these two words refer to things sold by weight.

*A just ephah, and a just hin, shall ye have.*] These two words, *ephah* and *hin,* comprehend all sorts of measures of things, whether wet or dry. And, that they might have such just weights and measures among them, the standard of them was kept in the sanctuary, by which all were to be governed; as appears from 1 Chron. xxiii. 29. (See Exod. xxx. 13.) The Jewish doctors also say, that it was a constitution of their wise men, for the preventing all fraud in these matters, that no weights, balances, or measures should be made of any metal, as of iron, lead, tin, &c. (which were obnoxious to rust, or might be bent, or easily impaired), but of marble, stone, or glass, which were less liable to be abused.

For these constitutions Moses was so famous, that his name was celebrated on the account of them in other nations. Nay, Lucius Ampelius (a rude kind of writer, but who had collected much out of better authors) saith, that Mochus was the inventor of scales and weights; and that his memory is preserved in the constellation called Libra. Now if for Mochus we read Moschos, it is the very name of Moses in Hebrew (viz. *Moscheh),* who is called so by other authors, as the learned Huetius observes in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 7. n. 16.

*I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt.*] This is the general reason for their obedience; which is repeated in this chapter above a dozen times. Sometimes more briefly, *I am the Lord;* and sometimes a little larger, *I am the Lord your God:* and here with this addition, *which brought you out of the land of Egypt.* Whereby he in a special manner demonstrates himself, both to be their Lord (faithful to his promise, Exod. vi. 3.) and their God, who obliged them to his service, by the most singular benefit.

Ver. 37. *Therefore shall ye observe all my statutes, and all my judgments, and do them.*] These words, *statutes* and *judgments,* comprehend all the laws of God: some of which were prohibitions, which they were to mark and *observe* diligently, so as to abstain from such things; and other precepts, or commands, which they were to practise, and *do* according to them.

*I am the Lord.*] No more need be said to engage your obedience in every thing than this, that I am your sovereign, and the sovereign of the whole world.

## CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Some time after the delivery of the laws mentioned in the two foregoing chapters, the chief of them were enforced with the addition of penalties, which are set down in this chapter.

Ver. 2. *Again thou shalt say to the children of Israel.*] Repeat what I said before, (chap. xviii. 21.) and add this which follows unto it.

*Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the stranger that sojourneth among you.*] The proselytes, who had embraced their religion, were no less concerned in this law than the native Israelites: (see chap. xvii. 8. 10, &c.)

*That giveth any of his seed unto Moloch.*] This looks like the prohibition before given, (chap. xviii. 21.) and R. Levi gives this reason of its repetition—because it was a piece of idolatrous worship so usual in those days, when the law was delivered, that there needed great endeavours to preserve them from it, (Præcept. ccviii.) And Maimonides also observes, (as I noted upon chap. xviii. 21.) that idolaters used to fright people into this worship, by telling them their children would die, if they did not make them pass through the fire, and thereby devote them to their gods. But upon due consideration of these words, it may appear probable, that there is something more in them than in the former; importing a higher degree of this sin. For to *give their children to Moloch,* seems to be no less than to offer them in sacrifices (so Christ *giving himself for us,* constantly signifies in the New Testament), which was a more horrid thing than merely making them *pass through the fire,* which did them no hurt. And therefore this crime is here forbidden under the penalty of death; whereas in the eighteenth chapter no punishment is threatened. Certain it is, children were really burnt upon the altars of the ancient pagans, especially in times of great distress, when they hoped to pacify the anger of their gods, by offering to them the dearest thing they had: see our great Selden, lib. de Diis Syris Syntagm. i. cap. 6. where he shews the Phœnicians offered their children to Saturn, (so Porphyrius expressly says, lib. i. de Abstin.) who is said by the poets to have devoured his own children; and by many is thought



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to be the same with Moloch. Though others take it for the sun, to whom it is certain human sacrifices were offered. Many authors make mention of it; and Eben Batrich thinks such sacrifices began in the days of Serug, and were first used among the Syrians. Which is a very probable opinion, as Johan. Geusius hath demonstrated, (lib. de Victimis Humanis, par. i. cap. 4, 5.) And it is easy to conceive how, from the Syrians, this abominable practice was derived to the Phœnicians, who worshipped the sun under the name of *Baal*, or *Bel*, as Herodian (lib. viii.) testifies. Which doth not contradict what others say, that they were devoted to the worship of Hercules: for by him is meant the sun also, as his very name imports, *viz. Or-col*, which in that language signifies as much as *him that illuminates all things*. From the Phœnicians this worship of offering human sacrifices was propagated to the Carthaginians, and other people of Africa, among whom this impious idolatry continued till the time of Hannibal; as Bochartus gathers out of Silius Italicus: (lib. iv.)

> "Mos fuit in populis quos condidit advena Dido,
> Poscere cæde Deos veniam, ac flagrantibus aris,
> Infandum dictu, parvos imponere natos."

Who says, the Carthaginians were wont to appease their gods, by burning their children on their altars: and then follows (after the words now mentioned) the lamentation of Imilce the wife of Hannibal, whose son was, by lot, to be sacrificed, (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 28.) And this wicked custom continues still to this day, among some of the people in the southern parts of Africa, as good authors affirm; it having spread itself all over the world (as appears by the discoveries that have been made in America), even into the northern countries of Scythia. But I shall content myself with observing only what the Scripture saith concerning a people in the east, called Sepharvites, who "burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech," 2 Kings xvii. 31. which god seems to have been the same with Moloch, here mentioned by Moses; only with the addition of an epithet, signifying their opinion of him: for *adra* is as much as *potent*, or *mighty*: and therefore *Melech* signifying a *king*, *Adramelech* is in our language *mighty king*. Now, that the children of Israel, notwithstanding this severe prohibition against it, imitated this barbarous worship, is evident from 2 Kings xxiii. 10. Jer. vii. 31. xix. 5. Psal. cvi. 37, 38. and we may very well think the prophet Micah also alludes to it, chap. vi. 7. as Isaiah, lvii. 5, 6. and Ezekiel, xvi. 20, 21. 36. xxiii. 37. 39. likewise do.

The manner of sacrificing their children, and the figure of the idol to which they offered, are described by many, according to the Jewish notion; particularly by Paulus Fagius out of Jalkut: who makes it a hollow image, having seven apartments in it (according to the number, I suppose, of the seven planets), into one of which, *viz.* the lowest, the infant was thrown when it was red hot; as flour, a turtle-dove, a sheep, &c. were into the rest. We can have no certainty of this; but such kind of statues were found in the West Indies when they were discovered, as Ludovicus Vives observes in lib. vi. cap. 19. de Civitate Dei. And Diodorus Siculus, in his Bibliotheca, lib. xx. describes the statue of Saturn among the Carthaginians, as stretching forth its hands down towards the earth; so that the child which was put into it might *roll and fall*, εἰς τὸ χάσμα πλῆρες πυρὸς, *into a gulf full of fire*. Benjamin Tudelensis in his travels (about five hundred years ago) affirms, that, in some islands in the east, the worshippers of fire were wont to leap into it, in performance of some solemn vow, and were counted by all to be happy men. Which I mention here, because he says these fires were kindled in a valley, as those among the Jews were in the valley of Hinnom, (p. 108, 109.)

*He shall surely be put to death.*] Sufficient proof being made of the fact, (Deut. xvii. 6.)

*The people of the land shall stone him with stones.*] Which was the proper punishment in this, and in some other cases; particularly adultery, (ver. 10.) and blasphemy, (chap. xxiv. 14, &c.) The manner of it is described out of a Hebrew MS. (Ez Hechajim.) by J. Wagenseil, upon Sota, cap. 3. to have been thus: he that was to be punished with stoning was stripped naked, having only a covering before, and set upon a high place, attended by the witnesses against him, his hands being bound: one of the witnesses giving him a strong push, threw him down headlong from thence. If this fall killed him, there was an end; but if life remained in him, the witnesses took up a stone, which was laid there on purpose, as big as two men could lift, and threw it upon him; and before he quite expired, all the people that stood by threw stones at him, according to the law, (Deut. xvii. 7.) A woman was only stripped to her shift.

Ver. 3. *And I will set my face against that man, and will cut him off from among his people.*] In case, that is, there was not sufficient proof against him, God threatens that he himself would take care to punish him, by cutting him off from the land of the living. R. Bechai, and others, observe, that this *cutting off* is threefold in the law: one is, the cutting off the body, *i. e.* shortening men's lives; which is threatened to six sins in Scripture. The second is, the excision of the soul only; which is threatened by Moses six-and-twenty times, and particularly to incestuous marriages. The third is, excision both of soul and body; which is threatened to fifteen sins; among which they reckon this, of giving their children to Moloch: (see Selden, lib. vii. de Jure N. et G. sec. Heb. cap. 9. p. 828, 829, &c.)

*To defile my sanctuary.*] By this sin God's sanctuary was defiled, as well as his holy name profaned, because they sacrificed to Moloch in other places, despising the tabernacle, which was the only place appointed by God where Divine service was to be performed. And therein consisted part of the honour and reverence which God required to his sanctuary, (chap. xix. 30.) that it should be looked upon as the only place where acceptable sacrifices could be offered to him. And therefore, then it was dishonoured and defiled, when they offered sacrifice in any other place, as they did, in aftertimes, to Moloch in the valley of Hinnom, as I observed before, 2 Kings xxiii. 10. Where they built high places to Baal (which is another name for the sun), on purpose that they might offer their children upon them, (Jer. xx. 5, 6. xxxii. 35.) This was a plain contempt of God, and of his sanctuary, which they forsook, as if it had not been a holy, but a defiled place. Otherwise they would have kept to it, and offered no where else, nor after any other manner than according to the rites thereof.

*And to profane my holy name.*] By giving the name of God and his honour to such an abominable idol.

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Ver. 4. *If the people of the land.*] In that part of the country where this crime was committed.

*Do any way hide their eyes from the man, when he giveth of his seed unto Moloch, and kill him not.*] If they connived at what he did, and dissembled their knowledge of it; or would not speak the whole truth, and endeavour to convict him of this foul crime, that he might be stoned.

Ver. 5. *Then will I set my face against that man, and against his family.*] As the idolater was liable to this punishment from the hand of Heaven, (see ver. 3.) so they that favoured him, and would not testify against him when they knew him guilty, fell under God's high displeasure (which is meant by *setting his face against them*), and so did all their children, whom God threatens to destroy. He speaks, indeed, in the singular number, because commonly, in such cases, there was some one person by whose authority others were persuaded to wink at such offences, and not to discover what they knew of them. But all such men are threatened with the Divine vengeance in the next words.

*And will cut him off, and all that go a whoring after him,* &c.] That is, all others, who, following his example, favour such idolaters, and protect them from punishment. For every one knows that idolatry is called by the name of *whoredom* in Scripture; because God having espoused the Israelites to himself, as his peculiar people, their forsaking him, to serve other gods, was a spiritual adultery.

*To commit whoredom with Moloch.*] *i. e.* To worship him as their god.

Ver. 6. *And the soul.*] *i. e.* The person.

*That turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards.*] Who they were that pretended to have *familiar spirits*, or were *wizards*, see chap. xix. 31. where they are commanded *not to regard them;* and here, if any did consult them (which is called *turning after them*), cutting off is threatened to them; that is, shortening their days: for such persons are reckoned by the Jews as the chief of those six sorts of sinners, who were liable to the first kind of excision, which I mentioned ver. 3. As for the man himself who had a familiar spirit, or was a wizard, he was to be stoned, if he was discovered and convicted, (ver. 27.) And so they observe in Sanhedrin, cap. 7. n. 7.

*To go a whoring after them.*] It was a kind of idolatry to seek to such people for advice or relief; being a forsaking of God, and putting confidence in them. Though sometimes *to go a whoring*, signifies the commission of any grievous sin, which idolatry usually led men unto; as Mr. Selden hath noted, lib. iii. de Uxore Hebr. cap. 23.

There is some reason to think, there was something *magical* in the oblation of their children to Moloch; and that thereby they consulted with demons about things future or secret; because such superstitions are here immediately forbidden, after the prohibition of giving their children to Moloch; and because they are frequently joined together in other places, as in Deut. xviii. 10, 11. 2 Kings xvii. 17. and xxi. 6. Certain it is, that in aftertimes they did sacrifice children, ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς, *that they might divine*, by looking into their bowels; as Joh. Geusius hath shewn out of Porphyrius, Philostratus, Herodotus, and others, lib. de Victimis Humanis, par. i. cap. 17.

*I will even set my face against that soul,* &c.] See ver. 3. 5.

Ver. 7. *Sanctify yourselves therefore.*] Worship therefore God alone; to whose service you are set apart.

*And be ye holy.*] Keep yourselves free from all idolatry. (See chap. xi. 44.)

*I am the Lord your God.*] See chap. xix. 2, 3. 10, &c.

Ver. 8. *And ye shall keep my statutes, and do them.*] Be governed by these laws, and not by the customs of other people.

*I am the Lord which sanctified you.*] Separated you to myself from all other people, by peculiar laws which I have given you.

Ver. 9. *For every one.*] Or, *if any one;* the particle we translate *for* signifying frequently *with*, or *if*.

*That curseth his father or mother.*] Reproacheth them with imprecations.

*Shall surely be put to death.*] *i. e.* Be stoned. And it made no difference, whether he cursed them when they were alive, or after their death, as R. Levi Barzelonita says, the rule of their doctors was; yet they resolve, that, unless he cursed them by some proper name of God, he was not liable to be put to death, but only to be scourged, (Præcept. cclxi.) See Exod. xxi. 17.

*His blood shall be upon him.*] When the law only saith, a man shall *die the death*, the Jews understand it of *strangling;* which was the easiest punishment among them. For where there was not an express mention of the kind of death, they thought the most favourable was to be inflicted. But when the law adds, *his blood shall be upon him*, they say, it is meant of stoning: and the meaning of this phrase is, *he shall perish by his own fault;* and therefore his blood, that is, his death, shall not be vindicated. The blood of one that was slain, being innocent, was upon the murderer, and therefore avenged; but he that was put to death for his crimes, had his blood upon himself, and nobody was to bear it, the executioner himself being not guilty of blood.

Ver. 10. *And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife,* &c.] By the ancient law of Draco and Solon, the husband of the adulteress, if he found them in the fact, might kill them both, or put out their eyes, or stigmatize them; or make the adulterer pay a fine, if he had a mind to spare his life. See Meursius in his Themis Attica, lib. i. cap. 4, 5. and the Leges Atticæ, set forth by Petitus, lib. vi. tit. 4. where it appears, that it was infamous for the husband to live with his wife after she had committed adultery; and that it was unlawful for her to enter into the public temples, or go dressed in the streets. If she did, any body might tear off her clothes, and beat her, only not kill her. (See S. Petiti Comment. p. 460, &c.)

*The adulterer and adulteress shall surely be put to death.*] It is not left to the husband's liberty, by this law, whether he would spare their lives or not; but the fact being proved, they were both to die for it: only it is not said here what kind of death they should suffer; nor was the same kind of death inflicted upon all that were guilty of this crime; for, if the daughter of a priest played the adulteress, she was to be burnt, (chap. xxi. 9.) and the adulterer to be strangled, as the Jews understand it. If a man lay with a virgin espoused to another man, but not yet married, they were both to be stoned, by the express words of the law, (Deut. xxii. 23.) But adultery with a married woman, if we may credit the Jewish doctors, was



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punished with strangling. (See Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 2.) For when we meet with this phrase, *they shall surely die*, it is always meant of death by the sentence of the house of judgment (as they speak), and if the law add no more, they resolve it to be by *strangling*. If these words be added, *their blood shall be upon them*, then, they say, they were to be stoned. This I observed before; and shall add now, that *strangling*, as they describe it, was not such a punishment as our hanging men by the neck; but the criminal being stuck up to the knees in dung, they tied a napkin about his neck, and drawing it hard at both ends, choked him. There was such a thing as hanging men on a gallows (as we speak), but it was after they were dead, and only such as had been stoned; and not all of them neither, but such alone as had been stoned for blasphemy or idolatry. (See Joh. Carpzovius upon Schickard's Jus Regium, cap. 4. Theor. xiv.)

The greatest thing that can be objected against this account of the punishment of adultery, is that which St. John tells us the Jews said concerning the woman taken in the very act of it, "Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned," (John viii. 5.) But it may be answered, that this woman was espoused only, and not yet married; and so, by the law, as I observed before, was to be stoned, (Deut. xxii. 23, 24.) If this seem absurd, that the adultery of one espoused should be accounted a greater crime than of one married (for stoning was a heavier punishment than strangling), it ought to be considered, that the love of those who were newly espoused, was commonly more fervent than theirs who were married, especially among the Jews, who for light causes were wont to be divorced from their wives; and therefore no wonder if the adultery of the former was judged a greater crime than of the latter.

Ver. 11. *And the man that lieth with his father's wife*, &c.] This was condemned before as a heinous sin, (chap. xviii. 8.) and now the penalty of death is inflicted upon the offenders.

*Their blood shall be upon them.*] All the Hebrew doctors agree, that wheresoever we meet with this phrase, it is meant of stoning, as I before observed.

Ver. 12. *If a man lie with his daughter-in-law, both of them shall surely be put to death.*] This was forbidden, chap. xviii. 15. and the same penalty is here enacted as against the former crime.

*They have wrought confusion.*] By perverting the order which God hath appointed, and making great disturbance in the family, &c. It is the same word that is used for a more foul sin, (chap. xviii. 23.) and therefore shews this to be an abominable mixture.

Ver. 13. *If a man also lie with mankind*, &c.] This also was condemned before, (chap. xviii. 22.) but the penalty not declared till now.

*They shall surely be put to death*, &c.] By stoning; unless one of them was under a force, and then that law took place which we find Deut. xxii. 25, 26.

Ver. 14. *And if a man take a wife and her mother, it is wickedness.*] See chap. xviii. 17.

*They shall be burnt with fire.*] Which was a higher punishment than stoning, as that was higher than strangling. R. Levi Barzelonita (Præcept. ccxxiv.) describes the manner of it to have been thus: they set the malefactor in dung up to the knees, and then tied a cloth about his neck, which was drawn by the two witnesses, till they made his mouth gape; into which they poured hot melted lead down his throat, which burnt his bowels. And thus the rest of the Talmudists expound it: but I see no good authority they have for it, the word for *burning* being the same that is used, when mention is made of burning with fire and faggots, as we speak. And R. Eliezer ben Zadoc saith, he saw a priest's daughter thus burnt for fornication. But the doctors commonly say, the judges were ignorant of the law; or, that they were Sadducees who then had got into the seat of judgment, who followed the very letter of the Scripture.

*Both he and they.*] That is, both the mother and daughter, if the mother were consenting to it. Otherwise, only the woman that offended. From whence the Karaites formed this rule, "after the same manner that men were obliged by a precept in Scripture, the women were obliged also." (Selden. lib. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 5.)

*That there be no wickedness among you.*] That others may be deterred from the commission of such enormous crimes: for the Hebrew word imports more than ordinary wickedness. (See chap. xviii. 17.)

Ver. 15. *And if a man lie with a beast, he shall surely be put to death.*] See chap. xviii. 23. This death was by stoning, as appears from the next verse.

*And ye shall slay the beast.*] Just as they were to destroy, not only the inhabitants of an apostate city, but their cattle also, &c. (Deut. xiii. 15, 16.) to terrify others from committing the like sin; and, as the Talmudists observe, that there might be no memorial left of so foul a crime, by men's pointing at the beast, and saying, There goes the beast that such a man lay with. They might have added, to prevent monstrous births. (See Selden, lib. i. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4.) Maimonides gives a good reason, why a beast that killed a man should be slain; as a punishment to the owner, for looking no better after it; but his application of it to this matter seems impertinent, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 40.) Bochartus's gloss is far better; the beast was killed as an instrument in the crime, just as a forger of deeds is hanged with his pen and counterfeit seals; and a conjurer with his magical books and characters. And this also is useful for an example, though not to other beasts, yet to men; whose concern it is to consider, that if beasts were not spared, who were not capable of sinning, what would become of them who committed such crimes against the known law of God, and the impressions of nature itself? (Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 16.)

Ver. 16. *Their blood shall be upon them.*] This relates to the man and the woman (mentioned in these two verses), who committed this foul crime; for a beast is not capable of punishment. But, as the canon law speaks, "Pecora inde credendum est jussa interfici, quia tali flagitio contaminata refricant facti memoriam;" *it is to be believed, that the beasts which were polluted with such a flagitious wickedness, were therefore commanded to be slain, because they rubbed up the memory of the fact:* which is the very reason given of it in the Mischna, Tit. Sanhedrin, cap. 7. n. 4. And so R. Solomon: "the beast was killed, lest it should be said, There is the beast for which such a woman was put to death."

Ver. 17. *If a man shall take his sister*, &c.] Whether she

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was his sister by the whole blood (as we speak), or by half blood only, by the father's side or mother's, he was not permitted to marry her by the law mentioned, chap. xviii. 9.

*And see her nakedness.*] It is the same with *uncovering her nakedness* to lie with her; as it is there expressed, and here in the end of the verse (*he hath uncovered his sister's nakedness*), the sense of *seeing* being put for that of touching, or any other, in this language.

*It is a wicked thing.*] A flagitious, or nefarious wickedness, as the Vulgar expresses it. But the Hebrew word *chesed* signifying sometimes in the prophetical language *mercy* and *indulgence;* the Talmudists take these words, as if they came in by a parenthesis, to obviate an objection which might be made, that Cain and Abel married their sisters. True, saith Moses, that was by an indulgence in the beginning, arising from the necessity of things, when there were none but brothers and sisters in the world. But now *they shall be cut off in the sight of their people*, who marry such near relations. So the Gemara Hierosol. ad Tit. Sanhedrin. (See Selden, lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 8. p. 581.) And so the Chaldee paraphrase, ascribed to Jonathan, whose words are these: "It is a filthy thing; but I used an indulgence to the first men by whom the world was to be propagated, until mankind was sufficiently multiplied: after that, whosoever doth any such thing, let him be cut off," &c.

*And they shall be cut off in the sight of their people.*] Publicly put to death: (see ver. 10.)

*He shall bear his iniquity.*] *i. e.* The punishment of it, (chap. v. 1.)

Ver. 18. *And if a man shall lie with a woman, having her sickness*, &c.] Here the sentence of death is pronounced upon them; whereas in chap. xv. 24. it is only said, the man should be *unclean seven days*. Therefore many think in that place he speaks of doing this ignorantly, and here of doing it knowingly. But if the man might be ignorant of the condition she was in, the woman herself could scarce be so: and, therefore, others think, when the fact was altogether private, they only incurred a legal impurity for a certain season; but when it was publicly known, and proof made of it before a judge, it was a capital crime, because it was done in contempt and despite of the law; otherwise, it could not have been so publicly known as to be legally proved. Whether this law oblige in the state of Christianity, is at large discussed by Bishop Taylor (not to mention other writers abroad), in his Ductor Dubitant. book ii. chap. 2. rule iii. n. 8. and book iii. chap. 2. rule ii. n. 3, &c.

Ver. 19. *And thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister*, &c.] See chap. xviii. 12, 13.

*They shall bear their iniquity.*] It not being said, they *shall die*, or be *cut off* (as in the former cases), it hath made some conclude this sin, being not of so high a nature as the foregoing, was punished only as those that follow, (ver. 20, 21.) where they that committed them are threatened to *die childless*.

Ver. 20. *If a man shall lie with his uncle's wife*, &c.] See chap. xviii. 14.

*They shall die childless.*] This is understood by some as if Moses meant they should be put to death, before they could have any fruit of such a conjunction. But most think he only means, that either they should have no children; or that their children should not live, but die before their parents; or be looked upon as a spurious issue, and not inherit their estate; which is the sense St. Austin puts upon these words. And Procopius Gazæus also mentions it; and says this was the Roman law about all incestuous marriages; "Semen eorum non recensebitur inter liberos;" *such issue shall not be reckoned among their children*.

Ver. 21. *And if a man shall take his brother's wife*, &c.] See chap. xviii. 16.

*They shall be childless.*] See ver. 20.

Ver. 22. *Ye shall therefore keep all my statutes, and all my judgments*, &c.] Particularly these concerning the foregoing matters. (See chap. xviii. 4, 5.)

*That the land, whither I bring you to dwell therein, spew you not out.*] As it did the former inhabitants. (See chap. xviii. 25. 28.)

Ver. 23. *And ye shall not walk in the manners of the nation which I cast out before you.*] *viz.* Of the Amorites, as the Hebrews rightly expound it; for they were the principal nation in Canaan, and extremely given to idolatry. R. Levi Barzelonita extends this to all their customs, in cutting their hair, and such like, (Præcept. cclxii.) but it seems here particularly to relate to their marriages and idolatry. (See chap. xviii. 3.)

*For they committed all these things.*] These words shew that the foregoing have particular respect to their abominable marriages and idolatry.

*Therefore I abhorred them.*] So as to cast them out of their country, (chap. xviii. 25.) Onkelos translates it, *my Word* [*Memri*] *abominated them*. Which is a plain intimation of a notion they had in ancient times of more persons than one in the Deity; and particularly here denotes him whom St. John calls *the Word*. For *Memri* (*Word*) plainly signifies a *person* in this place; and a person of the same essence with Jehovah.

Ver. 24. *But I have said unto you.*] Made you a promise.

*Ye shall inherit their land, and I will give it unto you to possess it*, &c.] For he promised to expel the former inhabitants of that country, to make room for them. (See Exod. iii. 8. 17. xxiii. 27, 28. xxxiii. 3.)

*I am the Lord your God, which have separated you from other people.*] This may refer either to what goes before, that they should not live like other nations, because he had, by peculiar laws, as well as by signal deliverances, distinguished them from all the people of the earth; or to what follows, that he had made such a difference between them, and other people, that in their very diet they should not agree with them, much less in the forenamed impurities. For, that the difference of meats was instituted, to keep them from familiar conversation with their idolatrous neighbours, is very evident (as I before observed), and the gentiles themselves took notice of it, and looked upon them as unsociable people upon this very account. Josephus often mentions this objection against them. And Euphrates complains, (in Philostratus de vita Apolon. Lib. cap. 2.) "That of old they separated not only from the Romans, but from all mankind: for they had invented βίον ἄμικτον *a manner of living that would not let them mix with other people*, either at a common table, or in their prayers or sacrifices."

Ver. 25. *Ye shall therefore put difference between clean beasts and unclean*, &c.] According to the prescriptions in

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the eleventh chapter, which are here briefly repeated, to enforce the observation of the foregoing precepts against such incestuous marriages as other nations allowed; their law not permitting them so much as to eat such meat as those nations did; but to account many things, which they freely used, unclean and abominable.

*Ye shall not make yourselves abominable*, &c.] See chap. xi. 43.

*Which I have separated from you, as unclean.*] Forbidden you to eat; and thereby separated you from all other people. Which had this intention in it (among others already mentioned), that this nation, from whom the Messiah was to spring, might be kept pure and sincere; free from all mixture with strange people; unto which nothing contributed more efficaciously (as an excellent person hath observed) than the difference of meat, which made it not easy for them to contract acquaintance, much less friendship, with other nations. And truly, unless the people from whom the Messiah was to come, had been kept separate from all other nations, either all hope of him would have been lost, or many in every country, to the great hurt and destruction of mankind, would have pretended to be the person: whereas, by keeping them a people distinct by themselves, it came to pass that all countries thereabouts were filled with a report, that the Lord of the world should come out of Judea: see Joh. Wagenseil. Confut. Carm. Lipman. p. 554, &c.

Ver. 26. *And ye shall be holy unto me, for I the Lord am holy.*] See chap. xi. 44. xix. 2. and ver. 7. of this chapter.

*And have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine.*] The very difference of meats which they used, was a token that God had separated them from other people, to be subject to such rites and laws as he ordained: and hereby also they were so severed from others, as to be kept from the most familiar conversation with them (which is at meals), and thereby they were preserved from the danger of being seduced to the worship of strange gods.

Ver. 27. *A man also, or a woman, that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard*, &c.] The consulting such persons is forbidden, chap. xix. 31. and the penalty added ver. 6. of this chapter: and here the persons themselves who were proved to have a *familiar spirit*, or to be a *wizard* (what they are, see there), are condemned to the heaviest punishment; which was by being stoned to death. For which severity Maimonides gives this reason: "Because it is the very scope of the whole law to root out idolatry, and abolish the very name of it. And therefore God ordered magicians to be stoned, because, without doubt, they are idolaters; though in a manner peculiar and different from the vulgar. And the greater part of such evil arts being practised by women, (which is the ground, he thinks, of that law, Exod. xii. 18.) towards whom men are naturally pitiful: therefore Moses saith in this place, *A man also, or woman, that hath a familiar spirit*, &c. like to which we find in no precept, not about the profanation of the sabbath; but in this case it was necessary expressly to mention *women* as well as *men;* because of men's natural tenderness and clemency towards women." Thus he, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 37. Procopius Gazæus's gloss on these words is very pious, but something fanciful; "He that is hardened like a stone to virtue, deserves to be stoned. For magic commits murders, digs up sepulchres, disturbs the souls of men. For magicians are men who corrupt human nature."

## CHAP. XXI.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord said unto Moses, Speak unto the priests.*] This law about the priests, perhaps, follows that last mentioned (ver. 27. of the foregoing chapter), to shew unto whom they should resort, and of whom they should inquire, *viz.* of the priests; who should always be ready for any priestly office, and for common conversation.

*The sons of Aaron.*] His daughters were not concerned in the following prohibitions; because they had nothing to do in offering sacrifices; as Maimonides observes, More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47.

*There shall none be defiled for the dead.*] By touching the dead body, or coming (as the Hebrews say) within four cubits of it, or entering into the house where it lay (though it were to take care of the funeral), or by following the corpse to the grave, or making any mourning for the dead: because by these things they were legally polluted for no less than seven days, (Numb. xix. 11. 14.) and, consequently, unfit for the service of God, and for conversation with their neighbours; who had the greater reverence also for them, when they saw their dignity to be so great, that they were not permitted to perform such offices as others were obliged unto. For this, no doubt, was intended very much to put an honour upon the priesthood: as it was also in other nations, particularly among the Romans, who would not have their Pontifex to look upon a funeral, as Bochart observes out of Seneca, (Hieroz. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 4.) and the Flamen Dialis might not go into the place where the coffin was. For which reason, as Servius tells us, (ad lib. iii. Æneid.) they ordered a bough of a cypress-tree to be stuck at the door of the house where a dead body lay, that the high-priest might not ignorantly go into it. It appears also by Plato, that it was thus likewise among the Greeks. For he would have the priests, of both sexes, to accompany one that had discharged the office of a censor well, unto his grave when he was buried, as unto a *pure funeral* (ὡς καθαρεύοντι τῷ τάφῳ ἕπεσθαι); but for this, he says, they must ask leave of Apollo, (lib. xii. de Legibus, p. 947.) See Porphyrius de Abstin. lib. ii. sect. 50.

*Among his people.*] The Jews are so critical, as, from the word *beammo*, *among his people*, to gather, that if a man did not die among his people, but in a strange country, where there was nobody to take care of his funeral, and see him buried, a priest might do it himself, rather than his body should lie above ground.

Ver. 2. *But for his kin that is near unto him.*] Here is an exception to the general rule; because it would have been very hard to restrain natural affection from carrying them to their parents, and children, and brethren, and sisters, when they died. Which cases would not often happen, as Maimonides observes in the place before alleged; and they are particularly named, that there might be no mistake, nor any colour to extend this indulgence to relations more remote.

*For his mother, and his father, and for his son, and for his daughter, and for his brother.*] If any have a mind to

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know the rabbinical reasons, why the mother is here put before the father, and ver. 11. the father before the mother, with such-like things, he may consult Simeon de Muis in his Varia Sacra, p. 356, &c.

Ver. 3. *And for his sister a virgin.*] I see no reason why it should be restrained to his whole sister, both by father's and mother's side (as some of the Hebrew doctors would have it); for, that his half-sister, by either of them, was *nigh unto him* (as it here follows), it appears by the law about incestuous marriages, (chap. xviii. 9.)

*Which hath had no husband.*] To take care of her funeral, which her brother therefore, though a priest, might. It is commonly observed, that there is no mention here of *his wife*. But Maimonides, with great reason, thinks it was lawful for him to mourn for her; but it was needless to mention her, who, by the law of God, was dearer to him than father or mother. And there is this argument for it: that Ezekiel, who was a priest, is forbidden, by a special command, to mourn for his wife, which otherwise he would have done, (ch. xxiv. 16, &c.)

Ver. 4. *But he shall not defile himself, being a chief man among his people.*] But though he might defile himself for such very near relations, yet he might not for the greatest man in the nation, who was not so near of kin to him. This seems to me to be the easiest and the most natural sense of this verse, by adding the particle *lamed* (which in the two foregoing verses is put before *mother, father, son, daughter, brother,* and *sister*) to *Baal, i. e. chief man* (as we translate it); nothing being more usual than to omit such a particle, which yet must be understood when it hath been often before mentioned. And thus the Vulgar Latin understands it; and the sense is the same, if we take it as our translation seems to intend it: *But he shall not defile himself* (for any other), *being a chief man,* &c. As for the marginal translation, I can see no ground for it: and there must be a greater supplement, by adding *for his wife;* which one cannot well think is here forbidden, as I observed on the foregoing verse. They also who translate it, *a chief ruler shall not defile himself,* &c. have still less reason, the whole discourse in this place being concerning the priests.

*To profane himself.*] He himself, in sacred offices, being the greatest person, would have been profaned, *i. e.* rendered a common man, if he had mourned for any but those whom nature had very closely linked him unto.

Ver. 5. *They shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corners of their beard, nor make any cuttings in their flesh.*] Though they were allowed to mourn for some persons, yet for none after this manner: that is, according to the custom of certain places in Chaldea, as Aben Ezra glosses upon these words. And he might have added also, of the Egyptians; among whose ceremonies we find this in aftertimes, and it is likely it had been very ancient. For Jul. Firmicus tells us, in the beginning of his book, that in their annual lamentations of Osiris, they were wont "to shave their heads, that they might bewail the miserable misfortune of their king, by depriving themselves of the ornament of hair," &c. And he adds, that they did tear their flesh, and cut open the scars of their old wounds, &c. where Johan. Wouver observes the same out of several other authors. And Plutarch, in his book of Superstition, saith, they generally used in mourning to be shaven; whereas the Hebrews let their hair grow: (see chap. x. 6. xix. 27.)

Ver. 6. *They shall be holy unto their God.*] Attend to their office, unto which they are peculiarly consecrated; and not, without great necessity, be at any time unfitted for it.

*And not profane the name of their God.*] By doing as the common people did; or rendering themselves incapable to minister unto the Lord; as they were when they were any way defiled.

*For the offering of the Lord made by fire.*] They attend upon his altar, where the burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, and all the rest were offered.

*And the bread of their God, do they offer.*] The word *and* is not in the Hebrew, and the sense will be clearer if it be left out: *the offering of the Lord made by fire,* being called *the bread of their God, i. e.* his meat, or food. For the altar was his table; and what was burnt thereon was in the nature of his provision: which in the Scripture language is comprehended under the name of *bread.* So Solomon Jarchi saith, *whatsoever may be eaten is called bread,* (see chap. iii. 11.) Thus *fruit* is called *bread,* Jer. xi. 19. and *milk,* Prov. xxvii. 27. and *honey,* 1 Sam. xiv. 28. And therefore no wonder the sacrifices are here called by that name, and by Malachi his *meat* or *food,* (chap. iii. 12.) Which phrase is used, as the author of Sepher Cosri well observes, to keep up the notion that God dwelt gloriously, and kept house among them, (par. ii. cap. 26.)

Ver. 7. *They shall not take a wife that is a whore.*] All incestuous marriages were as much forbidden priests as any other men. But besides, here are three sorts of persons whom it was unlawful for a common priest to marry, though there was no kindred between them. The first is a *whore;* whereby the Hebrew doctors understand, not only one that was a common prostitute, but one that was not an Israelite, or an Israelitish woman, with whom a man had lain, whom it was unlawful for her to marry. Which comprehends not only all such as are forbidden in the eighteenth chapter of this book; but those also in Deut. xxiii. 2, 3. (See Selden de Successionibus, lib. ii. cap. 2. et 3. and Uxor. Hebraica, lib. i. cap. 7. lib. iii. cap. 23.)

*Or profane.*] A woman was accounted so (as he shews in the same place) who was either descended from such a person, as is beforementioned; or who was born of such a conjunction, as is here forbidden to a priest. And there are those who think it may be understood of one that had been consecrated to a false deity; whom she served with the use of her body, which she exposed to the worshippers of that deity: who, though she afterwards repented, and became good, yet a priest was not to marry her, no more than an ordinary whore. But the simplest meaning of these three seems to be, that they should not marry one that had prostituted her body, or that had been any way vitiated, though against her will; or was of suspected chastity; or (as it follows) was divorced from her husband.

*Neither shall they take a woman put away from her husband.*] For commonly women were put away for some fault, as Abarbinel notes; and were presumed not to be such as a priest should desire. To the same purpose Procopius Gazæus. A priest, saith he, should not only fly from manifest evils, as fornication, but decline whatsoever may blemish his fame: now a woman that is put away

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by her husband, lies under a suspicion of something that is bad. For which reason (as Mr. Selden observes in the place abovenamed), a priest might not marry her, whom her husband's brother refused to marry after his death.

*For he is holy unto his God.*] Consecrated, after a special manner, to the service of the Divine Majesty; and therefore was not to dishonour his priesthood by such marriages as were not of good reputation. If he did, he was not to be suffered to minister, until he had given such a wife a bill of divorce; as Maimonides saith in Biath Hamikdasch, cap. 6. An example of which there was in Manasseh, the brother of Jadua the high-priest; who, marrying, contrary to the law, the daughter of Sanballat the Samaritan, was commanded either to put her away, or not to come to the altar. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Successione in Pontificatum, cap. 6. p. 238.)

Ver. 8. *Thou shalt sanctify him therefore.*] This seems to be spoken to Moses, and to all that should succeed him in the supreme authority, that they should take care the priests should not marry with such persons; or if they did, not be suffered to minister in the priest's office till they had put them away. Accordingly we find, that, to keep the priesthood pure, and to avoid all suspicion of any such pollution, the names of the priest's parents were carefully preserved in the genealogical tables, as we learn from Ezra ii. 62. Nehemiah vii. 64. (See Selden de Succession. in Pontif. lib. ii. cap. 3. Uxor. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 7.)

*For he offereth the bread of thy God.*] Ministereth at the altar. (See ver. 6.)

*He shall be holy unto thee.*] Keep himself pure, that he may not be unfit to offer sacrifice for the people, as need shall require.

*For I the Lord which sanctify you am holy.*] I, who have taken you to be my peculiar people, excel in all perfections; and therefore require persons of extraordinary sanctity to minister unto me.

Ver. 9. *And the daughter of any priest, if she profane herself by playing the whore.*] The Hebrew doctors understand this of one married, at least espoused. So Aben Ezra and R. Sol. Jarchi say expressly, "Our rabbins confess, with one mouth, that one not espoused is not concerned in this law." (See Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 6. and lib. iii. cap. 23. p. 488.)

*She profaneth her father.*] She was doubly guilty: first, in profaning, *i. e.* dishonouring herself; who, being the daughter of such an eminent person, committed such a heinous crime; and secondly, in dishonouring her father, whose reputation hereby suffered.

*She shall be burnt with fire.*] Which was the sorest punishment among the Jews, (see chap. xx. 14.) and was not inflicted upon other persons, in this case, (who were barely stoned, Deut. xxii. 14.) but only upon the daughter of a priest, from whom greater virtue was expected. But if the witnesses of this fact were convicted of perjury by other credible witnesses, produced by the woman or her father, then both her husband who accused her, and those false witnesses, suffered the same punishment that she should have done. (See Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Heb. cap. 1. p. 321.)

Ver. 10. *He that is the high-priest among his brethren.*] Hitherto the laws given in this case concern the common priest: now follow those by which the high-priest was to govern himself, who was under peculiar laws more strict than the rest.

*Upon whose head the anointing oil was poured,* &c.] He having a peculiar consecration different from the rest, by pouring the holy oil upon his head, and clothing him with the most glorious robes, (see chap. viii. 7, 8, &c.) was in all reason to distinguish himself, more than the rest of the priests, from common men.

*And that is consecrated.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *whose hand is filled;* as it was with the fat and the right shoulder of the ram of consecration, &c. by which he was hallowed to minister in the priest's office, (Exod. xxix. 22—24.)

*To put on the garments.*] To be high-priest.

*Shall not uncover his head.*] Rather, shall not let his hair grow neglected without trimming; as the manner was, in token of mourning. So Onkelos and Jonathan, and a great many more: (Selden, lib. ii. de Successione in Pontificatum, cap. 5. p. 235.) and what I have noted upon the tenth chapter of this book, ver. 6.

*Nor rend his clothes.*] Another token of mourning which he was to forbear; though the Talmudists will have it, that he might rend his garments at the bottom, about his feet, but not at the top, down to his breast; as P. Cunæus observes out of Mass. Horajoth, lib. ii. de Rep. Hebr. cap. 3. Before his anointing and consecration, and putting on the holy garments, it was not unlawful for him to attend the funeral of his father; and therefore Eleazar was present when Aaron died, (Numb. xx.) being as yet in a lower ministry, and not completely advanced to the office of high-priest, but only declared Aaron's successor by putting on his garments. (See chap. x. 6.)

Ver. 11. *Neither shall he go in to any dead body; nor defile himself for his father, or for his mother.*] He might not go into the house, where the body of his father or mother lay dead, (which was permitted to the inferior priests, ver. 2, 3.) and, consequently, he was not to make any external signs of mourning for son or daughter, brother or sister.

Ver. 12. *Neither shall he go out of the sanctuary.*] If he was there when he heard of the death of his father or mother, he was not to stir out from thence till he had finished his ministry. (See chap. x. 7.) For he had a little house (after the temple was built) within the precincts of it, where he commonly remained all the day-time, which was called *lischcath cohen gadol, the parlour of the high-priest:* as Cunæus observes out of Mass. Middoth, lib. ii. de Repub. Hebr. cap. 3. At night he went to his own dwelling-house, which was in Jerusalem, and no where else; there he might perform all the offices of a mourner, except those which are here forbidden; and the people came to comfort him (as Maimonides relates in his treatise on this subject), and, sitting upon the ground, while he sat in his chair at the funeral feast, they said, *Let us be thy expiation* (*i. e.* let all the grief that is on thee fall upon us); unto which he answered, *Blessed be ye from heaven;* as their words are reported in Sanhedrin, cap. 2. n. 1.

*Nor profane the sanctuary of his God.*] By preferring his affection to the dead, before the service of God in the sanctuary: or, by returning thither to his ministry, when he had been defiled by the dead; which had been a great profanation: for he that touched a dead body was unclean seven days, (Numb. xix. 11, 12.)

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*For the crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him.*] Some supply the word *and* between *crown* and *anointing oil;* and so make *two* reasons why he should distinguish himself from all other men: first, because the *holy crown,* as it is called, (Exod. xxix. 6.) which had *holiness to the Lord* engraven on it, (Exod. xxviii. 36.) was set upon his head; and his head also was anointed with the *holy oil,* (Exod. xxx. 25. 30.) whereby he was, in a special manner, consecrated to the service of the Most High. But there is no need of this, for the anointing oil itself was that which sanctified him to his office, and was poured on him, after the holy crown was set on his head; (Lev. viii. 9. 12.) and so these words may be translated, *the consecration* (for so the Hebrew word *nezer* signifies) *of the anointing oil of his God is upon him.* That is, he must remember he is solemnly devoted unto my ministry by that anointing; and therefore must not leave it to attend any other.

*I am the Lord.*] Whose servant he is by a peculiar obligation.

Ver. 13. *And he shall take a wife.*] From the word *wife,* in the singular number, the Talmudists generally conclude, that polygamy was not allowed to the high-priest, who was to have but one wife at a time, though other men were permitted to have more. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Successione in Pontif. cap. 2. p. 207. and Uxor. Hebraica, lib. i. cap. 8.) If he did take another, he was to give a bill of divorce to one of them before the great day of expiation; or else he was incapable to perform the offices of it; as P. Cunæus observes in the place forenamed out of Joma. But if his wife died, it was not unlawful for him to marry again, as Tertullian fancied from this very place, (lib. de Monogam. cap. 7. and Exhort. ad Cast. cap. 7.)

*In her virginity.*] And not so much as espoused to any other person. Nor was any sort of virgin thought fit for his wife, but only one that was newly come out of her minority, and had not yet attained to her full puberty; as Maimonides explains the sense of their ancient doctors. See Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. 7. where he observes also, that this is to be understood of the high-priest after he was in his office; for if he had married a widow before he was high-priest, he was to keep her, and not put her away when he was advanced to it. But there are those who imagine this law obliged all the common priests, who were to marry none but virgins; as they are persuaded from Ezek. xliv. 22. And no less a man than Hugo Grotius seems to be of this opinion, both here and in his book de Jure Belli et Pacis, (lib. ii. cap. 5. n. 9.) in his Annotata to that section. But the Hebrew doctors are all of a contrary mind, and so are Josephus and Philo; as Mr. Selden observes, in his Addenda to the seventh chapter of his first book Uxor. Hebr. and lib. ii. de Success. in Pontif. cap. 2, p. 208. And so Cunæus also in the place forenamed, speaking of this very law, "Non enim Sacerdotibus posita eadem lex fuit; quippe viduam illi rite duxerunt," &c. But above all, a later most learned writer, Joh. Wagenseil, hath largely confuted this opinion, in which he hath shewn Grotius was singular; for, besides that Ezekiel there supposes they might marry the widow of a priest, it is evident both from Jewish and Christian interpreters, that the state of things under the law is not to be measured by what the prophet Ezekiel saith concerning the future temple and priests: but, as Kimchi himself saith upon this place, "if this verse must be expounded of every priest, it relates to the greater sanctity of the future temple:" for the law at first undoubtedly was, that none but the high-priest was confined to marry a virgin. What Grotius alleges out of Josephus to prove his assertion, he hath shewn, with due respect to so great a man, doth him no service. (See his Annotata ad Mischna Sota, cap. 4. p. 557, &c.)

Ver. 14. *A widow.*] This was peculiar to the high-priest, that, besides other women which no priest might marry, he alone is forbidden to marry a widow; as the same learned person there shews is the sense of all the Hebrew writers. And Moses Kotzenses observes, that by a *widow* is to be understood, not only a woman that had been married; but if she had been merely espoused, it was unlawful for the high-priest to take her for his wife: and by the *high-priest,* he saith, is to be understood, not only the successor of Aaron, but he also that was anointed to the war; which seems to be stretching of the word beyond its meaning, though the word *widow* may be allowed to comprehend one only espoused, whom he might not marry, though she had been espoused to his predecessor.

*Or a divorced woman.*] No, nor the wife of his brother that died without issue; which others were bound to marry, but he was not.

*Or profane.*] The word *chalalah* was explained before, ver. 7. which, according to the Jews, signifies a woman born of such a person as a priest is prohibited to marry; as, if the high-priest had taken a widow, and had a daughter by her, that child was *profane,* and might not be married, though a virgin, by a succeeding high-priest. And so of the rest. (See Buxtorf. de Sponsal. et Divort. p. 37, 38.)

*Or a harlot.*] See ver. 7.

*But he shall take a virgin of his own people.*] He was commanded before to marry none but a virgin; and now he is further limited to a virgin of Israel; for he doth not mean one of his own tribe, there being instances to the contrary, of a high-priest marrying into the royal tribe, (2 Chron. xxii. 11.)

Ver. 15. *Neither shall he profane his seed among his people.*] Many think this refers to what goes before, that he should not debase his family by such mixtures as have been mentioned; but I rather think it to be a new precept (as the Vulgar Latin takes it), that as he might marry none but of his own people, *i. e.* an *Israelite;* so among his people he should not match with a vulgar person, but with one nobly born; for that was the way to preserve the dignity of the priestly office, at which all these precepts aim.

*For I the Lord do sanctify him.*] I have separated him to myself, for a special and most holy service; for which reason he was to distinguish himself from other men, even in his marriage, to make them the more reverence the Lord whom he served. Upon this account it was, that many constitutions were made by the elders, forbidding him what was allowed to other people; whereby they intended to advance his honour. For instance, he was forbidden to go into the public baths, or to feasts. If he would visit any that mourned, he was to be attended by other priests. He was obliged to cut his hair every week, but never to shave with a razor; to be in the sanctuary every day, and to go home not above twice in a day; to have but one wife at a time; and going into the temple to have three other priests with him, &c. So Maimonides in Cele Mikdash, cap. 8.



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Ver. 16. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Upon this occasion God gave some other precepts concerning the priests, who were to wait upon him in his house and at his table.

Ver. 17. *Speak unto Aaron, saying.*] Having forbidden such marriages as would have been a dishonour to the priesthood, had they been permitted, he now forbids any to serve at his altar, who had the least blemish in his body; for that would have disparaged his Divine service.

*Whoever he be of thy seed.*] Whether high-priest or the common priests.

*In their generations.*] In future ages as well as the present.

*That hath any blemish.*] From these general words the Hebrew doctors conclude, that not only the particular blemishes afterward mentioned made them incapable to minister, but all other whatsoever which appeared in the body; of which these here named are but a specimen or example. So Maimonides in Biath Hamikdasch, whose words are, "the blemishes expressed in the law, are propounded for examples of the rest;" which they reckon to be in all one hundred and forty-two, accounting only those which openly appeared, and not those which were inward, in the kidneys, bladder, or bowels; because there are no examples of such in the particulars which here follow. They are divided by the doctors into *three* classes: such as made beasts unfit to be offered, (chap. xxii. 20.) as well as priests unfit to minister; of which sort they reckon *fifty*. And such as only made priests incapable to minister; of which sort they reckon *ninety*. And such as only made men look ill-favouredly; which were but *two*. (See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Successione in Pontific. cap. 5.)

*Let him not approach.*] Unto the altar.

*To offer the bread of his God.*] *i. e.* To sacrifice. (See ver. 6. and chap. iii. 2.)

Ver. 18. *For whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish.*] Though never so wise or pious.

*He shall not approach.*] He makes it a standing law, that no man that had a blemish should come to minister unto him at his altar. And a reasonable law it was, approved by pagans themselves; for it is the very first qualification which Plato requires in him who was to be made a priest, that he should be ὁλόκληρος καὶ γνήσιος, &c. *perfect in all his parts, and not a bastard;* and that he should be born of honest parents, who had lived without the blemish of murder, or any other impiety, (lib. vi. de Legibus, p. 759.) And such a law there was among the ancient Romans: *sacerdos integer sit, that a priest should be entire in all his parts.* Which Seneca mentioning (Controv. iv. 2.) explains it by the example of Metellus, who, losing his eyes, by adventuring to snatch the Palladium out of the flames, when the temple of Vesta was burnt, was denied the priesthood; for, though he had done great service, which did him great honour, yet their opinion was, that "Sacerdos non integri corporis, quasi mali ominis res, vitandus est:" *a priest who wanted any part of his body, was to be avoided, as a thing that boded ill:* for thus it was in sacrifices, and therefore they thought, with much more reason it should be so in the priests that offered them. (See Dilherrus Disput. Academ. tom. ii. p. 187, &c.)

*A blind man, or a lame.*] Such natural defects which befal us without or against our will, as Procopius Gazæus observes, are not to be imputed to us as any fault: and therefore he thinks such vices in the mind as answer to these blemishes in the body, are here intended by Moses; yet he could not but acknowledge, that if we will follow the literal sense (which no doubt is meant by these words), it is not becoming to see a man perform priestly offices, who hath any visible blemish in his body; for instance, *that halts, or cannot walk unless he have one to lead him.* But Moses, he still thinks, had a respect to higher matters, *viz.* to all the good qualities that St. Paul requires in a bishop; and therefore by a *blind* man he understands one without knowledge; and by a *lame*, one that walks not uprightly in the ways of God's commandments. Such accommodations are so easy, that I need not take further notice of them.

*Or he that hath a flat nose.*] In the two first words, *blind* or *lame*, there was no difficulty; but the word *harum* (which we translate *hath a flat nose*) is not so plain; yet the Hebrews generally agree it signifies one, the upper part of whose nose was so depressed, that the two eyebrows seemed to meet, and to be but one; as Bochartus observes out of R. Solomon, in his Canaan, (lib. i. cap. 33. p. 655.)

*Or any thing superfluous.*] The Hebrew word *sarua* signifies any member disproportionable to the rest; but more especially (as their doctors take it) the inequality of those members that are pairs: as, when one of a man's eyes, or ears, or legs, was bigger than the other.

Ver. 19. *Or a man that is broken-footed.*] Though a man did not halt, yet, if his foot was so broken, that it looked deformed, he was incapable to minister to the Divine Majesty; because it rendered him contemptible in the eyes of the people; at least not so graceful, as the servants of the Most High were to be.

*Or broken-handed.*] Any fracture in the hand made a man more remarkably unfit than the foregoing blemish; because by this part all the Divine offices were to be performed.

Ver. 20. *Or crook-backed.*] The Hebrew word *gibben* properly signifies *bunch-backed:* whether the bunch came from the luxation of the backbone, or from a swelling in the flesh.

*Or a dwarf.*] Who, besides that he looked despicably, was not able to reach up to the altar. The marginal translation may be justified from the Hebrew, for *dak* in that language signifies *lean*, or *slender:* but then the meaning must be, one whose flesh was wasted by a *consumption*. The Vulgar took it for one *blear-eyed:* and the LXX. also thought it signified some disease in the eyes, if the Complutensian edition be right, where this word is translated ἔφηλος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. But other editions leave out the two last words, and then it is uncertain what ἔφηλος signifies; but most likely some ill-favoured spots or pustles in the face.

*Or that hath a blemish in his eye.*] The Hebrew words *toballul beeno* signify one that hath a confused spot in the eye; which is called by the Chaldee paraphrasts, and by the Talmudists, *chillez* and *chaluzon*, which is the very same with the Greek word Χάλαζα, importing a concretion of a white humour (like to a hailstone), κατὰ τὸ βλέφαρον, as Ægineta speaks, and Galen also. (See Bochart in his Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. v. cap. 9.) But this spot did not make a priest incapable to minister (as Selden observes in the place abovementioned), unless it was a little prominent, which made the blemish more apparent.

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*Or be scurvy, or scabbed.*] One of these words signifies a dry *scurf* or *scab*, the other a purulent.

*Or hath his stones broken.*] Is bursten, or hath a rupture, as some expound it. The LXX. translate it Μόνορχις; which Procopius Gazæus understands an *hermaphrodite*.

Ver. 21. *No man that hath a blemish of the seed of Aaron the priest shall come nigh*, &c.] This seems to confirm what was observed before, (ver. 17.) that any other blemish, besides these here particularly mentioned, made a man incapable to officiate at the altar. And, in the first place, the Hebrew doctors reckon five in the ears, besides the want of them: an example of which Josephus gives in the story of Hyrcanus the high-priest, whose ears Antigonus cut off, that, if he should return again, he might not resume his office, (lib. i. de Bello Jud. cap. 11.)

*He hath a blemish.*] This general repetition is a farther confirmation, that all apparent blemishes of the same kind with these here particularly named, excluded them from ministering at the altar. And there being some of them that were *permanent*, or perpetual (as they speak), and others that were *transient*, which remained but for a time; no man that had a blemish, though only of the latter sort, was to minister at the altar till it was gone.

*He shall not come nigh to offer the bread of his God.*] *i. e.* The *offerings made by fire* beforementioned, which are here plainly represented as the meat that was served up to his table. (See ver. 6.) If any of them did presume to offer at the altar, there were different effects of their contumacy, according to the different sorts of their blemishes, which the Hebrew doctors divide into three classes, as I observed ver. 17. If any man having a blemish of the first sort ministered, it profaned the very sacrifice which he offered, and he was to be scourged. The second sort did not vitiate the sacrifice, but the priest was to undergo the forenamed punishment. The third sort was so inconsiderable, that neither of these effects followed, upon his ministering who was blemished by them; as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. ii. de Success. in Pontif. cap. 5. p. 234.)

Ver. 22. *He shall eat of the bread of his God.*] But, though such a priest might not offer any sacrifice, yet he might eat with his brethren of that part of the sacrifices which was given to them for their portion, which no man in his uncleanness might do. Therefore these natural infirmities were not legal impurities, but only incapacities (as we speak) which disabled them for their office.

Here again the sacrifices are represented as the provision made for the Divine Majesty. (See ver. 6. 21.)

*Both of the most holy.*] Such were the *meat-offerings*, (chap. ii. 3. vi. 17.) the *sin-offerings*, (chap. vi. 25, 26.) and the *trespass-offerings*, (chap. vii. 1.) See chap. xiv. 13. The *shew-bread* also was a most holy thing; and all such were to be eaten only by the males of the priest's family, in the holy place, (Numb. xviii. 9—11, &c.)

*And of the holy.*] Such were the wave-breast and the heave-shoulder of the peace-offerings, (chap. vii. 35. and x. 14.) and the first-fruits, and the tithes. But, though the peace-offerings of particular persons were among the *less holy* things, yet the peace-offerings of the whole congregation were *most holy*. (See chap. xxiii. 20.)

Ver. 23. *Only he shall not go in unto the veil.*] He was not to enter into the sanctuary to burn incense, or to trim the lamps, &c.

*Nor come nigh unto the altar.*] No, nor go to the altar of *burnt-offering*, which was in the court of the Lord's house; but he was to sit in the *wood-room*, where he was employed in picking out all the wood which had any worms in it, that it might be laid aside, and not carried to the altar, as Maimonides and others relate. He had also another employment. (See chap. xiii. 2.) If any man were so presumptuous, or so forgetful, as to minister notwithstanding the manifest blemish which was upon him, he fell under censure, and was punished according to the degree of his fault, as I observed before, (ver. 21.) out of Mr. Selden, who hath, in the place there mentioned, handled this more accurately than I thought it needful for me to do.

*That he profane not my sanctuary.*] That he might not make others think meanly of the service of God; and consequently of God himself; who would have men, in their greatest perfection, minister unto him, to preserve in people's minds a sense of his most excellent being, unto whom they ministered. For which reason all the foregoing prohibitions were given against marrying such persons as had been vitiated, &c. and against mourning for the dead, that they might not *profane the name of their God*, (v. 6.) by doing as vulgar people did, or making themselves incapable to minister unto God, as they were when they were defiled. And thus Maimonides discourses upon this subject: (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 45.) "God commanded his ministers should wear precious apparel, and that none should be admitted to the ministry who had any defect in his body; nay, they who were deformed and ill-favoured were excluded; because the vulgar do not judge according to men's true worth or beauty (which lie in the soul), but according to their outward appearance, in the comeliness of their bodies, and the richness of their garments; and therefore the end of all these things was, that God's house might be had in due honour and reverence."

*My sanctuaries.*] This word, in the plural number, relates to the two parts of the sanctuary; the court where the altar of *burnt-offering* stood (which was a holy place) and that which was properly called the *sanctuary*, wherein the altar of incense was; into neither of which a priest that had any blemish might enter; as was said before.

*For I the Lord do sanctify them.*] I have set apart both those places for my service; and therefore, no man with a blemish shall be admitted into them, to perform any holy office there; yet they might come into the court, to eat with their brethren, of holy things, but not in their priestly garments, which it was not lawful for them to use.

Ver. 24. *And Moses told it unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel.*] They were all acquainted with these laws, because they were all concerned the service of God should be administered acceptably unto him.

## CHAP. XXII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] These commands that follow were delivered at the same time with the foregoing; belonging to the same matter: for though the priests, who had a blemish, might eat of the holy things, yet he would have them know, that neither they, nor such as were unblemished, should presume to do it in their uncleanness.



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Ver. 2. *Speak unto Aaron, and to his sons, that they separate themselves.*] *viz.* When they were in their uncleanness, (ver. 3.)

*From the holy things of the children of Israel.*] Abstain from eating (ver. 3, 4. 12.) of that part of the sacrifices which belonged to the priests, but was to be eaten only by such of them as were free from legal impurities, (chap. vii. 20, 21.) Nor were they to eat of the first-fruits, which were also their portion, (chap. xviii. Numb. xii. 13.) but they might eat of the tithes, which were allowed for their constant sustenance.

*And that they profane not my holy name.*] This is the very ground of this prohibition; that they might preserve in their minds a due reverence to the Divine Majesty: unto whom, as they might not approach, so they might not meddle with any thing consecrated to him, in a state of legal impurity. All great persons are to be approached with a great deal of ceremony, especially when any are invited to their table; otherwise they might fall into contempt; and therefore, much more was this reverence to be shewn to the Divine Majesty, that they might entertain high apprehensions of him, by abstaining from all things belonging to him, when they were under any pollution.

*In those things which they hallow unto me.*] Which the children of Israel devoted unto God; for so the foregoing words and the next verse explain it.

*I am the Lord.*] The greatest regard is to be paid to my majesty.

Ver. 3. *Say unto them, Whosoever he be of your seed.*] Of the priests.

*Among your generations.*] In succeeding times.

*That goeth unto the holy things.*] To eat of them; as appears from ver. 4. 6. 12.

*Which the children of Israel hallow unto the Lord.*] Offer to him at his altar.

*Having his uncleanness upon him.*] For which they were to separate themselves, (ver. 2.)

*That soul shall be cut off from my presence.*] Thrust out of the priest's office, no more to minister at the altar; and then it was the act of a judge: or cut off from the land of the living; which was done by the hand of Heaven.

*I am the Lord.*] Who will vindicate my own honour.

Ver. 4. *What man soever of the seed of Aaron.*] These words, *of the seed of Aaron*, include his daughters as well as his sons, who might eat of some holy things, (Numb. xviii. 11. 19.) but not in their uncleanness.

*Is a leper, or hath a running issue.*] There are eleven fountains of uncleanness (as the Hebrews speak), two of which are these here mentioned; as appears from chap. xiii. 3. xv. 2.

*He shall not eat of the holy things until he be clean.*] See chap. xiv. 2. xv. 13.

*And whoso toucheth any thing that is unclean by the dead, or a man whose seed goeth from him.*] These were two other fountains of uncleanness, (chap. xi. 31, 32, &c. xv. 16.)

Ver. 5. *Or whosoever toucheth any creeping thing, whereby he may be made unclean.*] See chap. xi. 24, &c.

*Or a man of whom he may take uncleanness.*] See chap. xv. 7.

*Whatsoever uncleanness he hath.*] Suppose the leprosy, (chap. xiii. 45.) These are two such fountains of uncleanness as the former.

Ver. 6. *The soul which hath touched any such shall be unclean until the even, and shall not eat,* &c.] So the law was in the forenamed cases; as appears by the places abovementioned.

Ver. 7. *And when the sun is down he shall be clean.*] Having washed his flesh with water.

*And shall afterward eat of the holy things; because it is his food.*] God was so gracious, as not to keep a priest any longer in a state wherein he should want his necessary or comfortable sustenance.

Ver. 8. *That which dieth of itself, or is torn with beasts, he shall not eat, to defile himself therewith.*] This was forbidden before to all the Israelites, (chap. xxii. 15.) but made a priest no longer unclean than an ordinary man, because of the foregoing reason.

*I am the Lord.*] Who will have my ministers pure from all such pollutions. The remainder of which were, the uncleanness of the water of separation, as Maimonides speaks, chap. xix. 21. and of the great sacrifice of expiation, chap. xvi. 28. and of a menstruous woman, chap. xv. 9. and of a woman in child-bed, chap. xii. 2. But nothing made men so unclean as the dead body of a man; which defiled, not only him that touched it, for seven days, but all that came into the house, and every thing that was in the house where he died, (Numb. xix. 11. 14.) which was the reason of the foregoing law, that the high-priest should not go in to the dead body of his father or mother; nor any inferior priest be defiled for any, but their near relations, (chap. xxi. 1, 2. 11.)

Ver. 9. *They shall therefore keep mine ordinance.*] Observe this constitution; because I, who am their Lord, make it.

*Lest they bear sin for it.*] Be punished if they break it.

*And die therefore.*] As Nadab and Abihu did; who presumed to break another law about holy things.

*If they profane it.*] By eating of the holy things in their uncleanness.

*I the Lord do sanctify them.*] Separate them to my service; and by such constitutions teach them carefully to avoid all pollutions.

Ver. 10. *There shall no stranger eat of the holy thing.*] The *holy thing* here mentioned is that beforenamed; (chap. x. 14.) and by a *stranger* he doth not mean one of another nation, but one that is not of the seed of Aaron, or is not one of his family; for the word in the Hebrew is not *nechar*, which properly signifies such a stranger as is not an Israelite, but *zar*, which signifies any one to whom a thing doth not belong; as holy things did not to those who were not at least part of the priest's family, though not of his race. For, that such might eat of them who were not of their race, provided they belonged to them as a part of their family, appears from the next verse.

*A sojourner of the priest.*] Who boards with him (as we now speak), or dwells in a part of his house (as some understand it), but hath a distinct family.

*Or a hired servant.*] Such were those who served by the day, (chap. xix. 13.) or for a certain time, and after that might dispose of themselves as they pleased.

*Shall not eat of the holy thing.*] None of these might eat of the priest's portion, (chap. x. 14. Numb. xviii. 11.) because they were not members of his family.

Ver. 11. *But if the priest buy any soul* (*i. e.* person) *with*

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*his money.*] There were those of their own nation, who, by their poverty, were compelled to sell themselves, or their children, (chap. xxv. 39.) and others they bought of other nations, (ver. 44, 45, &c.) who, becoming proselytes to the Jews' religion, were permitted to eat of the priest's meat, because they became part of his family.

*And he that is born in his house,* &c.] They that were born of such purchased servants were their master's goods, and such a part of their family, that they left them to their children who succeeded them; and, therefore, they also were allowed to eat of the meat of the priest.

Ver. 12. *If a priest's daughter also be married unto a stranger.*] Unto one that is not of the family of the priests.

*She may not eat of an offering of the holy things.*] She lost her right to eat of those holy things, which she did partake of while she remained a part of her father's family; for that entitled persons to this privilege; insomuch, that a priest taking a wife out of another family, she might eat of them, because she was one with him, and therefore had more right than a servant. But, for the same reason, a priest's daughter, married to a stranger, might not eat of them, because she was gone out of his into another family.

Ver. 13. *But if the priest's daughter be a widow, or divorced, and have no child.*] If she had any children, they and she made another family; and they being begotten by a father who was not a priest, had no right to eat of the priest's meat. But if she was left without children, then she was accounted still one of her father's family, provided she returned (as it follows) to live with him.

*And is returned to her father's house, as in her youth.*] To be a part of his family, as she was before she married, (chap. x. 14.)

*She shall eat of her father's meat.*] Have the same privilege she had when she was a virgin.

*But there shall no stranger eat thereof.*] This seems, as I said, particularly to relate unto her children, if she had any; who, being begotten by one of another family, were looked upon as *strangers.* (See ver. 10.)

Ver. 14. *And if a man.*] Who hath no right to them.

*Eat of the holy thing unwittingly.*] Not knowing it to be a holy thing.

*Then he shall put the fifth part thereof unto it.*] Besides his sacrifice which he was bound to offer for his trespass. (See ver. 15.)

*And shall give it unto the priest, with the holy thing.*] He could not give the priest the holy thing which he had eaten; but the meaning is, that he should make satisfaction to the priest for the damage done to him, by paying him the true worth of the thing, and the fifth part more of its value. (See ver. 16.)

Ver. 15. *And they shall not profane the holy things of the children of Israel, which they offer unto the Lord.*] This seems to refer to the persons beforenamed, none of which should presume to profane sacred things, by eating them when they did not belong to them. The priests seem also to be concerned in it, who were not to suffer them to eat such holy things; as it follows in the next verse. Or, if it entirely relate to the priests, the meaning is, they should not profane holy things, by eating them in their uncleanness, (ver. 9.) And one reason was, because the children of Israel, whose offerings these were, might be discouraged from bringing them to the Lord, when they saw them so profaned.

Ver. 16. *Or suffer them.*] *i. e.* The people.

*To bear the iniquity of trespass,* &c.] To fall under the punishment which God will inflict for their trespass, in eating things which do not appertain to them. The marginal translation refers this also wholly to the priests, in this manner, *Or lade themselves with the iniquity of trespass in their eating holy things; viz.* in their uncleanness, and with such persons (it may be added) as ought not to eat of them.

*For I the Lord do sanctify them.*] These words seem to justify this last interpretation: (see ver. 9.)

Ver. 17. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] The following laws, no doubt, were delivered at the same time with the former; because they still concern the same matter.

Ver. 18. *Speak unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel.*] For they were all concerned in the perfection of the sacrifices, as they were in the perfection of the priests that offered them: (see chap. xxi. 24.)

*And say unto them, Whosoever he be.*] The Hebrew doctors say, that the phrase *isch, isch (man, man, i. e.* any man), is here used, as it was chap. xviii. 6. to shew that gentiles are comprehended under this law as well as Jews; as Mr. Selden observes out of the Gemara Babylon. Tit. Cholin. (See lib. iii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4. p. 289.)

*Of the house of Israel, or of the strangers in Israel.*] They understand by *strangers in Israel,* such as they called *proselytes of the gate;* who were not circumcised, but had renounced idolatry, and joined themselves to the God of Israel. R. Levi ben Gersom takes perfect proselytes to be here meant (whom they called *proselytes of righteousness*), yet not excluding the other.

*That will offer his oblation for all his vows, and for all his free-will-offerings.*] See chap. vii. 16.

*Which they will offer unto the Lord for a burnt-offering.*] If a gentile brought a peace-offering to the Lord, it was offered as a burnt-offering; and no meat-offering was permitted to be offered with it, as Maimonides observes: (see Selden in the place beforenamed, and ver. 25. of this chapter.) And Dr. Lightfoot gives a large account of it in his Temple Service, chap. 8. sect. 4.

Ver. 19. *Ye shall offer at your own will.*] So these words are commonly understood; that the sacrifices, both of Jew and gentile, should be spontaneous, as well as without blemish: though they will bear another sense, as I observed, chap. i. ver. 3.

*A male without blemish, of the beeves, and of the sheep, and of the goats.*] See chap. i. ver. 3. 10. All burnt-offerings were to be males; though peace-offerings might be females, (chap. iii. 1. 6.) and so might sin-offerings also, (chap. iv. 32.) but all without blemish. For, as God accepted only some kind of creatures (*viz.* beeves, sheep, and goats, and no other of the herd), so he would have a choice to be made out of them, of the very best; as had been often before directed.

Ver. 20. *But whatsoever hath a blemish, that shall ye not offer.*] This general rule is here repeated, because he is going to specify what creatures they should account blemished.

*For it shall not be acceptable for you.*] This seems to justify the exposition which I said might be given of that

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phrase in the foregoing verse, *at your own will;* or *for your acceptation:* (see upon chap. i. 3.)

Ver. 21. *And whosoever offereth a sacrifice of peace-offerings unto the Lord.*] Which were either to obtain blessings, or to give thanks for them when they were obtained.

*To accomplish his vow.*] It was usual to make such vows, for procuring from God what they desired, when they undertook a journey, or went to sea, or were sick, or in any danger, &c. an example of which we have in Jonah i. 16. where we read, the mariners in a storm *offered a sacrifice to the Lord, and made vows; i. e.* they vowed a sacrifice to God (for they could not sacrifice on ship-board), when he had brought them to a safe port. And so Cicero speaks of certain mariners, who, being tossed in a tempest, vowed, if they gained their haven, " Ei Deo, qui ibi esset, se vitulum immolaturos;" *they would offer a calf to the god of that place.* And Homer, in like manner, brings in the mother of Telemachus, vowing perfect hecatombs unto all the gods, if she might obtain her desires, (Odyss. xvii. ver. 59.)

*Or a free-will-offering.*] This also was a *peace-offering* for obtaining blessings; not when they were in distress, I suppose, but in general to procure God's favour to them and theirs.

*In beeves, or sheep.*] And likewise *goats;* for all these were allowed in *peace-offerings,* (chap. iii. 1. 6. 12.)

*It shall be perfect to be accepted.*] That was accounted *perfect* which wanted none of its parts, nor had any defect in any of them. The heathen themselves did not think any other would be *accepted,* and therefore made a careful choice of their sacrifices; as appears by those words of Virgil, (lib. iv. Æneid. ver. 57.)

——— " Mactant lectas de more bidentes."

Which he calls elsewhere *eximii,* singled out as most excellent, (lib. iv. Georg. ver. 550.)

" Quatuor eximios præstanti corpore tauros."

And, that they might be such, there was *probatio victimarum,* proof made of sacrifices, as Pliny speaks, lib. viii. cap. 45. where he saith, such as were lame, or had one leg shorter than the other, were rejected. Which *probation* was to be made by those that brought the sacrifices; but if they did not do their duty, the priest upon examination refused to admit them to be offered.

*There shall be no blemish therein.*] This is an explication of what he means by *perfect,* which Solon (who seems to have taken the rites of religion from Moses) called Ἀφελῆ; in the explication of which word, Hesychius, after several other expressions, concludes with this, ὁ μήτε πλεονάζων μήτε δέων τι τοῦ σώματος, *which neither hath any part more or less than it should have.* Julius Pollux (who reports this of Solon) hath a great number of other words to express the perfection required in sacrifices, which were to be ἄρτια, ἄτομα, ὁλόκληρα, ὑγιῆ, ἄπηρα, παμμελῆ, ἀρτιμελῆ, μὴ κολοβὰ, μηδὲ ἔμπηρα, μηδὲ ἠκρωτηριασμένα, μηδὲ διάστροφα, (lib. i. cap. 1.) some of which are of the same signification, and serve only to shew how complete their sacrifices were to be.

Ver. 22. *Blind, or broken,* &c.] In this and the following verses he mentions twelve blemishes, which render any beast unfit for sacrifice; and the first is *blind,* under which the Hebrews comprehend that which the Latins call *cocles,* a beast that hath but *one eye.*

*Or broken.*] In the bones of the thighs, or the legs.

*Or maimed.*] Most take it for that which the Latins call *mutilum, that which lacketh any part.* The LXX. took it more particularly for that which had its tongue cut out: the Hebrew doctors for that whose eye-brows or lips were slit, or cut off; which is nearer to the Hebrew word *charuts* than the Vulgar, which translates it only a *scar.*

*Or having a wen.*] The Hebrews generally understand by the word *jabbeleth,* that which the Latins call *verruca,* a *wart,* or hard knob rising in the flesh; which is better than the Vulgar, who translates it *papulas,* which properly signifies *pimples, pushes,* or *wheals.* But I think our translation cannot be mended; a *wen* being a more manifest deformity, and more common in beasts, than the other.

*Or scurvy.*] This is that which the Greeks call Ψώρα, the *itch.*

*Or scabbed.*] Some take this word to signify the same with the Latin *impetigo,* i. e. *a ring-worm* or *tetter,* which spreads in the skin with a dry scab; though others take it for that which they call *porrigo,* for which I know no English word, unless it be the *mange.* The Hebrews take it for the *porrigo Ægyptiaca,* as Bochart observes, a scabby disease of this kind frequent among the Egyptians.

*Ye shall not offer these unto the Lord.*] Not so much as present them to be offered in sacrifice.

*Nor make an offering by fire of them upon the altar unto the Lord.*] Much less burn them upon the altar; for the Lord will not accept such sacrifices.

Ver. 23. *Either a bullock or a lamb, that hath any thing superfluous.*] This word we had before (which we translate *superfluous*), chap. xxi. 18. but it properly signifies the inequality and disproportion that there is between those parts that are pairs, as the eyes or legs; and particularly when one of them exceeds its just bigness, *ex. gr.* when one leg is longer than it should be.

*Or lacking in his parts.*] This word signifies just the quite contrary to the other; when one part is less, and more contracted than it should be; one leg supposed shorter than ordinary. So all the Hebrews understand these words, particularly Onkelos and Jonathan.

*That mayest thou offer for a free-will-offering.*] A very learned person of our own takes these words for an exception to the foregoing general rule; that such defects as these two should not hinder the acceptation of a beast for a free-will-offering, though not for a vow; and it must be acknowledged, that is the most plain and simple sense. But the Jews, as he observes, particularly R. Solomon Jarchi, expound them otherwise, and will not have this offering to signify the sacrifice of such things at the altar, but the giving them to the priest for some sacred use; to be sold, for instance, for the reparation of the temple, for which they were accepted. (See Dr. Outram, lib. i. de Sacrificiis, cap. 9. n. 2.)

*But for a vow, it shall not be accepted.*] Free-will-offerings were much different from vows, there being no obligation upon them to offer the former, as there was to offer the latter: and a less perfect creature would be accepted in the one case, though not in the other.

Ver. 24. *Ye shall not offer unto the Lord that which is bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut.*] That is, as the Hebrews interpret it (and so do the LXX. and the Vulgar), any beast whose testicles were *compressed* or *bruised,* &c.

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for these four ways they used to castrate a lamb (for instance) and make it wether; and so they did with kids and calves, as Bochart observes out of Aristotle and others, in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 46.

*Neither shall you make any offering thereof in your land.*] The word *offering* is not in the Hebrew, and this passage may be thus exactly translated, *neither in your land shall ye make,* or *do.* So the LXX.: the sense of which the Vulgar expresses by adding the word *this, i. e.* the forenamed castration, either by compression or contusion, or any way; for Josephus saith, it was unlawful among them to geld any creature; which was prohibited to keep them from doing so with men, which they were taught to be abominable. And these words suggested as much, being thus translated, *Neither in your land shall it be done.* (See Selden, lib. vii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 3. p. 799.)

Ver. 25. *Neither from a stranger's hand.*] By *bennechar, the son of a stranger* (as it is in the Hebrew), who is called (chap. xxv. 47.) *a stranger and sojourner* (*viz.* a gentile that dwelt among them), is meant a pious man of another nation, who had renounced idolatry, and abstained from blood, and observed the rest of the precepts of the sons of Noah (as they called them), but was not circumcised, which would have obliged him to the whole law of Moses. Such persons, being worshippers of the true God, were permitted to bring him sacrifices to be offered at his altar. (See Grotius, lib. i. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 1. sect. 16. n. 3.)

*Shall ye offer the bread of your God from any of these.*] Some have taken these words, as if no sacrifice was to be accepted from a gentile, but only money, with which the priest might buy a sacrifice, and offer it for him. But this is confuted by ver. 18. and here it is evident, he only forbids them to accept of any sacrifice which had the forenamed blemishes from a gentile, who might think them not unacceptable, because the gentiles made no scruple to offer such as these last mentioned to their gods, though their laws, in some places, were against it. *The bread of your God:* the Hebrews understand hereby to be meant, only *burnt-offerings;* which Maimonides saith, were accepted from a gentile, even burnt-offerings of birds, though he had not yet renounced idolatry. But they were not to accept from him peace-offerings or meat-offerings, or sacrifices for sins of ignorance, (chap. iv. 27.) or trespass-offerings, (mentioned chap. vi. 6.) nor was a burnt-offering to be accepted, unless it was a free-will-offering, or a vow, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4. But if he brought such spontaneous offerings as had the forementioned blemishes, the priest was to reject them (though the gentile might say they were such as had been accepted by his gods), or else he was to be scourged. So this law is briefly expounded by the Jews, when they reckon it up among their precepts, that *a defective sacrifice is not to be accepted, no, not from the hand of a gentile;* as he observes in the same book, cap. 7. where he discourses at large on this subject. And it need not seem strange a gentile should bring any such sacrifices (when their laws, as I observed before, required a choice to be made), for they were not so curious in their choice as the Hebrews; but, as Tertullian upbraids them, sacrificed *enecta, tabidosa, et scabiosa,* (Apolog. adv. Gentes, cap. 13.) which the better sort of people, perhaps, did not offer, but the vulgar did: and the priests made no scruple to accept them.

*Because their corruption is in them, and blemishes be in them.*] The word *corruption* seems particularly to relate unto the forementioned castration, for it signifies such a corruption as is the destruction of any member. See Bochart in his Hierozoicon, (par. ii. lib. v. cap. 4.) And *blemishes* relate to other defects, which made them unacceptable; twelve of which, as I said, are here mentioned; but the Hebrews look upon them only as examples and specimens of other the like defects, which they make in all to be fifty; as I observed before out of Selden, (lib. ii. de Success. ad Pontific. cap. 5.) Maimonides gives us a catalogue of them in his treatise of Entrance into the Sanctuary, (cap. 7.) but to make up that full number, he is constrained to add these three, which have no example among the twelve here mentioned, *viz.* such as tremble by age, or by some disease, or are torn by wild beasts.

Ver. 26. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] These laws following being of the same nature, were in all likelihood delivered at the same time with the foregoing.

Ver. 27. *And when a bullock, or sheep, or goat is brought forth.*] These were the only beasts that were allowed to be sacrificed, (ver. 19.)

*Then it shall be seven days under the dam; and from the eighth day and thenceforth it shall be accepted for an offering,* &c.] They were not fit for food when they were not seven days old, and therefore not for sacrifice; which was the bread or food of God, as it is called ver. 25. but this hath been sufficiently explained before, Exod. xxii. 30. I shall only add, that I have since observed that P. Cunæus hath briefly expressed the sense of Maimonides, which I there represented, (lib. iii. de Republ. Hebræor. cap. 5.) and that the Gentiles were so far from offering creatures so young, that they thought them fittest for sacrifice when they were two years old; as appears from the words of Virgil beforementioned,

——— "Mactant lectas de more bidentes."

Where Servius saith that *bidentes* were so called, because they were *biennes,* two years of age; for it was not lawful to sacrifice those that were younger, nor those that were older.

Ver. 28. *And whether it be cow, or ewe, ye shall not kill it and her young both in one day.*] Lest the young one, saith Maimonides, should happen to be killed before the dam; which would have given the greatest grief to her, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 48.) Any thing that looked like cruelty, therefore, was by this law banished from among them; for they might not so much as kill both the young and the dam on the same day, to offer them to God himself; of which he is here speaking.

Ver. 29. *And when ye will offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving unto the Lord.*] He had mentioned *free-will-offerings* and *vows* before, (ver. 21.) and now briefly touches upon the third sort of *peace-offerings.* (See chap. vii. 15, 16.)

*Offer it at your own will.*] Male or female; of the herd, or of the flock, (chap. iii. 1. 7. 12.) Or the meaning may be (as hath been often said), *he shall offer it in such a manner as that it be accepted.* (See chap. i. 3.)

Ver. 30. *On the same day it shall be eaten,* &c.] See chap. vii. 15.

Ver. 31. *Therefore shall ye keep my commandments, and do them,* &c.] Because he had said before, (ver. 30.) and

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now repeats it again in the conclusion of this verse, *I am the Lord:* to whom they owed obedience; especially when he required they should reverently use all holy things.

Ver. 32. *Neither shall ye profane my holy name.*] This may refer either to what goes before, (that they should not make him and his service contemptible, by offering such things as were defective, &c.) or be taken as a precept by itself. And then the name of God was profaned three ways (as Mr. Selden observes), besides the most grievous of all, by blasphemy. Either when a man, for fear of death, violated the Divine law; or when he contemptuously and wantonly broke any precept; or when a man of great note, for knowledge and piety, gave a scandal to others by doing such things, as were not perhaps directly against the law, yet made him lose all his authority. (See lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disc. Hebr. cap. 10.)

*But I will be hallowed among the children of Israel.*] Either by the observation of his laws, or by punishing those who transgressed them: for so this phrase is used, chap. x. 3.

*I am the Lord which hallow you.*] Have separated you to myself, as a special people from all others, by laws different from theirs, and more excellent.

Ver. 33. *That brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God.*] And moreover distinguished you from all others, by singular benefits; particularly by delivering you from the most grievous slavery, that I might make you a happy people.

*I am the Lord.*] When you remember my benefits, remember I am your sovereign, who expect your obedience.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] All the laws in this chapter were delivered at one time, not long after the former.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] Who were highly concerned to observe all the solemnities enjoined in this chapter, in such a manner as God required.

*And say unto them, Concerning the feasts of the Lord.*] It hath been anciently observed, that φιλέορτοι οἱ Σύροι, *the Syrians were great lovers of feasts.* Which made it the more reasonable (if they were so in Moses's days), that the Israelites, who were to be their neighbours in the land of Canaan, should have so many feasts appointed them, weekly, monthly, and yearly; all in honour of their God. From whence they are called *feasts of the Lord.* But this word *moed*, which we translate a *feast*, properly signifies an *assembly.* And so Mr. Thorndike would have it here translated; because the name of *feasts* is proper to those solemnities which are to be celebrated with joy and cheerfulness; whereas under this general word *moed* is comprehended the day of atonement, which is one of the *assemblies* here named, (ver. 27.) but was no *feast;* being to be observed with the greatest humiliation and affliction that could be expressed. He therefore exactly translates these words in this manner; *The assemblies of the Lord* (for the word *concerning* is not in the Hebrew) *which ye shall proclaim for holy convocations, these are my assemblies:* (see Religious Assemblies, chap. ii.) All that can be said for our translation is, that the day of atonement being a day of rest from all labour, it may go under the name of a *feast*, in opposition to working-days.

*Which ye shall proclaim.*] Or *call* by the sound of the trumpet, which the priests were to blow upon these days, (Numb. x. 10.)

*To be holy convocations.*] The Hebrew word *mikra*, which here signifies a *convocation*, signifies also *reading*, (Neh. viii. 8.) For on these days they were called to assemble together to hear the law read to them, as well as to offer sacrifice, and make their prayers to God, with thanksgivings for his benefits.

*Even these are my feasts.*] Or *my assemblies*, as I said before; the first of which was the sabbath, then the Passover, Pentecost, the beginning of the new year, the day of atonement, and the feast of tabernacles: which are all contained under the general word *moed*, and none besides.

Ver. 3. *Six days shall work be done.*] They were allowed all these for any sort of business, wherein they pleased to employ themselves.

*But the seventh day is the sabbath of rest.*] See Exod. xx. 9, 10. xxxi. 15. This was the greatest of all solemnities appointed for assemblies, returning once every week; and therefore is set in the head of all the rest; from which it seems to be distinguished, (ver. 37, 38.) And accordingly in the next verse, having here mentioned this as a day by itself, he begins to reckon the *feasts* or *assemblies of the Lord.* And the reason why this day was made a *sabbath of rest*, was, because God himself then rested from his works. In memory of which they were to keep this day free from all labour, that the belief of the creation of the world might be fixed in their minds; or, as Maimonides phrases it, (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 113.) *a belief that nothing is coævous with God.* Whence that saying of theirs (mentioned by Aben Ezra), "whosoever doth any work upon the sabbath-day, denies the work of the creation."

*Ye shall do no work therein.*] They were commanded so to rest on this day from all bodily labour, as not to kindle a fire, to dress the meat they ate upon it: which is not required upon any other day, but only the great day of expiation, (ver. 28. 30.) Concerning these two days alone it is said, *Thou shalt do no work upon it:* but of the days of other assemblies, no more is said but this, *Thou shalt do no servile work therein*, (chap. v. 7, 8, &c.) that is, only such work as they were wont to put their slaves to do was prohibited. For though they might not bake nor boil their meat on the sabbath-day, (Exod. xvi. 23.) nor on the day of expiation (ver. 28. of this chapter); yet on other solemn days they might make provision for their tables, Exod. xii. 16. where Aben Ezra notes, "of none of the solemn assemblies, besides the sabbath and the day of atonement, it is said *no manner of work:* only of the Passover he saith it, and addeth an exception of the meat of the soul;" that is, what was requisite for the sustenance of nature: as our Mr. Thorndike observes, in the place before quoted.

*It is the sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings.*] To be kept holy in honour of the Lord, by every man, wheresoever he dwelt: for they had synagogues for worship in all their towns; though most of the other assemblies could be held only in the place where the sanctuary, and afterwards the temple was; whither all their males went up thrice a year at the great festivals. Aben Ezra therefore thus glosses upon these words: "*In all your dwellings;* in your

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land, and out of your land; at home, and upon the way:" to shew that the command, (Exod. xxxv. 3.) "You shall kindle no fire throughout your habitation on the sabbath-day," was to be observed, not only whilst they lived upon manna in the wilderness, (when God gave them a double portion on the sixth day, that they might prepare it against the sabbath, Exod. xvi. 5. 29.) but in all places, whereso-ever they dwelt afterwards.

Ver. 4. *These are feasts of the Lord.*] Now follow the solemn assemblies which are to be kept by this ordinance of mine; besides that of the seventh day, which was celebrated from the beginning.

This looks like a title to all that ensues.

*Even for holy convocations.*] Solemn meetings of the people, who were called together to celebrate the mercies of God with sacrifices of thanksgiving and public rejoicings. Such there were in all nations, who had their Πανηγύρεις (as the Greeks called them), *general assemblies* of all the country, to do honour to their gods. As in Egypt, we are told by Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 59. they did once a year πανηγυρίζειν in honour of Isis, Mars, and Diana. The like was in other nations, as every body knows.

Dr. Hammond hath observed something concerning this phrase *holy convocations*, upon Matt. xx. not. c.

*Which ye shall proclaim in their season.*] Or, in their appointed times: which here follow.

Ver. 5. *On the fourteenth day of the first month.*] See Exod. xii. 18.

*At even.*] See Exod. xii. 6.

*Is the Lord's Passover.*] See Exod. xii. 27.

Ver. 6. *And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto the Lord,* &c.] That is, then the seven days of eating unleavened bread were to begin, (Exod. xii. 15.)

*Seven days ye must eat unleavened bread.*] See Exod. xii. 19, 20.

Ver. 7. *On the first day ye shall have a holy convocation.*] Exod. xii. 16.

*Ye shall do no servile work therein.*] Such days as these were not observed so scrupulously as the seventh day of every week, on which (as I observed before) they might not boil nor bake, *i. e.* prepare their meat; which on this day was allowed, as appears from the place last named in Exodus. Nor might they stir out of their place, *i. e.* take a journey on the sabbath, (Exod. xvi. 29.) but on this day they might: as appears from Deut. xvi. 7. where, having sacrificed the passover, and eaten it on the fourteenth day at even, they have leave given them to go home the next morning, which was the first day of unleavened bread. For on this very day, betimes in the morning, they came out of Egypt, and travelled from Rameses to Succoth. By *servile work* therefore we are to understand their ordinary labours on other days, from which both they and their servants were to abstain on this day: which it was the custom of all nations to forbear, upon such great solemnities, as Strabo informs us, (lib. x.) where he saith, Κοινὸν τοῦτο καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Βαρβάρων ἐστὶ, τὸ τὰς ἱεροποιΐας μετ' ἀνέσεως ἑορταστικῆς ποιεῖσθαι· *This is common both to Greeks and barbarians, to keep their holy days, with a festival remission of their labours.*

Ver. 8. *And ye shall offer an offering made by fire seven days unto the Lord.*] These were not merely idle times, but days for Divine service; about which there is a particular direction given afterward (Numb. xxviii. from the nineteenth to the twenty-fifth verse), where the sacrifices for every one of the seven days are prescribed. And though there is no mention of any particular work of the moral service of God upon these days (no more than there is of that sanctification of the sabbath-day), yet the Jews were not so blind, but that they were able to perceive the spiritual service of God, by prayers, and praises, and hearing the law, and meditating upon God's works, was required on these days, especially on the sabbath: which appears from Josephus and Philo, and divers others of their later writers.

*In the seventh day is a holy convocation.*] Exod. xii. 16.

*Ye shall do no servile work therein.*] It was to be observed as the first day of the seven, that the feast might conclude as it began.

Ver. 9. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Though the following could not be yet practised; yet he would have them take a particular notice of it, as no less solemnly enjoined than the foregoing.

Ver. 10. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] They being all concerned in this precept.

*And say unto them, When ye be come into the land which I give unto you.*] In the wilderness they sowed no corn, and therefore could not be obliged by this precept till they came to Canaan: nay, till they had driven out the old inhabitants, and God had given them rest in the land of promise, as Moses himself seems to expound it, Deut. xii. 10, 11.

*And shall reap the harvest thereof.*] Begin to reap it, as it is explained, Deut. xvi. 9.

*Then shall ye bring a sheaf.*] Or a *handful*, as it is translated in the margin of our Bibles. And there was the very same custom among the heathen, to bring δράγμα, *a handful of the new corn*, to be offered to their gods; as Diodorus Siculus saith the practice was among the Egyptians.

*Of the first-fruits.*] There were several things comprehended under the name of *first-fruits*, which are commanded to be offered unto God, (Exod. xxiii. 19.) The Greeks have accurately distinguished them by proper and peculiar names. Πρωτότοκα were the *first-born* of men or of cattle, mentioned Exod. xiii. Then Πρωτογενήματα were the *first corn* that was ripe, or the *first-fruit* of trees, which they brought from the field, or from their plantations, before they ate any themselves. And then Ἀπαρχαὶ (which the Hebrews call *terumoth*, or *trumoth*) were the *first-fruits* of their wine and oil, (Numb. xviii. 12.) and the first loaves or cakes made of their wheat, mentioned below, ver. 17. (See there.)

*Of your harvest.*] Of barley-harvest, which began at the Passover, when they offered the first-fruits here mentioned; as wheat-harvest began at Pentecost, when they offered the first-fruits, mentioned ver. 17. as at the feast of tabernacles those of the vine, and other fruit-trees, were brought and offered. And so much weight was laid on this, and there were so many of them, and such care taken of their payment, because this was held by all mankind as a principal part of religion, to make this early acknowledgment to God for his goodness; insomuch, that they who offered no first-fruits were looked upon as atheists. So Porphyry, lib. iii. περὶ Ἀποχῆς, sect. 78. And, indeed, this was a practice derived from the beginning of the world, (Gen. iv. 3, 4.) Aristotle himself testifies as much when he saith



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(lib. viii. ad Nichomachum), Αἱ ἀρχαῖαι θυσίαι καὶ σύνοδοι, &c. *The ancient sacrifices and assemblies were after the carrying in the harvest, when they offered the first-fruits,* μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τούτοις ἐσχόλαζον τοῖς καιροῖς, *for they chiefly relaxed themselves at those seasons.*

*Unto the priest.*] Who offered part of it to God, and had the rest himself. For thus the Jews describe the gathering and offering of them: On the evening of the first day of the Passover-week, some were ordered by the Sanhedrin to take sickles and baskets, &c. and go out when it was dark (having a great company with them), and cut a sheaf of corn, which they brought into the court of God's house, and parched it, (as may be gathered from the second chapter of this book, ver. 14—16.) and having ground it, they sifted it often (no less than thirteen times), till it was very fine flour. After which they took out a tenth-deal (an omer, which was the tenth part of an ephah), and brought it to the priest, who took out a handful, and put it on the altar with oil and frankincense, and the remainder he had for himself. (See Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, chap. xiv. sect. 2. Dr. Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 8. n. 6. and J. Wagenseil upon Sota, cap. 2. Annot. 11.)

Ver. 11. *And he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord.*] They did not offer the corn green in the ears (as I observed in the foregoing verse), but parched, dried, ground, and searsed; and then they waved a tenth-deal of the flour, which came from the sheaf, as a present to the Lord of the whole earth.

*To be accepted for you.*] To procure God's blessing upon the rest of the harvest; and that they might have liberty to use the corn it produced: which it was not lawful for them to do, till the first-fruits were given to God.

*On the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it.*] We are not to understand by the *sabbath* the seventh day's rest, which was the opinion of the Sadducees, as R. Levi ben Gersom tells (upon the fifth of Joshua), but the day here mentioned, (ver. 7.) which was a kind of *sabbath*, because no servile work might be done therein. And therefore this *morrow after the sabbath* was the sixteenth day of Nisan, or the next day to the first of unleavened bread. So the LXX. translate it, τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης, *the morrow after the first:* and Josephus more plainly, τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ, &c. *on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month,* &c. (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10.) This was the first of the fifty days, which they reckoned till Pentecost, (ch. v. 15.) and was the day on which manna ceased when they came into Canaan, because then they ate of the fruits of that country, (Josh. v. 10—12.) And indeed it was not lawful for them (as I said before) to eat of the fruits of the earth, till after the Passover; because then the sheaf of the first-fruits was waved, which consecrated the rest of the corn. And so God continued manna to them till they had other food to eat.

Ver. 12. *And ye shall offer that day, when ye wave the sheaf, a he-lamb without blemish,* &c.] Though this day was not so holy as the first day of unleavened bread, yet it was a part of the festival, and was called *moed katon,* a lesser solemnity; as all the rest of the days were, between the first and the seventh. And therefore a special offering is here ordered upon this day, besides the daily burnt-sacrifice; and besides the sacrifice which was appointed (ver. 8.) to be offered upon every one of the seven days.

Ver. 13. *And the meat-offering thereof shall be two tenth-deals of fine flour,* &c.] I observed before (upon the second chapter, ver. 1.) that all sorts of bread might be offered to God, as being a very ancient sacrifice, and commonly used at every table; for which reason *wine* also is here ordered; but it was to be simple wine, not mixed, as was the heathenish custom. *Salt* also was added (chap. ii. 13.) as common at all tables; but no *honey,* nor *leaven,* which men's superstition had introduced, (and therefore expressly forbidden in that place, ver. 11.) as it did also *milk,* and *herbs,* and *leaves of trees;* not a word of which is to be found in the law of Moses. But here it is observable, that he commands *two tenth-deals* of fine flour to be offered; whereas one tenth was the common *meat-offering,* (Exod. xxix. 40.) Because, as one of them was a necessary attendant on the lamb, (mentioned before, ver. 12.) so the other was in honour of the day, which was a lesser kind of festival.

*And the drink-offering thereof shall be of wine, the fourth part of a hin.*] Here is not a double proportion of wine ordered, but the usual quantity; because, perhaps, this was a thanksgiving only for their corn, not for their vintage, which came afterward.

Ver. 14. *And ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched corn, nor green ears, until the self-same day that ye have brought an offering to your God.*] It was not lawful for them to reap, and therefore not to eat any of the fruits of the earth, till the forenamed first-fruits were offered, as an acknowledgment to the Donor of them. For nothing was more just and equal, all men thought, than to give some part to him, who gave to them all they had; and, in the first place, to give him his due before they took any thing to themselves. The Romans in this expressed the sense of all mankind; who, as Pliny tells us, lib. xviii. cap. 2. "Ne gustabant quidem novas fruges, aut vina, antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent," *did not so much as taste of their corn or wine, till the priests had offered the first-fruits.*

*It shall be a statute for ever,* &c.] As long as their polity lasted.

*In all your dwellings.*] Throughout the whole land of Canaan.

Ver. 15. *And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath.*] From the sixteenth day of Nisan, or the second day of unleavened bread; which was the morrow after the sabbath, (ver. 11.)

*From the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave-offering.*] This is added only as a fuller description of the time from which they were to count.

*Seven sabbaths shall be complete.*] Seven whole weeks, reckoning that day from which the account begun, for the first day of the first of those weeks; which made forty-nine days in all. Maimonides thinks it was for the honour of this great day of Pentecost, that they were to count the days till it came; just as a man, saith he, who expects his best friend, is wont to tell the days and hours till he arrive, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43.) And therefore the present Jews begin this supputation with a solemn prayer, saying, "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, the Lord of the world, who hath sanctified us with thy precepts, and commandest us to number the days of harvest: and this is the first day." And thus they go on to pray till the seventh day, when they add, "Now there is one week:" and so

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proceed in the same prayers to the evening of Pentecost. Which feast they not being able now to keep, as the law appoints, they pray to God every day, after they have done counting, that he would restore Jerusalem and the temple; and then they promise to do all that is here prescribed. And this counting in some places is performed publicly in their synagogues; yet so that every master of a family is bound every night to do it at home: (see Buxtorf. Synag. Judaica, cap. 20.)

Ver. 16. *Even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days.*] The next day after the seventh sabbath (or week) made just fifty days: from which this feast was called *Pentecost:* and in the Old Testament, *the feast of weeks;* because it began the next day after the seven weeks beforementioned, Exod. xxxiv. 22.

*And ye shall offer a new meat-offering to the Lord.*] *viz.* Of new corn made into loaves, as it follows in the next verse: which was the first-fruits of wheat-harvest, as the place beforementioned tells us, Exod. xxxiv. 22.

This day the Samaritans take to have been the first day of the week, after the very letter of this law; which is thus made out by the great primate of Ireland: Our blessed Lord being slain at the feast of the Passover, the whole sabbath following (which was the first day of unleavened bread) he rested in his grave. The next day after that sabbath, the *sheaf,* or *omer,* of the first-fruits of the barley-harvest was offered to the Lord; when Christ rose from the dead, and became *the first-fruits of them that slept.* From this day was the account taken of the seven sabbaths, or weeks: and upon the morrow after the seventh (that is, upon our Lord's-day) was celebrated the feast of weeks, which is called *the day of the first-fruits,* (Numb. xxviii. 26.) because then were offered the first-fruits of their second, or wheat-harvest; and therefore called *the feast of harvest,* (Exod. xxiii. 16.) because then was the principal and the conclusion of the whole harvest of the year. Upon which day the apostles, having themselves received the *first-fruits of the Spirit,* begat three thousand souls, through the Word of truth, and presented them as the *first-fruits of the Christian church* unto God and unto the Lamb. Now the matter being so ordered by God, that in the observation of the feast of weeks, the seventh day of the week (the Jewish sabbath) was purposely passed over, and that great solemnity kept upon the first day of the week, no wonder the Christian church hath appropriated that day, instead of the seventh, for the service of God.

Ver. 17. *Ye shall bring out of your habitations.*] These oblations seem to have been offered at a common charge, in the name of the whole nation, which is the reason of this phrase, *Out of your habitations.* For to affirm, as some do, that *two loaves* were to be brought out of every house, or, at least, out of every town, is absurd; for they may as well say *seven lambs* (as it follows) which were offered with this bread, were to be furnished in like manner out of every family or town.

*Two wave-loaves of two tenth-deals.*] A double proportion, as before, ver. 13. which was presented to God, the Lord of the whole world, by waving them to all quarters. Each loaf did not contain two tenth-deals, but there was one in each loaf.

*They shall be of fine flour.*] Of wheat.

*They shall be baken with leaven.*] And therefore were not burnt upon the altar, (for that was unlawful, Lev. ii. 11, 12.) but wholly given to the priests. Whence it was, as the Jews observe, that the bread accompanying their peace-offerings of thanksgiving was leavened, (chap. vii. 13.) and not burnt on the altar, but entirely given to the priests, the servants of God, who attended at his altar, that they might feast together with him.

*They are the first-fruits unto the Lord.*] Other first-fruits are mentioned, ver. 10. but these were the principal, being the first-fruits of wheat-harvest, which, with all the rest, are exactly enumerated by Nehemiah, chap. x. 35—37. And that place of Pliny, mentioned ver. 14. seems to prove, that the heathen offered both the first of their fruits before they brought them out of their fields and vineyards, and also the first of what was made of them after they were brought home; which they did, partly out of gratitude to God, to thank him for making the year fruitful, and partly to pray him to grant fruitful seasons for the future.

Ver. 18. *And ye shall offer with the bread seven lambs without blemish,* &c.] This being a great day, and burnt-offerings being the noblest sort of sacrifice, purely in honour of God, a greater number, both of lambs and other creatures, are required upon this solemnity.

*And one young bullock, and two rams.*] In Numb. xxviii. 27. it is said, *two young bullocks and one ram,* besides the seven lambs. Perhaps they were left to their liberty, either to bring one young bullock and two rams, or one ram and two young bullocks; or else those mentioned in Numbers were distinct sacrifices, besides those here mentioned: and so Josephus saith, (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10.) that there were offered upon this day *three* young bullocks, *two* rams (it should be *three* rams), and *fourteen* lambs; all which were offered, besides the morning and evening sacrifice of every day.

*They shall be a burnt-offering to the Lord, with their meat-offering,* &c.] There being all sorts of sacrifices prescribed for the great solemnity of this day, he mentions the burnt-offering in the first place, because it was the principal, and offered next to the two loaves.

Ver. 19. *Then shall ye sacrifice one kid of the goats for a sin-offering.*] Next followed the *sin-offering,* which, for a particular sin of the congregation, was a *bullock,* (chap. xviii. 14.) but for the sins of the nation in general, only *a kid of the goats:* for, as Maimonides observes, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46.) the more grievous the sin was, the viler the sacrifice, there being no greater sin than idolatry, nor viler sacrifice than a she-goat; and yet this was the expiation of that sin, as they interpret chap. iv. 27. Numb. xv. 17.

*And two lambs of the first year, for a sacrifice of peace-offerings.*] Double the number to what was commonly offered; for this being a high day, all sorts of sacrifices (as I said before) were offered (*burnt-offerings, sin-offerings,* and *peace-offerings*) upon it, and in greater proportions (except the sin-offering) than on other days. And these were the only *peace-offerings* of the whole congregation of Israel, offered only at this one time of the year, and never else.

Ver. 20. *And the priest shall wave them with the bread of the first-fruits, for a wave-offering before the Lord.*] These sacrifices, with the *trespass-offering* for a leper, (chap. xiv. 12, 24.) were the only offerings that were waved about



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towards all the corners of the world. So Abarbinel upon this place: "The waving was performed by the priest, who reached them out, upward and downward, this way and that way, towards the six quarters of the world, to shew that the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;" or, as R. Levi ben Gersom speaks, "that they might understand the providence of God is every where, above and beneath, in every corner of the world."

*With the two lambs.*] This seems to signify the forenamed *burnt-offering* and *sin-offering* were thus waved, as well as these *peace-offerings*; that is, some part of them all, in the name of the rest; for the priest could not wave the whole body of them, they were so heavy.

*They shall be holy to the Lord for the priest.*] Who had not only the breast and the shoulder (as was usual); but all the flesh of these *peace-offerings* (their blood being sprinkled, and their inwards burnt) was given unto him, to be eaten by the males among the priests, in the court of the sanctuary, even as the *sin-offerings* were: for these *peace-offerings* being (as I before noted) the only peace-offerings of the whole congregation, were reckoned among the *most holy* things; whereas the peace-offerings of private men were *less holy*, as Dr. Lightfoot observes, in his Temple Service, chap. viii. sect. 4. And the true reason why the priest had all the flesh of these sacrifices was, because they being for the whole congregation, the offerers were too many, to have any portion of them distributed among them.

Ver. 21. *And ye shall proclaim on the self-same day.*] Before the solemnities began.

*That it may be a holy convocation to you.*] See ver. 4. The reason of this holy assembly was, partly to commemorate God's great goodness, in giving the law from Mount Sinai, on the fiftieth day after their coming out of Egypt, (which was the chief end of God's bringing them from thence, as Maimonides speaks, par. iii. More Nevoch. cap. 43.) and partly to thank him for giving them such fair hopes of completing their harvest, which had been begun at the Passover.

*Ye shall do no servile work therein.*] It was to be observed, as the first and the last days of unleavened bread, (ver. 7, 8.) with such a rest, as made it little different from a sabbath. And that great vision (as Maimonides calls it), at the giving of the law, lasting but one day, was the reason the memory of it was celebrated only for one day in the year; whereas the feast of unleavened bread lasted seven days, for one day was not sufficient to make them sensible enough of the affliction they endured in Egypt. But, perhaps, one day only was appointed at Pentecost to be free from all servile work, because of the great business of wheat-harvest, which was then coming on, and could not permit them to be so much at leisure, as they were when the fruits of the earth were all gathered. Then they kept a feast seven days, (ver. 39.) as they did at the beginning of barley-harvest, when the feast of unleavened bread was held: at which time harvest did not come on so fast, as it did at Pentecost; for the first-fruits then were of green corn, parched, and dried, and offered to God, for the hope they had he would bring the rest to maturity.

Ver. 22. *And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not make clean riddance of the corners of the field,* &c.] This precept hath been sufficiently explained before, (chap. xix. 9, 10.) only the occasion of its repetition here ought to be observed, which is the mention of harvest and first-fruits, which, in gratitude, they then offered unto God, of whose goodness he would have them so sensible, as not to be unmindful of the poor; but to be such benefactors to them, that they might still receive more benefits from God.

Ver. 23. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] These words are frequently prefixed to a new matter, though delivered at the same time with what went before

Ver. 24. *Speak unto the children of Israel, saying.*] Who (as I have often said) were all concerned to take notice of such precepts.

*In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, ye shall have a sabbath.*] Such a sabbath as those mentioned, ver. 7, 8. 21. on which no servile work was to be done, as it follows in the next verse: for the seventh month was the first month of the year, according to the ancient computation, and continued so still to several purposes; particularly with respect to their jubilee, when they were to blow the trumpet, as they did on this day, which was the chief new moon in all the year, and the more illustrious, because it fell in the time when all the fruits of the earth were gathered.

*A memorial of blowing with trumpets.*] It is not easy to tell of what this blowing of trumpets was a memorial. Maimonides, in the place aforenamed, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43.) will have it to be instituted to awaken the people out of sleep, and call them to repentance; being to put them in mind of the great day of expiation, which followed nine days after. This he explains more largely in his Jad Chazakah, in the treatise of Repentance, (cap. 3.) where he saith, "The sound of the trumpet, at this time, did in effect say, Shake off your drowsiness, ye that sleep; and, being awaked, watch to your duty. Search and try your ways; remember your Creator, and repent. You, whom the vanity of the times hath led into a forgetfulness of the truth; who spend your days wandering after empty things, which profit nothing; bethink yourselves, and take care of your souls. Let every one forsake his evil way, and his thoughts which are not good." And accordingly he saith, in the same place, "the Israelites were wont to multiply alms and good works, and to apply themselves to the precepts (as his phrase is), from the beginning of the year, till the day of atonement, more diligently than at any other time; rising in the night to pray in their synagogues till break of day," &c. But, though this be very pious, I see no ground for it; no more than for what they say of commemorating the deliverance of Isaac: for why should not blowing of trumpets be ordered for a preparation to other solemn days, and in memory of other deliverances, as well as this of Isaac?

It seems more probable, that all nations making great shouting, rejoicing, and feasting in the beginning of the year, at the first new moon (as many have observed), hoping the rest of the year, by this means, would prove more prosperous; God was pleased to ordain this great rejoicing among his people, in honour of himself, upon the day of the first new moon (which was to be continued every first day of the month), that he might preserve them from the worship of the *moon*, and make them sensible, that he alone gave the good years, and renewed his mercies daily, from month to month, upon them. Bonfrerius imagines, that God put an honour upon this month, because

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it was the *seventh:* that, as every *seventh day* was a sabbath, and every *seventh year* the land rested, &c. so every *seventh month* of every year should be a kind of sabbatical month; there being more feasts in this month than in any other month in the year.

But all this doth not explain what this blowing of trumpets was a *memorial* of, which I take to be the creation of the world, which was in *autumn;* upon which account it was, that they anciently began their year at this time, as the eastern people do at this day. They acknowledged also God's goodness, in blessing all the year past, and bringing them to the beginning of a new year, which they prayed him to make happy to them.

They began to blow at sun-rise, and continued it till sun-set. He that sounded the trumpet began with the usual prayer, *Blessed be God, who hath sanctified us with his precepts,* &c. subjoining these words, *Blessed be God, who hath hitherto preserved us in life, and brought us unto this time.* When all was ended, the people said, with a loud voice, these words of the Psalmist, (Psal. lxxxix. 15.) *Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound: they shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance.* (See Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. cap. 24.)

Such blowing with trumpets was used by the gentiles; particularly in the solemnities they observed in honour of the mother of the gods: one whole day (which was the second) being spent in blowing of trumpets, as Julian tells us, in his fifth oration upon this subject, εἶθ' ἑξῆς περισαλπισμὸς παραλαμβάνεται, p. 168.

Ver. 25. *Ye shall do no servile work therein.*] It was a very solemn day, like the day of Pentecost, (ver. 21.) and others beforenoted, on which they might only make provision for their meals, (Exod. xii. 16.) which were wont to be very liberal upon this day. And, among other dishes, they serve up to the table a ram's head, in memory of that ram which was sacrificed in the room of Isaac, which they fancy was upon this day.

*But ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] About which directions are given afterward, (Numb. xxix. 2, &c.) For it was not to be a day of rest merely, but of religion.

Ver. 26. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] The following precept is of great moment, which makes this preface to be set before it.

Ver. 27. *Also on the tenth day of this seventh month there shall be a day of atonement.*] This hath been explained, chap. xvi. 29—31.

*It shall be a holy convocation to you.*] On which they were to assemble, to humble themselves before God; as it here follows.

*And ye shall afflict your souls.*] See chap. xvi. I shall only add, that the Jews fancy this solemn day of fasting was appointed, partly to avert those diseases which were wont to be rife in the autumnal season; and this day chosen rather than any other, that they might express their grief at that time, when the sin of the golden calf was committed.

*And offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] A *burnt-offering,* about which directions are given in Numb. xxix. 8.

Ver. 28. *And ye shall do no work on that same day.*] See ver. 3. and chap. xvi. 31.

*For it is a day of atonement.*] Set apart wholly for this work; which is at large described in chap. xvi.

*To make an atonement for you before the Lord your God.*] First the priest made an atonement for himself and his family, (chap. xvi. 6, &c.) and then for the people, and for the holy place, &c. (ver. 15, 16. 33.)

Ver. 29. *For whatsoever soul he be that shall not be afflicted on that day, he shall be cut off from among his people.*] The affliction here spoken of consisted chiefly in abstaining from all manner of food (as the Jews make account) from one evening to the next: in which time, if any man ate to satisfy his appetite, that is, above the quantity of a date, he was in danger to be cut off; by the hand of God, I suppose: so they say, in Joma, cap. 8. n. 2. Besides which, there were four other mortifications; for no man was to put on his shoes, nor anoint himself, nor wash his face, nor enjoy his wife. (See Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. cap. 26.)

Ver. 30. *And whatsoever soul he be that doeth any work in that same day, the same soul will I destroy from among his people.*] The two great things required on this day, being to afflict themselves, and to rest from labour; they who transgressed either of these commands, are threatened to be cut off, and that by God himself, as this verse teaches us to expound the foregoing.

Ver. 31. *Ye shall do no manner of work: it shall be a statute for ever,* &c.] This is repeated again, because it was a thing of such high importance, that they should wholly attend to the business of this great day, which was a day of humiliation and repentance, and making their peace with God. And, as the Jews themselves observe, there was no man so good but he had offended in some thing or other: and besides, they were to afflict themselves for the sins of the whole body of the nation.

Ver. 32. *It shall be unto you a sabbath of rest.*] As the weekly sabbath was, (ver. 3.) when they did not merely *rest* from labour, but employed themselves in the Divine service; as (ver. 8.) I observed they did on other sabbaths of lesser strictness. And this the heathens themselves could discern, that the design of their festivals, which were days of ease and remission of labours, was τὸν νοῦν ἀπάγειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν ἀσχολημάτων, *to withdraw the mind from human employments,* τὸν δὲ οὕτως τρέπει πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, *that so a man may have leisure to turn his mind towards God;* which is a most Divine saying of Strabo, which, I think, I have noted before, but cannot be too oft repeated, (lib. x. Geograph. p. 467.)

*And ye shall afflict your souls in the ninth day of the month at even.*] They kept the high-priest on the *even of the day of expiation* from eating much, because it would make him sleepy, as they tell us in Joma, (cap. 1. n. 4.) Where our learned Sheringham observes, that the evening before is called *the even of the day of expiation,* because they began the fast before the setting of the sun; so that the whole evening belonged to the following sabbath. By which these two places, chap. xvi. 29. where it is said they shall afflict their souls on the *tenth* day, and this verse, which saith on the *ninth* day, which seem to clash one with another, may be easily reconciled; for they began to afflict themselves in the conclusion of the *ninth* day, and ended the fast in the conclusion of the *tenth.* (See Manasseh ben Israel, Quest. 4. ad Lev.)

*From even unto even shall ye celebrate your sabbath.*] This justifies what was just now said, that this day began in the even of the *ninth* day, and continued till the even of the *tenth.*

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*Your sabbath.*] So this day was called, because no manner of work might be done on this day, no more than on the seventh, or weekly sabbath, (ver. 31.) And so it is called by the prophet, Isa. lviii. 13.

Ver. 33. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] The same preface is prefixed to this, as to the rest, because it was one of the three greatest solemnities appointed by God in remembrance of his benefits. (See ver. 39.)

Ver. 34. *The fifteenth day of this seventh month shall be the feast of tabernacles, for seven days unto the Lord.*] It was to begin on the fifteenth day, and continue seven days, as the feast of unleavened bread did. The design of this feast is thus expressed by Maimonides, who compares it with the Passover; which served, saith he, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43.) to preserve the memory of all the miracles which God did in Egypt, out of which he brought them at that time; as the feast of tabernacles did to preserve the memory of the signs and wonders he did in the wilderness, where he afforded them his Divine protection under a glorious cloud, and preserved them without any houses, both in the cold of winter and heat of summer. In short, there are two ends mentioned in this chapter of the institution of this festival; one to give thanks for the fruits of the earth, which were then gathered, (ver. 39.) another, and the principal, in a grateful remembrance that they dwelt in booths forty years, and were brought into better habitations when they came to Canaan, (ver. 42, 43.)

Ver. 35. *And on the first day shall be a holy convocation,* &c.] It was to be observed as the day of Pentecost, (ver. 21.) And they every one carried in their hands the bough of some goodly tree, as the Hebrews understand the first words of ver. 40. Josephus, describing this festivity, (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10.) mentions, in the first place, boughs of myrtle.

Ver. 36. *Seven days ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] The peculiar sacrifices, with their meat-offerings, which were to be offered on these seven days, are distinctly set down in Numb. xxix. from the thirteenth verse to the end, where it will be most proper to consider them.

*On the eighth day shall be a holy convocation unto you.*] See ver. 4.

*And ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] A *burnt-offering,* with a *meat-offering* attending upon it, according to the appointment in Numb. xxix. 36, 37.

*It is a solemn assembly.*] This is a new word, which is not used hitherto concerning any of the feasts here mentioned; signifying, as we translate it in the margin, *a day of restraint,* or rather, *a closing,* or *concluding day,* for then the solemnity ended. And so Theodoret, τὸ τέλος τῶν ἑορτῶν, *the conclusion of the feasts;* whence the last day of the feast of unleavened bread is also called by this name of *atzereth,* (Deut. xvi. 8.) And so is the feast of Pentecost (which was kept in the end of seven weeks) called, by Josephus, by the same name of *asartha,* (lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10.) This, therefore, as it was the *last,* so it was the *great day* of the feast, as St. John calls it, chap. vii. 37. On which day they read the last section of the law, and so concluded the reading of the whole five books of Moses. And thence any great solemnity is called by this name of *atzereth,* (2 Kings x. 20. Joel i. 14.) This seems to me to be a far better account of this word, than that which the Jews commonly give, who render it *a day of detention;* because, saith Abarbinel, they were bound to detain the feast to this day (whereas no other feast continued more than seven days), staying at Jerusalem till it was over; whence this day seems to him to be to the feast of tabernacles, as the day of Pentecost was to the Passover; for as they were bound to count seven weeks from that time, and then made this fiftieth day a feast, so they are here commanded, after the seven days of the feast of tabernacles, to stay and feast one day more. Others of them, as R. Solomon Jarchi, say this was as if a man, having been entertained by his friend seven days, should, to express greater kindness to him, be detained one day more.

*And ye shall do no servile work therein.*] But spend their time in feasting, mirth, and rejoicing, with thankful acknowledgments of God's benefits to them: (see ver. 7, 8.)

Ver. 37. *These are the feasts* (or assemblies) *of the Lord, which ye shall proclaim to be holy convocations.*] This was the preface to them, (ver. 4.) and now is the conclusion, to make them the more observed.

*To offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord, a burnt-offering, and a meat-offering, and a sacrifice,* &c.] These offerings are particularly set down (as hath been noted all along) in the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth chapters of Numbers; and, by *a sacrifice,* seems here to be meant *a sin-offering;* which is ordered, throughout those two chapters, together with burnt-offerings, upon all these festivals.

Ver. 38. *Besides the sabbaths of the Lord.*] *i. e.* Besides the sacrifices appointed upon all the sabbaths in the year, which were not to be omitted, if any of the feasts here mentioned fell upon the seventh day of the week.

*And besides your gifts.*] Most understand by *gifts,* such presents as men made to God, beyond their first-fruits and tenths; but it may be thought only a general word, including the two particulars which follow, *vows* and *free-will-offerings.*

Ver. 39. *Also in the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have gathered in the fruit of the land,* &c.] Here is no new injunction in this verse, but only an enforcement of what was said before, the very same days being appointed to be observed with those named, ver. 24. Therefore, the Hebrew particle *ak* should not have been translated *also,* but *surely,* or *certainly,* or *truly,* as we translate it in other places; particularly Gen. xxix. 14. "Surely thou art my bone and my flesh." Psal. lxxiii. 1. "Truly God is good to Israel." Lam. ii. 16. "Certainly this is the day that we looked for."

*When ye have gathered in the fruit of the land.*] These words give a reason of the repetition of the command, because there was something more designed in this festival than merely the remembrance of their condition in the wilderness; which was, to express their thankfulness to God for their desired harvest, which they had now gathered; for which cause, besides the seven days which were in commemoration of their dwelling in tents in the wilderness, there was an eighth added, to acknowledge the mercy of receiving the fruits of the earth.

*Ye shall keep a feast unto the Lord seven days.*] This was the feast of tabernacles, which lasted all these seven days.

*On the first day shall be a sabbath.*] See ver. 35.

*And on the eighth day shall be a sabbath.*] In the institu-

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tion of the feast of unleavened bread, it is said, *In the seventh day is a holy convocation, ye shall do no servile work therein; i. e.* it shall be a sabbath; (ver. 8.) but here the *eighth* day hath that honour put upon it (not the *seventh*), being added to the festival for a peculiar reason, and therefore to be observed in a very solemn manner; for the feast of tabernacles fell in the time of vintage, when the fruits of the earth were, in a manner, all gathered, (Deut. xvi. 13.) from whence it is called by the name of the *feast of ingatherings,* (Exod. xxiii. 16.) not because the whole feast was celebrated on this account, but because a principal part of it was kept on this score; *viz.* the *eighth day,* as the other *seven* days were in memory of their dwelling in tents. But, that the *eighth* day had no relation to this is apparent; for they did not dwell in tabernacles on the *eighth* day of this feast, but only on the *seven* preceding; which being ended, they returned to their houses, and kept this day there to another purpose, here named; for so it is expressly said, ver. 42. *Ye shall dwell in booths seven days;* which being over, a great solemnity continued to another purpose, and was kept after another manner, not in booths, but in their houses. So Maimonides, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 43.) "That we go from the feast of tabernacles to another solemnity, on the eighth day, it tends to make our joys perfect; which could not be done in tabernacles, but in large and spacious houses and palaces;" where they made still greater feasts, as well as sung the praises of God at the temple, with trumpets and instruments of music; in which service some say those three Psalms were used, which have the title of *Alhagittith, (viz.* Psal. viii. lxxxi. and lxxxv.) For *gath* signifies a wine-press, and therefore they think these Psalms were sung in the time of the vintage. Certain it is, that the two last named were sung at some great solemnity, wherein they celebrated God's wonderful providence over them: and, that they used to sing and shout at their vintage, is clear from Judges ix. 27. Isai. xvi. 9, 10. Jer. xlviii. 33. Hosea ii. 15. which the gentiles imitated; who, when they pressed their grapes, sung a song to Bacchus, which was thence called ἐπιλήνιος, *the song of the wine-press:* (see Scaliger, lib. i. Poet. cap. 15.)

Now this being a time of such great rejoicing, in both respects, it led Plutarch into a fancy, that the Jews celebrated two feasts unto Bacchus at this time; for he writes, in his Symposiacs, (lib. i. prob. 3.) that in the midst of the vintage the Jews spread tables furnished with all manner of fruit, and lived in tabernacles, made especially of palms and ivy wreathed together, and called the day which goes before the feast, *the day of tabernacles.* And then, a few days after, saith he, they kept another festivity; which openly shews it was dedicated to Bacchus, for they carried boughs of palms in their hands, &c. with which they went into the temple; the Levites (who he fancies were called so from Εὔιος, which was the name of Bacchus) going before with instruments of music, &c. All which may very well incline us to think, that the gentiles corrupted this holy festivity (as they did other sacred institutions), and turned it into the profane Bacchanalia; which is no improbable conjecture of Jo. Mich. Dilherrus, in his Dissert. de Cacozel. Gentil. cap. 3.

Ver. 40. *And ye shall take you on the first day.*] Then they began to build their booths, that they might dwell in them the rest of the feast.

*Boughs of goodly trees,* &c.] Some fancy, that this is not a direction for the building of booths with these branches, but for the carrying them in their hands, as Josephus tells us, lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10. And they say these branches were called *hosannas,* because they sung those words of the Psalmist as they marched along with these boughs in their hands, "Save now [in the Hebrew the word is *hosan-na*] O Lord: O Lord, send now prosperity," Psal. cxviii. 25. And this is so riveted in the minds of the Jews, that Aben Ezra makes it the opinion of the Sadducees to hold that they were not for any other use. But it is evident, from Nehem. viii. 15. that they cut these branches to make booths, and not to carry in their hands; though it is likely that this might also be thought a fitting expression of joy in aftertimes, especially after they were expelled out of their own land. It is not unlikely also that they celebrated this festival by singing of *hosannas,* among other tokens of rejoicing, praying for a happy new year, whose feast went a little before on the first of this month; whence the rabbins call this feast of tabernacles by the name of *hosanna,* and the last day of it they call *hosanna rabba.* And they repeat this often in their prayers at that time, as they tell us in their *Minhagim* (or books of rituals), saying,

> "For thy sake, O our Creator, hosanna.
> For thy sake, O our Redeemer, hosanna.
> For thy sake, O our Seeker, hosanna."

As if they beseeched the blessed Trinity to save them, and send help to them. In short, they call the prayers they say at this feast by the name of *hosannas,* as Joh. Mich. Dilherrus hath observed, lib. ii. Electorum, cap. 20.

*Boughs.*] The Hebrew word *pri* signifies *fruit,* as is noted in the margin of our Bibles; from whence some have gathered that they were to be the boughs of fruit-bearing-trees; nay, the Jews fancy they were to be boughs with their fruit, as well as leaves on them. But Buxtorf made no doubt (in his sixteenth chapter of Synag. Judaica), that the word is rightly translated a *bough,* whether without fruit or with it; though in later editions of that book this passage be left out.

*Goodly trees.*] The Hebrew word *hadar* doth not merely signify that which is *beautiful* and *goodly,* but that which is *large* and *well spread;* as is observed by Hottinger, in his Smegma Orientale, lib. i. cap. 7. where he thinks these words may be thus exactly translated, *Take to you the boughs of trees with broad leaves, such as the branches of palm-trees;* so that *hadar* is a general word, and *branches of palm-trees* a special instance of a tree with spacious leaves, which were the fittest to be used, because they were best able to defend them, either from heat, or cold, or rain. Maimonides takes this word to signify the boughs of a particular tree, which he will have to be a *citron:* and the Jews are so possessed with this opinion, that, at this day, they fancy the feast cannot be celebrated without such branches; and therefore the Jews now in Germany send into Spain, and endeavour to get one every year with the *pomecitrons* on it; and, after the feast, they offer the citrons to their friends as a great present. Hottinger saith he had one presented to him at Heidelberg, that very year he wrote his book now mentioned. (See Dr. Lightfoot, in his Temple Service, chap. 6. sect. 3. and Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. cap. 21.)

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*Branches of palm-trees.*] With which Judea abounded, and was so noted for them, that in the ancient coins a palm-tree represented that country.

*And the boughs of thick trees.*] Which were shady, and afforded a good shelter. The Jews take these for myrtles, which have very thick leaves and boughs, close one to another, though the leaves be small.

*And willows of the brook.*] If this translation be right, it is likely they served only to twine about the rest, and bind them together: and therefore, in Nehemiah viii. 15. no mention is made of them; their tabernacles not consisting of such boughs, which were used only for the compacting and tying together the other.

*And ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days.*] These were the seven days of the feast of tabernacles (as I noted before), which were spent in feasting, and other tokens of joy, with thanks to God for his great goodness, who had brought them out of the wilderness, where they had no fig-trees, vines, or pomegranates, into a country which abounded with fruitful trees of all sorts; which was the reason, Maimonides thinks, that Moses bids them take the boughs of the most *goodly trees* wherewith to build their booths, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 43.)

But of all the joys at this festival none was comparable to that *of drawing and pouring out water;* concerning which the Talmudists have this noted saying, "He that never saw the rejoicing of drawing water, never saw rejoicing in all his life." The manner of which is described out of the Jewish writers by Dr. Lightfoot, in his Temple Service, chap. 16. sect. 4. And our blessed Saviour is thought to allude to it, when, in the last, the great day of this feast, he cried, saying, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink, &c. out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water," John vii. 37, 38. But I have not met with any one that gives a tolerable reason of this custom at the feast of tabernacles; which I take to have been in memory of that water which followed them all the time they were in the wilderness, without which they had perished; and in thankfulness to God, that he had brought them into a "land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills," as well as into "a land of vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates," &c. as Moses speaks, Deut. viii. 7, 8.

Ver. 41. *And ye shall keep it a feast unto the Lord seven days in the year.*] He repeats it again, because it was of very great importance that they should keep in mind such a singular benefit as this, of their preservation in the wilderness.

*It shall be a statute for ever in your generations.*] For the end mentioned ver. 43.

*Ye shall celebrate it in the seventh month.*] They came out of Egypt in the first month, and then began to dwell in tabernacles at Succoth, (Exod. xii. 37.) and, from that place, were conducted ever after under the cloud, (Exod. xiii. 20, 21.) which being in that month we call March, some may think it had been most proper to have kept this feast at that time of the year, and not in September. To which the Jews answer, that in March summer began, when it was usual for people to dwell in booths, as more refreshing than houses: so that if they had kept this feast then, it would not have been known that they dwelt in booths by a singular command of God, and in memory of a Divine benefit; but men would have thought the season of the year led them to it. Therefore God appointed it in the *seventh* month, which is a time of cold and rain, when men commonly left their tabernacles, and betook themselves to their houses; that it might appear they did not go out of their houses into booths for their own pleasure, or from common custom, but by the Divine precept, in memory of a marvellous benefit: yet the fifteenth day of this month was appointed for the beginning of this feast, because it was upon the fifteenth day of the first month that they marched out of Egypt to Succoth.

Ver. 42. *Ye shall dwell in booths seven days.*] They left their houses for seven days, and went into the fields, and pitched their tents there, or on their house-tops, or in their court-yards; as we read in Nehem. viii. 17.

*All that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths.*] Sick people were excepted; and the rabbins also freed women and little children from this obligation. If the rain likewise proved so great that they could not live there dry, and the cold so intense that it endangered their healths, they might all return to their houses.

Ver. 43. *That your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths.*] This expresses the end and intention of this feast, which was, to preserve a memory in future ages of the goodness of God to their forefathers, in affording them his Divine protection; which overshadowed them, and was a covering to them (when they had no houses), by that glorious cloud which went before them to conduct them. For all the forty years they were in the wilderness, it overspread them like a tabernacle, and defended them from the injury of the weather, and wild beasts, and all their enemies; they having no other shelter in that desolate place, but only this: and consequently, this feast was instituted to make them sensible how very happy they were in goodly cities and fine painted houses (as Maimonides speaks in the place abovementioned), when they came to the good land promised to their fathers, who wandered in a howling wilderness, without any certain dwelling-place.

And another feast was tacked to this, on the eighth day, on purpose to make them more sensible of the happy exchange of their condition from a wilderness into a land of corn, and wine, and oil, which they had plentifully gathered. Dr. Lightfoot, in his Harmony of the Evangelists, upon Luke iii. 21. hath another reason for the observation of this festival; for which I can see no ground, and therefore do not mention it, but refer the reader to the first volume of his works, p. 477.

*When I brought them out of the land of Egypt.*] For the very first place where they rested, after their first day's march out of Egypt, was called *Succoth,* (as I observed before), that is, *tabernacles;* because here they began to spread their tents, in which they lived ever after, for forty years. Nay, in the very land of Canaan there were some who preferred tents before houses, as appears by that phrase we meet with so often, when any assembly or army was dissolved, *They went every man to his tent.* And, indeed, it was the most ancient way of living, for shepherds, and such as feed cattle, (as Moses observes, Gen. iv. 20.) and therefore no wonder it lasted so long among the Israelites, who originally were such people.

*I am the Lord your God.*] Whose commands ought to

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be observed, and whose benefits ought to be remembered.

Ver. 44. *And Moses declared unto the children of Israel the feasts of the Lord.*] So he was commanded to do, ver. 2. they being concerned, as much as Aaron and the priests, in keeping these holy solemnities in honour of the Lord.

## CHAP. XXIV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Directions having been given, after the setting up of the tabernacle, for the several sorts of sacrifices that were to be offered there (particularly upon the great day of atonement); and Aaron and his sons having been consecrated, and care taken that none of their posterity should minister before God, but such only as were without blemish; nor any other sacrifices be offered but such as were every way perfect; and only such feasts observed as are mentioned in the foregoing chapter: he proceeds now to give order for the daily service of God in the sanctuary, which was not yet settled, till the princes had all made their offerings, &c. (Numb. vii. 1, 2, &c. viii. 1.)

Ver. 2. *Command the children of Israel, that they bring unto thee.*] The daily sacrifices were to be maintained at the public charge, and so were the incense and the lamps; and therefore it was proper to speak to all the people, in whose name the priests performed all these things, to take care they should be furnished with them. (See Exod. xxx. 13, &c.)

*Pure oil-olive, beaten, for the light, to cause the lamps to burn continually.*] All this hath been explained, Exod. xxvii. 20. where this order was first given, and now is commanded to be put in execution. It is not improbable that the oil, to make it more pure and free from all dregs, passed through two strainers into the lamps; as Fortunatus Scacchus endeavours to make out, (Myrothec. i. Elæochrys. Sacr. 10.)

Ver. 3. *Without the veil of the testimony,* &c.] This is a short expression, which, in Exod. xxvii. 21. is delivered more fully, *without the veil, which is before the testimony,* that is, before the ark.

*Shall Aaron order it.*] He or his sons, as it is explained in Exod. xxvii. 21.

*From the evening unto the morning.*] The Hebrew word *boker* properly signifies, that part of the *morning* which is from break of day till sun-rise; and the other word *arvaim,* the *evening,* after sun-set, till it be dark. Therefore, very early in the morning, and late at night, the priests were to look after the lamps.

*Before the Lord continually.*] For the lamps burnt on one side of the sanctuary, as the table stood on the other side with the shew-bread on it; and both of them *before the Lord, i. e.* before the ark of the testimony, where the Divine Majesty dwelt, (Exod. xxv. 30. xxvi. 35.)

*It shall be a statute for ever,* &c.] Exod. xxvii. 21.

Ver. 4. *He shall order the lamps upon the pure candlestick.*] The candlestick was made of *pure gold,* (Exod. xxv. 31. xxxvii. 17.) and thence seems to be called the *pure candlestick,* (Exod. xxxi. 8.) But here it is possible Moses may have respect to the making it clean every day, before the lamps were lighted.

*Before the Lord continually.*] See Exod. xxx. 7, 8.

Ver. 5. *And thou shalt take fine flour.*] Of the best wheat.

*And bake twelve cakes.*] These are called *the bread of the presence* (which we translate *shew-bread*), in the place now named, Exod. xxv. 30. where see what I have noted. They were prepared by the Levites, (1 Chron. ix. 32. xxiii. 29.) and were in number twelve, to represent the twelve tribes of Israel as continually before God, *i. e.* under the care of his gracious providence. Nor was this number diminished after the apostacy of ten tribes from the worship of God at the tabernacle; but still twelve cakes were set before the Lord, because there was a remnant of true Israelites among them, (1 Kings xxx. 18.) and this was a constant testimony against those apostates, and served to turn them back to the right worship of God at that place; where they were assured they and their sacrifices would be acceptable, and no where else: which made Abijah mention this to Jeroboam and the ten tribes, among other things that should induce them to repent of their forsaking God and his dwelling-place; where he tells them, "the priests, the sons of Aaron, minister; and the Levites wait on their business: and they burn unto the Lord, every morning and every evening, burnt-sacrifices and sweet incense: the shew-bread also set they in order upon the pure table; and the candlestick of gold, with the lamps thereof, to burn every evening," &c. (See 2 Chron. xiii. 9—11, &c.)

*Two tenth-deals shall be in one cake.*] That is, two *omers;* for an *omer* was the tenth part of an *ephah,* (Exod. xvi. 36.) Where we likewise read, ver. 22. that every Israelite, while they were in the wilderness, gathered just this quantity against every sabbath. On which day these cakes being set upon God's table, (as it here follows, ver. 8.) Dr. Lightfoot thinks, both the measure and the time were designed to put the Israelites in mind of their sustenance in the wilderness.

Ver. 6. *And thou shalt set them in two rows,* &c.] One upon another, as the Hebrew writers expound it. Who say also, that they were set length-wise cross over the breadth of the table; and that they were ten hand-breadths long, and five broad, and seven fingers thick. (See Dr. Lightfoot's Temple Service, chap. 14. sect. 5.)

*Upon the pure table.*] It was called *pure,* because it was overlaid with pure gold, (Exod. xxv. 24.) and, we may be sure, was kept very clean and bright.

*Before the Lord.*] Who dwelt in the most holy place, before which the bread was set.

Ver. 7. *And thou shalt put pure frankincense.*] The best that could be got, unmixed with any thing else. And there was no better in the world than their neighbouring countries afforded.

*Upon each row.*] On the top of each row of cakes there was set a golden dish, with a handful of frankincense therein.

*That it may be on the bread.*] Or, *for the bread.* That is, offered unto God, instead of the bread; which was to be given to the priests, who waited on him at his table, for their portion.

*For a memorial.*] For an acknowledgment of God, and of his sovereignty over them; and to beseech him to be always gracious to them; (see chap. ii. ver. 2.) and to represent also (as Conradus Pellicanus understands it) that God was ever mindful of his people, and had a great love



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to them; for *the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears open to their prayers.*

*Even an offering made by fire unto the Lord.*] The frankincense being set upon the bread, they seem to be considered as one thing; part of which was to be offered unto God, and the rest to be given to his ministers. Now, instead of the bread, which was the principal, the frankincense was burnt every week unto the Lord, when the bread was eaten by the priests. Which bread, it is evident, (ver. 9.) is called *one of the offerings of the Lord made by fire;* because this frankincense, which stood upon it all the week, was burnt, as an oblation to him.

Ver. 8. *Every sabbath he shall set it in order before the Lord continually.*] The shew-bread was prepared the evening before; and then, on the sabbath, four priests went in to fetch away the old loaves and frankincense that had stood there all the week before; and other four followed after them to carry new ones and frankincense in their stead: for two of them carried the two rows of bread (six cakes a-piece), and the other two carried each of them a golden dish, in which the frankincense was set upon the bread. (See Dr. Lightfoot of the Temple Service, chap. 14. sect. 5.)

*Being taken from the children of Israel.*] At whose charge they were provided, though prepared by the Levites. (See Nehem. x. 32, 33.)

*By an everlasting covenant.*] By virtue of that command (which they had all agreed to observe) which required the shew-bread to be set before the Lord alway, (Exod. xxiv. 3. xxv. 30.)

Ver. 9. *And it shall be Aaron's and his sons'.*] Who, as God's servants, ate of the bread which came from his table.

*And they shall eat it in the holy place.*] For the most holy things could be eaten no where else. (See chap. iv. 26. 29.)

*For it is most holy unto him.*] See chap. ii. of this book, ver. 3.

*Of the offerings of the Lord made by fire.*] It need not seem strange that this bread, which was not burnt upon the altar as meat-offerings were, should be reckoned among the offerings made by fire; for as the altar (where those meat-offerings were burnt) is called God's table, (Mal. i. 12.) so this table, where the shew-bread stood, was really God's altar: insomuch that the bread, which was set upon it before him, was looked upon as offered unto him; and the frankincense set upon the bread, as a part of it, being really burnt, it may be called an *offering made by fire.* Thus the gentiles also, as an excellent person of our own hath observed, thought tables, rightly dedicated unto their gods, to supply the place of altars. So Macrobius saith, (lib. iii. Saturnal. cap. 11.) it evidently appeared, by Papyrian's law, that *aræ vicem præstare posse mensam dicatam, a table consecrated might serve instead of an altar.* Of which he gives an instance in the temple of Juno Populonia; and then proceeds to give a reason for it, because altars and tables, *eodem die, quo ædes ipsæ, dedicari solent, were wont to be dedicated on the same day with the temples themselves.* From whence it was that a table, *hoc ritu dedicata, dedicated in this manner,* was of the same use in the temple with an altar. (See Dr. Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 8. n. 7.)

*By a perpetual statute.*] As long as these sacrifices lasted.

Ver. 10. *And the son of an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, went out among the children of Israel.*] In the Hebrew the words run thus; *And there went out the son of an Israelitish woman, and he was the son of an Egyptian man, in the midst of* (or, *among*) *the children of Israel:* which last words signify, that, though his father was an Egyptian by birth, yet he was become a proselyte by religion: and was one of those (as it is probable) who went along with the Israelites when God brought them out of Egypt, (Exod. xii. 38.) So R. Solomon Jarchi interprets this phrase, *among the children of Israel:* hence, saith he, we learn, that he *was a proselyte of righteousness.* And Aben Ezra to the same purpose, *he was received into the number of the Jews.* See a great many more in Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 1. numb. 2. where he observes, that it is the common opinion of the Jews, this man was the son of him whom Moses killed in Egypt, (Exod. ii. 12.)

*And this son of the Israelitish woman and a man of Israel strove together in the camp.*] When God was delivering the foregoing laws unto Moses, this case seems to have happened. And the Jews say the controversy between these two was this: the former, looking upon himself as having a good right to it by his mother, came and endeavoured to set up a tent among the children of Dan, in that place where their tribe had pitched their tents; which was opposed by one of that tribe, who told him, the right of his mother would do him no service, unless his father had been an Israelite: for the law was, (Numb. ii. 2.) that every man of the children of Israel should pitch by his own standard, with the *ensign of their father's house:* which law, though given afterward, yet they suppose was the rule before; by which this man was condemned, by those that heard the cause, to be in the wrong.

Ver. 11. *And the Israelitish woman's son blasphemed the name of the Lord, and cursed.*] Sentence being given against him, he uttered *blasphemous words* against God himself (perhaps renounced the Lord), and also *cursed* those judges that had condemned him.

The Jews commonly think, that this blasphemy was his pronouncing the peculiar name of God, which he heard at Mount Sinai, when the law was given. But this is a mere fancy; for there were some reproachful words uttered against God, as well as against the judges, as appears from ver. 15. And they themselves acknowledge, that a proselyte was guilty of death, whether he cursed by the proper name of God, or any other, as Mr. Selden shews, (lib. ii. de Jure N. et G. cap. 12.) Pellicanus thinks it probable that this man mocked at the foregoing laws, which were delivered about the worship of God; and contemned God himself, when he was told by whose authority they were enacted.

*And they brought him unto Moses.*] If the occasion of their strife was such as the Jews imagine, then Mr. Selden thinks it highly probable that the cause had been heard and judged by some of the lesser courts established by Jethro's advice, (Exod. xviii. 21, 22.) where the blasphemy had been so plainly proved, that he was convicted of it: but they, doubting about the punishment of so high a crime, referred the consideration of that to Moses, as the supreme judge.

*And his mother's name was Shelomith, the daughter of*

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*Dibri, of the tribe of Dan.*] I see no reason of mentioning the name of the woman from whom he was descended, but that all might be satisfied of the truth of this history.

Ver. 12. *And they put him in ward.*] Committed him to prison, that he might be secured till his punishment was declared.

*That the mind of the Lord might be shewed them.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *That it might be expounded to them (viz.* by Moses), *according to the mouth of the Lord;* that is, as the Lord should declare to him. And so Onkelos renders them, *Till the matter was expounded to them, according to the sentence of the word of the Lord.* For it is noted here, by a famous commentator among the Jews, (as Mr. Selden observes in the place beforementioned, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 1.) that God was consulted about this matter, "Because they did not know whether he was to die for this crime; or whether his judgment was to be expected from the hand of Heaven, or otherwise:" whence Jarchi says, "They did not know whether he was guilty of death or not." And so Theodoret, Q. xxxiii. in Lev. There was no law, as yet, about this matter: but there was a plain law, that whosoever cursed his father or mother should die, (Exod. xxi. 17.) from whence they might justly infer he was to be so punished, who cursed his heavenly Father; there being also another law against those that reviled the judges and rulers, (Exod. xxii. 28.) And therefore I take it, they only doubted what kind of death he should die, about which Moses consulted the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 13. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] It is likely Moses went into the sanctuary to inquire of God, who, from the mercy-seat, pronounced the following sentence against him; and also made a perpetual law about this case, with some others.

Ver. 14. *Bring forth him that cursed without the camp.*] This is the sentence pronounced by the mouth of God, from whom they expected it. And, first, he orders the criminal to be carried forth out of the camp, as an *unclean,* (Numb. v. 2, 3.) nay, an *accursed* thing, (Josh. vii. 24.)

*And let all that heard him.*] Next, he orders the witnesses to be produced, who heard him speak the blasphemous words.

*Lay their hands upon his head.*] This was a peculiar thing in this case, hands being laid upon no man's head condemned by the Sanhedrin, but only upon a blasphemer. By which ceremony they solemnly declared, that they had given a true testimony against him, and thought him worthy of the death he was condemned to suffer; and, perhaps, prayed God, that all the punishment of this sin might fall upon this man, and not upon them, nor the rest of the people. And so the Jews tell us their manner was to say, *Let thy blood be upon thy own head, which thou hast brought on thyself by thy own guilt.*

*And let all the congregation stone him.*] This was the last part of the sentence, that, when they that heard him curse had taken off their hands, all the congregation should stone him: which is the same punishment the law inflicted on him that cursed his father or his mother, (chap. xx. 9. see there.)

Ver. 15. *And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying.*] Upon this occasion a new law is made, in express terms, against blasphemy.

*Whosoever curseth his God.*] Some of the Hebrews understand this of a gentile, who lived among them, and was not yet solemnly made a proselyte of the gate, that, if he cursed the god which was worshipped in his country, he should die for it. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. *ult.*) And Procopius Gazæus extends the words to such persons as cursed the god they worshipped, though he were a false god: which is according to the common rule of the Talmudists, that where we find these words, *isch, isch (man, man,* which we well translate *whosoever*), they comprehend gentiles as well as Jews. But, no doubt, this law particularly concerned the people of Israel; whom God intended, by this law, to preserve from such horrid impiety as is here mentioned.

*Shall bear his sin.*] Be stoned. (See chap. xx. 9.) If the word *curseth* be understood in the proper sense, Procopius well observes, that nothing could be more senseless than this sin, and upon that account deserved stoning; *for he that curseth his God, upon what God will he call to confirm his curse?* But the Hebrew word seems to import only speaking *contemptuously of God.*

Ver. 16. *And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall surely be put to death,* &c.] It is uncertain, whether this be a higher degree of the sin mentioned in the foregoing verse, or only a repetition of the same law, with a more express declaration of the punishment he should bear for his sin. The Jews unreasonably understand it of him alone that *expressed the name, i. e.* the most holy name of God, as they say in Sanhedrin, cap. 7. numb. 5. where Joh. à Coch observes out of the Jerusalem Targum on Deut. xxxii. that it is thus explained, *Woe unto those that in their execrations use the holy name; which it is not lawful for the highest angel to express.* But this is a piece of their superstition: the meaning undoubtedly is, that if any man reproached the Most High, he should die for it; but the mere pronouncing his holy name could be no crime, when men might swear by it, though not take it in vain, (Deut. vi. 13. Exod. xx. 7.)

*All the congregation shall certainly stone him.*] As they were ordered to do with the present offender, (ver. 14.)

*As well the stranger, as he that is born in the land,* &c.] By *stranger* may be meant a proselyte, like the Egyptian, whose offence was the occasion of this law: but the Jews extend it to Samaritans and gentiles; only they say, such were to be punished by the sword, and not by stoning.

Ver. 17. *And he that killeth a man, shall surely be put to death.*] This law was given before, Exod. xxi. 12. And it is not easy to give an account why it is here repeated after the case of a blasphemer. Perhaps it was upon the occasion of the last words in the foregoing verse, *as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall be put to death.* For, after the following laws, they are repeated again as a general rule, (ver. 22.) that no man might think it hard a stranger should be punished for blasphemy, as much as an Israelite, when in other cases the same judgment passed upon them both. Procopius Gazæus thinks a murderer is joined with a blasphemer, because they have the same mind and intention; the one desiring to destroy God, if it were possible, as the other doth his neighbour. "Therefore the law puts them together; just as, on the contrary, when it commands the love of God, it couples with it the love of our neighbour." So he.



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Ver. 18. *And he that killeth a beast shall make it good, beast for beast.*] It was incongruous, as the same Procopius speaks, to annex unto the law against murder a law against other injuries. And concerning this, see Exod. xxi. 33, 34. For the Hebrew word *behemah*, here used, signifies such domestic tame *beasts* as are there mentioned.

Ver. 19, 20. *If a man cause a blemish in his neighbour, as he hath done, so shall it be done to him*, &c.] This law concerns only free persons, not their slaves, and hath been explained, Exod. xxi. 24, 25.

Ver. 21. *And he that killeth a beast, he shall restore it; and he that killeth a man, he shall be put to death.*] This is a short repetition of the two first laws here mentioned, (ver. 17, 18.) to make them the more regarded.

Ver. 22. *Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country.*] In these, and in all other cases, as well as blasphemy, (ver. 16.) you and the stranger shall be judged by one and the same law.

*For I am the Lord your God.*] Who will neither favour *your* wickedness, nor suffer *theirs* to go unpunished; but do equal justice unto *all*. Yet the Jews, by a *stranger* here, will understand only a *proselyte of righteousness*, as they call him; that is, one who had entirely embraced their religion; for such alone, they imagine, were equalled with them. (See Selden, lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1. p. 468.)

Ver. 23. *And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, that they should bring forth him that had cursed out of their camp*, &c.] It appears, by this, that all the foregoing admonitions were repeated to Moses, upon the occasion of the law against blasphemy, before he proceeded to put it in execution.

*And the children of Israel did as the Lord commanded Moses.*] Executed the whole sentence pronounced by God against the blasphemous person, (ver. 14.)

## CHAP. XXV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses in Mount Sinai, saying.*] That is, in the wilderness of Sinai, (Numb. i. 1.) For they stayed almost a whole year not far from this mountain, from whence they did not remove till the *twentieth* day of the *second* month of the *second* year after their coming out of Egypt. (See Numb. x. 11, 12.) And thus the Hebrew particle *beth* is often used for *by* or *near*, as in Gen. xxxvii. 13. Josh. v. 13. and we find this expression again in the end of the next chapter, and in the conclusion of this book. Which shews that all here related was delivered to Moses in the *first* month of the *second* year after their coming out of Egypt, immediately after the tabernacle was set up, (Exod. xl. 17.)

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them.*] For what follows was of universal concernment.

*When ye come into the land which I give you.*] This law, though delivered before they left Mount Sinai, could not take place till they came into Canaan.

*Then shall the land keep a sabbath.*] Rest from being tilled, or sown, &c. (See Exod. xxiii. 11.)

*Unto the Lord.*] In obedience to him, and in honour of him. Some have understood the foregoing words, *When ye shall come into the land which I give you*, as if they were to begin the sabbatical year as soon as they entered into Canaan: which is very absurd; for so, not the seventh, but the first, would have been the year of rest. And that had been very inconvenient, if not destructive; the war making such great waste, no doubt, that provision would have been very scarce, if no care had been taken for the ensuing year. It is to be considered also, that the old store upon which they lived when they entered into the land of promise, was the fruit of the labour of the Canaanites, and not of the children of Israel. The meaning therefore is, that the seventh year after their entrance into Canaan, or rather, after they were settled, and had rest in it, they should let the land rest.

The only question is, when this year was to begin? whether in the month of Tisri (which answers to our September), which was the ancient beginning of the year; or in Nisan (answering to our March), which was made a new beginning of it, by an express law, Exod. xii. 2. the former still continuing the beginning of the year for civil things as this for sacred. Now there is great reason to think that this sabbatical year was to commence from September, when all their harvest was over, which began in March. Then they were not to sow, as they were wont to do in October, and the following months; but to stay till the return of this season the next year: for, if this year had been to begin in March, they could not have reaped the harvest of the sixth year.

Ver. 3. *Six years shalt thou sow thy field, and prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof.*] Exod. xxiii. 10. But what was allowed in other years, is forbidden in this.

Ver. 4. *But in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord.*] Or, *unto the Lord*, (as we translate it before, ver. 2.) who, though he gave this land to them, continued the proprietor of it (as he declares, ver. 23.) and the Lord in chief, himself; of whom they held it by this tenure, that they should till it, &c. only six years together, for their own use; and in the seventh, let it lie in common, for such uses as he appointed. And it was for the honour of the Lord that they observed this law; for as the weekly sabbath was an acknowledgment that they were his, so this sabbatical year was an acknowledgment that their land was his.

*Thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard.*] By this he explains what he means by letting it rest. And these two words, *sow* and *prune*, comprehend all other things that were usually done about their fields or trees, as ploughing, digging, dunging, &c. And though a *vineyard* be only mentioned, yet it is plain, by Exod. xxiii. 10. that *oliveyards* are comprehended under the same law; and these are mentioned only as examples of all other fruit-trees, which were to be left in common as these were.

Maimonides seems to be something too curious in what he saith upon this subject; for, inquiring why Moses mentions only these two things, *sowing* and *pruning*, his resolution is, that for these two, if men offended in them this year, they were punished with that scourging called *malkut*; but if they offended in any other sort of labours belonging to the culture of the fields, or of trees, they were not punished with the scourging of *malkut* (which was by a certain measure, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes), but with the scourging called *mardut*, *i. e.* of contumacy and rebellion, which

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was without number or measure. As, if a man digged or ploughed his ground; if he gathered out the stones, or dunged it, &c.; if he planted trees, or grafted, &c.; he suffered the scourging of rebellion. And more than this, he saith, it was not lawful in the seventh year to plant any tree, though it was not a fruit-tree; nor to cut off the dead branches; nor to make a smoke under them to kill the worms; nor to anoint young plants to preserve them from the bitings of birds, &c. If they did, they were liable to the scourging of *mardut*. Nay, he is so nice, as to say it was unlawful to sell to any man any instrument of husbandry in this year, as a plough, a yoke, a sieve, &c.; yet he allows them, when they were under the oppression of the gentiles, and bound to find provision for their armies, to sow so much as would maintain them. Of which things he discourses at large, in his treatise called Schemitta ve Jobel, cap. 1. and cap. 7.

Ver. 5. *That which groweth of itself.*] Either from seed which fell casually the year before, or from the old root which sprouted out again, as Maimonides expounds it in the same treatise, cap. 4. which is wholly about such things.

*Of thy harvest.*] Of the corn scattered last harvest. He saith nothing of their gardens; which, it is probable, every man had to his own private use, and was not bound to lay them open to all.

*Thou shalt not reap.*] That is, saith he, not the whole field, so as to gather it into cocks, and to tread out the corn with his oxen (if any did, they were scourged with thirty-nine stripes), but they might cut down a little, in common with other persons, and shake it out, and eat it, as he there determines, (sect. 2.)

*Neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *the vine of thy separation;* for it was separated this year from his dressing: and what he gathered in common with others, was not to be pressed in a wine-press, but with another instrument. The like he saith of olives, and of figs, and other things, which were to be ordered after another manner in this year than in the foregoing, (sect. 23.)

*For it is a year of rest unto the land.*] This general reason is so oft repeated, to make them sensible they were no more to do any thing about their land this *seventh year*, than they were to labour upon the seventh day. But he acknowledges, that if a gentile hired land in their country, he was not bound to let it rest, (sect. 29. of that chapter.)

Ver. 6. *And the sabbath of the land.*] Here the word *sabbath* signifies the fruit that grew in the sabbatical year; as the word *sabbaths* is used before (chap. xxiii. 38.) for the sacrifices upon the sabbaths.

*Shall be meat for you.*] This explains the prohibition of reaping any corn this year, or gathering any fruit, not to be meant absolutely; but only that they should not look upon any thing that grew this year as peculiarly theirs, because it grew in their ground, but let all be common to others as well as themselves.

*For thee, and for thy servant, and for thy maid,* &c.] This, and the next verse, shew that all the fruits of the earth were perfectly in common this year: for the very beasts were not excluded; and, therefore, much less any man that dwelt among them, though he was uncircumcised. But it is very plain, likewise, that the owner of the land and his family were not forbidden to take their share, but might gather for their daily use as well as others, only not lay up any thing separate for themselves.

Ver. 7. *And for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in the land, shall all the increase thereof be meat.*] For his own cattle, and for other men's: which were not to be fed with the fruits which are proper to men; (as Maimonides observes in the same book, cap. 5. sect. 5.) but if they came of themselves, and ate figs, for instance, they were not to be hindered. But it seems probable that wild beasts might be driven out of their vineyards, &c. in this year as well as others, because they made such waste as would have very much damaged the owner for the future. As for all other tame creatures, the Jews, (if we may believe Maimonides, cap. 7.) were so superstitiously careful they should have an equal share with themselves, that when there was no fruit any longer for the beasts in the field, they ceased to eat what they had gathered for themselves; and, if they had any thing of it left, threw it out of their houses.

Ver. 8. *And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee,* &c.] Which, put together, made forty-nine years; as it follows in the rest of this verse. They began their first account (as Maimonides there observes) from the fourteenth year after their entrance into Canaan; for they were seven years in conquering the land, and seven more in dividing to every one their portion: so that the first sabbatical year was in the one-and-twentieth, and the first jubilee in the sixty-fourth year, after they came to the land of promise; so he, cap. 10. where he observes, they numbered seventeen jubilees from that time to their captivity in Babylon, which fell out in the end of a sabbatical year, and the thirty-sixth of the jubilee.

Ver. 9. *Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubilee.*] The word *jobel* (which we translate *jubilee* in the next verse) is not in the Hebrew, but *teruah*, which, in the margin, we translate *loud of sound:* for the trumpet was blown after a different manner at this time, than upon other occasions, that every one might understand the meaning of it.

*To sound.*] In the Hebrew the word is, *cause it to pass*, that it might be heard every where throughout the land. So these words may be most literally translated, *thou shalt cause to pass the trumpet loud of sound.*

*On the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement.*] This day was very fitly chosen, that this year might begin at the same time that a general atonement was made for the sins of the whole nation: for they would be the better disposed to forgive their brethren their debts, when they craved pardon for their own.

*Shall ye make the trumpet sound* (or *pass*) *throughout all your land.*] This is repeated, to make them careful to awaken every one to this duty, by the sound of the trumpet at every door; there being an unwillingness in most people to part with their servants, and their lands, &c. which they had long enjoyed. And therefore, every private man, as Maimonides saith, was bound to blow with a trumpet, and make this sound nine times, that they might fulfil these words of this precept, *throughout all your land.* By this means, as R. Levi Barzelonita notes, every one was the better inclined to hearken, when he saw it was a duty incumbent on the whole country, which all were to perform.

Ver. 10. *And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year.*] Distinguish it from all other years, by doing what follows. Maimonides fancies, that these two precepts of *numbering seven*

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*sabbaths of years,* (ver. 8.) and of *sanctifying the fiftieth year,* were delivered only to the house of judgment; whose business, no doubt, it peculiarly was, to give notice of this year, and to cause the trumpet to be sounded, and all the following precepts to be observed. (Schemitta ve Jobel, cap. 10. num. 1.)

*And proclaim liberty.*] Unto all servants, who were this year made free.

*Throughout all the land.*] Even in all the highways, as Aben Ezra glosses, that every one might have notice.

*Unto all the inhabitants thereof.*] That is, to all the children of Israel who were servants; or so poor, that they had sold their estates, as it here follows. From these words the Jews gather, that after the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half tribe of Manasseh were carried captive, jubilees ceased. They are the words of Maimonides in the forenamed treatise; for then *all the inhabitants of the land* were not in it. And therefore much more when they were all carried captive, they only numbered the rest of every seventh year without any jubilee.

*It shall be a jubilee unto you.*] Whence this year hath the name of *jobel,* there are so many opinions, that Bochartus himself scarce knew which to follow. Josephus saith it signifies ἐλευθερίαν, *liberty;* and the LXX. and Aquila translate it ἄφεσιν, *remission,* having a regard to the thing, rather than to the import of the word *jobel,* which never signifies any thing of that nature. D. Kimchi tells us, that R. Akiba, when he was in Arabia, heard them call a ram by this name of *jobel;* and thence some fancy this year was so called, because it was proclaimed with trumpets of rams' horns. But what if there were no such trumpets? as Bochart thinks there were not, these horns being not hollow. See Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 43. p. 425, &c. where several other opinions are confuted. The most probable that I meet withal, is, that it was called *jobel,* from the peculiar sound which was made with the trumpet when this year was proclaimed. For the trumpet blowing for several purposes, *viz.* to call their assemblies together, to give notice of the moving of their camps, to excite soldiers to fight, and to proclaim this year; there was a distinct sound for all these ends, that people might not be confounded, but have a certain notice what the trumpet sounded for. And this sound mentioned before (ver. 9.) was peculiarly called *jobel,* as Hottinger thinks, who considers a great many other opinions in his Analecta, Diss. iii. wherein he follows Joh. Forsterus, who, near a hundred years before, observed that *jobel,* which we commonly translate *trumpet,* (Exod. xix. 13. and other places) doth not signify the instrument itself, but the sound that it made. And when it is used absolutely alone, it signifies this year, which was called *jobel,* from that sound which was then made; as the feast of unleavened bread was called *pesach,* from the angel passing over them when he slew the Egyptians. The opinions of the Hebrew writers about it are collected and largely represented by Josephus de Voisin, (lib. i. de Jubilæo, cap. 1.)

*And ye shall return every man unto his possession.*] Unto his field, or his house, which his poverty had forced him to sell: but now was restored to him without any price, because they were not sold absolutely, but only till this year. By which means the estates of the Israelites were so fixed, that no family could ruin itself or grow too rich. For this law provided against such changes, revoking once in fifty years all alienations, and setting every one in the same condition wherein he was at the first. By which means ambition was retrenched, and every man applied himself with affection to the improvement of his inheritance, knowing it could never go out of his family. And this application was the more diligent, because it was a religious duty, founded upon this law of God.

*And ye shall return every man unto his family.*] From which he had been estranged by being sold to another family, either by himself, or by his father, or by the court of judgment. So here are two parts of the liberty forenamed more expressly declared: their land, which was alienated, returned to the first owner; and such as were sold for servants into another family came home again to their own family, being freed from their servitude. Which was a figure of that *acceptable year of the Lord,* as St. Luke calls it, (chap. iv. 19.) in the prophet Isaiah's language, wherein our blessed Saviour preached deliverance to all mankind. The Jews themselves are not so stupid as to think nothing further was intended, but only freedom from bodily servitude in this year of jubilee; for Abarbinel himself, in this very verse, endeavours to discover something of a spiritual happiness. For the former part of the words now mentioned, *ye shall return every man to his possession,* he saith, belongs to the body; but the latter part, *and every man unto his family,* belongs unto the soul, and its return to God: so several others, whom J. de Voisin produces in the forenamed book, (cap. 2.) And, if our Dr. Lightfoot hath made a right computation, the last year of the life of our Saviour, who, by his death, wrought an eternal redemption, and restored us to our heavenly inheritance, fell in the year of jubilee, the very last that was ever kept. For, if we count from the end of the wars of Canaan, which was seven years after they came into it (and I do not know why we should not think they began to number then, and not seven years after, as Maimonides would have it), there were just fourteen hundred years to the thirty-third of Jesus Christ, that is, just twenty-eight jubilees. And it is the confession of the old book called Zohar, as he observes, that "the Divine Glory should be freedom and redemption in a year of jubilee." (See Harmony of the New Testament, sect. 59. and Usserii Chronologia Sacra, cap. 13.)

Ver. 11. *A jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you.*] It is a question, whether the year of jubilee was the year following the forty-ninth year; or, the forty-ninth year was the jubilee; which, reckoning the foregoing jubilee for one, was the fiftieth year. Josephus Scaliger, in his fifth book de Emend. Temporum, and several other great men, are of this last opinion, to avoid a great inconvenience, which otherwise would ensue, *viz.* that the forty-ninth year being the sabbatical year, in which the land was to rest, if the next year to that had been the jubilee, two sabbatical years would have come immediately one after another; for the land was to rest in the year of jubilee, as it here follows. One would have expected, therefore, that in the forty-eighth year there should have been a special promise, that the land should bring forth fruit for four years, and not for three only, as the blessing is promised every sixth year, (ver. 21.) Thus Jacobus Capellus reasons, in his Historia Sacra et Exotica ad A. M. 2549. But others think

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this objection not to be so great as to make them depart from the letter of this law, which saith, (ver. 10.) *ye shall hallow the fiftieth year;* and here in this verse, *a jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you.* Though a very learned man, P. Cunæus, thinks this of no great moment either way; for it is usual, in common speech, *septimanam octiduum appellare* (and Hospinian, in like manner, we call a week *octiduum, eight days,* because we reckon *utramq; Dominicam, both the Lord's days).* And the greatest writers anciently called an *olympiad,* which contained but the space of four complete years, by the name of *Quinquennium.* (See lib. i. de Republ. Judæorum, cap. 6.) Yet, besides the express words of the law, the consent of the Jews sways very much the other way; for they accurately distinguish between the *schemitta,* or year of remission, and *jobel,* the year of jubilee, even then when these two solemnities succeeded each other; as I shall have occasion to observe on the next verse.

*Ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it.*] Because it was the sabbatical year, (ver. 4, 5.) as some will have it; from the observance of which they were not absolved by its being the jubilee. But others think, as I observed, that the jubilee itself was a new sabbatical year.

Ver. 12. *For it is the jubilee.*] He doth not say it is the *sabbath of the land,* as he doth of the seventh year, (ver. 6.) Which makes for their opinion who think the jubilee was not the same with that, but a new sabbatical year; so that two years together they neither sowed nor reaped. But they that maintain the other opinion, look upon this only as a new reason why they should forbear such labour this year; because, besides that it was the sabbatical year, it was also the jubilee; a time of great joy, in regard of the liberty to which every one was restored; which made it more necessary every one should enjoy what the earth brought forth of itself, and none appropriate any thing to themselves.

*It shall be holy unto you.*] Because it was the Lord's sabbath, (ver. 3.) separate from the common employments of other years; being dedicated to the uses expressed in this law, (ver. 10.) which are two; manumission of servants, and restitution of men to their ancient possessions: unto which some add a third, *viz.* remission of debts. But the Jews are of a quite contrary opinion; that in this the year of jubilee differed from the sabbatical year—that debts were remitted in the one, but not in the other. Whence those words of Maimonides, in the treatise I have so often mentioned: (cap. 10. sect. 16.) "In this the sabbatical year excels the jubilee, that it remits debts, which the jubilee doth not: but the jubilee in this excels the sabbatical year, that it sets servants free, and restores possessions, which the other doth not. And the jubilee likewise restores possessions in the very beginning of the year; but the sabbatical year doth not release debts till it be ended."

*Ye shall eat the increase thereof out of the field.*] By plucking what they needed for every day's use; but not by reaping, and gathering, and laying up in barns.

Ver. 13. *In the year of this jubilee ye shall return every man to his possession.*] This being the most remarkable thing belonging to the liberty of this year, it is therefore here again repeated. For it was so famous, that the heathens themselves took notice of it; insomuch, that Diodorus Siculus saith, (lib. xi.) it was not lawful for the Jews τοὺς ἰδίους κλήρους πωλεῖν, *to sell their own inheritances:* meaning, as Mr. Selden expounds it, (Lib. de Success. ad Leges Hebr. cap. 14.) to sell them quite, so as to alienate them for ever from their families; which is expressly forbidden, (ver. 23.) And so the Locrians, as is observed by Aristotle in his Politics, were prohibited, by their laws, to sell their ancient possessions. (See P. Cunæus, lib. i. de Repub. Jud. cap. 4.)

Many reasons are given, by learned men, for this law among the Jews, (see Menochius, lib. iii. de Repub. Hebræor. Quest. 3.) The most obvious is, that by this law God fixed the Jews to the land of Canaan; since all their possessions were so entailed, that the right heir of any of them could never be wholly excluded from his estate; but it would entirely return to him after a certain number of years. And, by this means also, they preserved a distinct knowledge of their several tribes and families to which they belonged; for which end their genealogies were of necessity to be carefully kept, that they might be able to prove their right to the inheritance of their ancestors. By which means, as Menochius notes, it was certainly known of what tribe and family the Messiah was when he was born. And M. Alix hath taken notice (which is worth observing), that God ordered things so, that they should have the means of preserving their genealogies, by not suffering them to continue in captivity out of their own land, for the space of two whole jubilees. For they were but seventy years in Babylon; in which short time their genealogies could not be easily confounded, especially since several who saw the first temple burnt, lived to see the second begin to be rebuilt. Two other reasons are most judiciously managed by Petrus Cunæus, lib. i. de Republ. Hebr. cap. 3. to which I refer the learned reader.

Ver. 14. *If thou sellest aught to thy neighbour, or buyest aught of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another.*] As Moses took care that the wealth of some should not oppress the poverty of others, by making the foregoing law, that a poor man should not lose his land for ever; so, in buying of a poor man's land, he would not have the rich man give less for it than it was worth; no more than the poor man require more for it than its just value till the year of jubilee. The Hebrew doctors have formed a rule about this: that if a man bought any thing for a sixth part less than its worth, or sold it for a sixth part more than its worth, he was bound to restore that sixth part; but nothing at all if it were short of a sixth part, wherein he had damaged his neighbour. But if the difference was more than a sixth part, the buyer might rescind his contract, if the bargain was not quite finished, and require his money again. And the seller (if the damage was on his side) might at any time require the thing to be returned to him at the price for which he sold it. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 5.)

Ver. 15. *According to the number of years after the jubilee, thou shalt buy of thy neighbour.*] They were to consider how many years were gone since the last jubilee, and consequently to purchase the profits of the remaining years till the next; for they could not, either by sale or any other contract, transfer *plenum fundi dominium* (as Cunæus speaks), *their full interest in the land* to any other man.

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*And according unto the number of years of the fruits he shall sell unto thee.*] He that sold the remaining term of years till the jubilee was to consider, that every sixth year there was no fruit, and therefore he should demand nothing for them; but set his price only according to the number of the other years, not reckoning those.

Ver. 16. *According to the multitude of years thou shalt increase the price thereof, and according to the fewness of years thou shalt diminish the price.*] This is added only to make what was said before plainer, that the price should rise or fall, according as there were more or fewer years to come before the next jubilee. For example, Maimonides puts this case: if there be ten years to the jubilee, and a man buy another's field for a hundred pence; after which, the buyer having enjoyed it three years, the seller hath a mind to redeem it; he must then give to him that bought it of him seventy pence. In like manner, if the buyer have enjoyed it six years, the seller must give him forty pence.

*For according to the number of the years of the fruits doth he sell unto thee.*] Therefore, if a man, saith the same Maimonides, (cap. 11. num. 6.) sell another a field full of fruit, and, after two years, would redeem it, he must not demand him to restore the field as he sold it, full of fruit, because it is said here, *according to the multitude of years*, or *fewness of years* (and, in the foregoing verse, *according to the number of years after the jubilee)*, which shews the *years* only were to be considered in the redemption, and not the *fruits.*

Ver. 17. *Ye shall not therefore oppress one another.*] The seller by demanding too much, nor the buyer by giving too little.

*But thou shalt fear thy God.*] For nothing could be so powerful as the fear of God to restrain them from oppression, and to preserve an equality between the land to be sold and the price to be paid.

*For I am the Lord your God.*] Whose land this is, and by whose favour you enjoy it.

Ver. 18. *Wherefore ye shall do my statutes, and keep my judgments.*] Which are the tenure whereby you hold this land of me.

*And ye shall dwell in the land in safety.*] And if you obey them, you shall not be disturbed in it by your enemies.

Ver. 19. *And the land shall yield her increase, and ye shall eat your fill, and dwell therein in safety.*] He encourages them in their obedience, by a promise of plenty and abundance, as well as of safety and security in their possessions.

Ver. 20. *And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year?* &c.] To take away all distrust of his promise, he removes an obvious objection which might arise in their minds: that they might want food, if they neither sowed, nor gathered in their increase, in the seventh year, as he required.

Ver. 21. *Then will I command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years.*] This is the answer to the doubt they might have of wanting sustenance, that he would bless them with such a plentiful crop in the sixth year, as should be sufficient for that and for the two following years. From which Petrus Cunæus thinks the argument very strong, that there were not two sabbatical years together, one in the forty-ninth, and another in the fiftieth year; for then the earth in the sixth year should have brought forth not for three years, but for four; which was never heard of in any country. Palestine, indeed, was a country, to which God afforded an extraordinary blessing, beyond the common laws of nature; yet, since there are no testimonies of so great and frequent a miracle in the book of God, we ought not easily to believe this. Thus he, lib. i. de Repub. Heb. cap. 6. To which it may be replied, that this was not so frequent as he makes it, but only once in *fifty* years: and the reason why Moses here saith, *the land should bring forth fruit for three years*, and not for *four*, is, because he speaks only with respect to the common sabbatical years (every *seventh* year), not to the *great sabbatical* year, as they call the *forty-ninth;* before which, God may very well be supposed to have blessed the earth with a larger crop than in any other preceding sixth year. Besides, though it is said they should not *sow* in the jubilee, (ver. 11.) yet it is not said they might not prune their trees, as it is of other sabbatical years, (ver. 4.) so that they might be dressed as in other common years, to yield a plentiful increase for their support in the succeeding year.

Ver. 22. *And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat yet of old fruit until the ninth year.*] Some have interpreted these words, as if they were to eat the old store, till the fruits of the *ninth* year came in; and bring it as an argument, that the sabbatical year began in March; whereas the plain sense is, that the fruits of the eighth could not be thrashed out for food till the ninth year. And then the next words,

*Until her fruits come in, ye shall eat of the old store.*] Are not to be understood of the fruits of the *ninth* year, but of the fruits of the *eighth*, which were to be eaten in the *ninth.* Till then they were to live upon the old store; which served for two years, beside the sixth.

Ver. 23. *The land shall not be sold for ever.*] Having mentioned the selling of their land, (ver. 14—16.) he here again enacts it should not be sold for ever: which may be called the *lex agraria* of the Jews, whereby estates were preserved in the family to which they belonged at the division of the land by Joshua: for they could not be quite *cut off*, as the words are in the Hebrew, which we translate *for ever;* or, as it is in the margin, *for cutting off;* so that the seller and his heirs should be cut off from it, as Mr. Selden interprets it; or, as the LXX. εἰς βεβαίωσιν, *by an alienation never to be rescinded:* but all estates were at the jubilee to return to their first owners, or their heirs, though they had changed possessors a hundred times, by being sold so oft. And the same law held in donations, as much as in sales; as Maimonides observes. Yet this is to be understood only of absolute alienations, without any mention of time; for if any man sold, without fraud, an estate to his neighbour for sixty years, it was not to return to him, or his heirs, in the year of jubilee, which came before the expiration of that term; for in the jubilee, saith he, nothing returns but that which was sold for ever, (Halicoth Schemitta ve Jobel, cap. 11. sect. 2. and see Selden de Successionibus ad Leges Hebr. cap. 24.)

*For the land is mine.*] I reserve to myself the supreme dominion in it, and propriety of it; and have disposed it to you on such terms as I thought fit.

*For ye are strangers and sojourners with me.*] These words suggest another sense of the foregoing; that their land was God's, as he dwelt in a special manner there in

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the sanctuary, which was his royal palace: and they were all his tenants, who held the land of him as long as he pleased; but were no more to him, than the proselytes were to them. The land was his, and not theirs; and they did but enjoy the use and the fruits of it, but had not the property. (See Mr. Mede, p. 157.)

Ver. 24. *And in all the land of your possession, ye shall grant a redemption for the land.*] If any man whose poverty had forced him to sell his land, grew afterward so rich, that he was able to redeem it before the year of jubilee, this law provides he should be permitted to do it, and the buyer could not refuse it. But then this was to be done honestly and truly: he was not to borrow money of another man to redeem it; no, nor sell other land to redeem that which he had sold before, which they looked upon as a fraud to the buyer. Therefore he had this right, only in case he was grown rich since the sale; otherwise he was to stay till the year of jubilee, when it returned to him for nothing. So Cunæus out of the same Maimonides, (lib. i. cap. 2.)

Ver. 25. *If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession.*] No man, if we may rely upon the same Maimonides, might sell his house or his field till the time of jubilee, unless poverty compelled him to it. For it was not lawful to sell it, that he might lay up the price of it in his coffer; or exercise merchandize; or buy goods, servants, or cattle; but only buy necessary provision with it. But if any man did transgress, and employ the money otherwise, the sale notwithstanding was held to be good.

*And if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall be redeemed what his brother sold.*] Here is a further enlargement of this liberty; that if any of his near relations would redeem the land he had sold (though he was not able to do it himself), it should be allowed: for the design of Moses in this law was, "Ne paucorum opulentia quandoque cæteros opprimeret," *lest the wealth of a few should at any time oppress the rest.*

Ver. 26. *And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it.*] In the Hebrew it is, *his hand hath attained and found sufficiency:* which justifies the limitation the Jews put upon this, (as I observed, ver. 24.) that he should not have the right of redemption, unless he was grown able to repurchase it since the sale of it.

Ver. 27. *Then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it.*] This was the manner of the redemption: they counted how many years were gone since the sale; and if there remained just so many more to the jubilee, then he paid the buyer half the price at which he purchased it, for its redemption. But if the number of years from the sale to the jubilee were not equal, then he deducted proportionable to the years he had enjoyed it since the purchase, and gave him as much as the years remaining till the jubilee were worth. And if he sold a field at first for a hundred pounds, suppose, and he that bought it sold it to another for two hundred, he was to redeem it, as Maimonides saith, according to what was first given for it, because it is said here, he shall restore the overplus *unto the man to whom he sold it.* In like manner, if a man sold a field for a hundred pounds, which in the hands of the buyer so improved, that it might be sold for two hundred, the redemption was to be according to what was first paid for it. But if he sold it for two hundred pounds, and it was grown so much worse that it was worth but a hundred, it was to be esteemed in the redemption according to the present value. His reason is, because "the condition of him that sold his inheritance was always to be bettered; and the condition of him that bought it to be made worse."

Ver. 28. *But if he be not able to restore it to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the hand of him that bought it, until the year of jubilee.*] If he could not pay him the money it cost him, according to the forementioned proportion, nor any of his kindred redeem it for him, then he that bought it was to enjoy all the profits of it till the jubilee.

*And in the jubilee he shall go out, and he shall return to his possession.*] The purchaser was to quit his possession of the land; and he that sold it enjoy it again for nothing. And whosoever he was that possessed the land at the jubilee, though it had been sold never so often before it came to him, the jubilee ejected him, and restored the land to the first owner, or his posterity. For no man, as was before observed, could either by sale, or any other contract, transfer the full dominion of his land to another man; so that it should be his for ever.

Ver. 29. *And if a man sell a dwelling-house in the walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold.*] This verse and the next make a great difference between houses in walled cities, and lands in the country. If such houses were sold, men could not redeem them from the purchaser when they pleased, but must do it within the compass of a year, or else they were barred for ever; and the year of jubilee would not relieve them.

*Within a full year may he redeem it.*] He might redeem it the next day after he had sold it, if he pleased, paying the full price that was given for it: and if he that sold it was dead, his son might redeem it: or if he that bought it was dead, it might be redeemed from his son, if done within the year: but his kindred could not redeem it, nor might he borrow money to redeem it, nor redeem it by parcels; but he might sell some of his goods to redeem it. So Maimonides, in the forementioned treatise, (cap. 12.) where he saith, If a man sold a house in such a city, and the jubilee fell out in the year of sale, it did not restore the house to the seller; but continued his that bought it, unless within a year from the day it was sold it was redeemed.

Ver. 30. *And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house shall be established for ever to him that bought it.*] The reasons for this law seem to be such as these; that by this means (as Menochius observes, lib. iii. de Republ. Hebr. cap. 11.) cities might be better filled with inhabitants; who were invited thither, when they had hope of a settlement there. And secondly, that men might not rashly and easily part with their houses, which they could never recover, after they had let one year slip, which was allowed for their redemption. And thirdly, tribes and families were not distinguished by houses they had in cities; from whence it was that the Levites might possess them, who otherwise are said to have no possession in the land of Canaan. And lastly, perhaps it was intended by this law, that proselytes, who were not of the Hebrew nation, and could have no fields or vineyards, might yet have something of their own stable and certain: and not be forced always to want a perpetual possession.

*It shall not go out in the jubilee.*] They say in the Ge-



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mara of Bava kama, that the houses in Jerusalem were not subject to this law; because that city, as they pretend, did not belong to any certain tribe. (See L'Empereur upon that book, cap. 7. p. 172.)

Ver. 31. *But the houses in the villages, which have no walls round about them, shall be counted as the fields of the country,* &c.] The quite contrary law is made for country-houses, which might be redeemed at any time; and if they were not, returned to their first owners at the jubilee. The reason of this difference is very plain; for the houses in walled cities were their own proper goods; but in the country they were accounted part of the land which was God's. And so these words are to be understood, they *shall be counted as the fields in the country:* that is, fall under the same law with the lands, (ver. 23.)

Ver. 32. *Notwithstanding the cities of the Levites.*] Of which we have an account, Numb. xxxv. 2. These are excepted from the foregoing law concerning houses in walled cities; as it here follows.

*And the houses of the cities of their possession may the Levites redeem at any time.*] Not any of their houses; but only those which they possessed in the forty-eight cities assigned to them for their habitations. If they purchased houses in any other places, they were subject to the same law with other men, (ver. 29.) Insomuch, that a Levite, who was heir to his mother, who was an Israelite, was to redeem as other Israelites did, and not after the manner of the Levites; for the Levites had a right different from other men only in the *cities of their possessions;* as Maimonides observes in the forecited book, (cap. 13.) But if an Israelite was heir to his mother, a Levite, he redeemed as the Levites did, though he were not of that tribe; because the right of their redemption "was tied to the places, and not to the persons;" as he there speaks.

Ver. 33. *And if a man purchase of the Levites, then the house that was sold, and the city of his possession (*i. e. *in the city of his possession), shall go out in the year of jubilee.*] If he did not redeem it before, it was to come back to him for nothing in this year. But there is another translation in the margin, which the first words will bear, *viz. If one of the Levites redeem them.* Though he was not near of kin, (ver. 25.) yet any Levite might redeem any of these houses: however, they were to be restored to that tribe at the jubilee.

*For the houses of the cities of the Levites.*] It is plain by this, that in the foregoing words he speaks of the *houses,* and not of the *cities* themselves.

*Are their possession among the children of Israel.*] They were of the same nature with the land that other tribes had; which could not be alienated for ever. For they having no other possessions that could be sold, but houses, it was reason these houses should return to their owners at the jubilee, as other men's possessions did, (ver. 10.)

Ver. 34. *But the field of the suburbs of their cities.*] See Numb. xxxv. 4, 5.

*May not be sold.*] As their houses might be; but if any man bought them, the bargain was immediately void. The tradition among the Jews (as Maimonides says in the same place), was, that *not be sold* in this place, signifies *not be changed;* so as to turn a suburb into a field, or a field into a suburb; but fields, suburbs, and cities, were to continue perpetually in the same state.

*For it is their perpetual possession.*] Their fields were to be always in their own hands. And the reason why houses might be sold, when the fields could not, seems to be this: because the houses belonged to particular Levites, who might alienate them for a time, and not suffer much by it; but the fields of the suburbs were common to the whole body of the Levites, who would have been undone if they had wanted pasture for their flocks, which were all their substance. Some indeed fancy that these suburbs were enclosed, and every family of them had its several portion; but as there is no proof of this, so, had it been thus, such families could not, without great inconvenience, have wanted their lands for the feeding of their flocks.

Ver. 35. *And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen to decay with thee.*] In the Hebrew it is, *When his hand faileth;* so that he is not able by his labour to support himself and his family.

*Then shalt thou relieve him.*] By bestowing alms upon him (as the Jews interpret it), not by lending him money; though the following words seem to incline this way: (see Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6.)

*Yea, though he be a stranger or a sojourner.*] By a *stranger* they understand a proselyte of righteousness, and by a *sojourner* a proselyte of the gate; as Mr. Selden there observes, out of Jarchi and Abarbinel, p. 694. They say Hyrcanus was the first that began ξενοτροφεῖν, *to entertain strangers of other countries,* by building hospitals for their reception.

*That he may live with thee.*] Have a comfortable subsistence by the relief of charitable people; for every Jew, they say, was bound to contribute something towards it; and this was to prevent their selling themselves, as some did, through extreme poverty, (ver. 39.)

Ver. 36. *Take thou no usury of him, or increase.*] Though these are promiscuously used, yet the next verse seems here to expound *usury* to signify that which is taken for money; and *increase* that which is taken for corn, fruits, or goods. They that would see more of these two words, *nesek* and *tarbith,* may consult Salmasius de Usuris, where he hath largely discoursed of them. I shall only further observe, that this precept follows the other of relieving poor people by alms very fitly; because it is as great a charity unto some to lend them money without usury, as it is to give freely unto others. (See notes on Exod. xxii. 25. Deut. xxiii. 19.)

*But fear thy God.*] Lest he that is so good to thee, should punish thee for thy inhumanity towards the poor; of whom he hath a care, as well as thee.

*That thy brother may live with thee.*] This is repeated, to shew that by these laws God intended to provide for the poor such a comfortable subsistence in their own country, that they might not be tempted to forsake it, and therewith perhaps forsake their religion.

Ver. 37. *Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase.*] Some thought, if they lent money freely, they might receive more than they lent of other things; therefore, the latter clause of this verse was added, to prevent such oppressions as St. Jerome mentions; who says, some would lend a neighbour ten bushels, of corn, suppose, in winter, to receive fifteen bushels for it the next harvest.

Ver. 38. *I am the Lord your God, which brought you*

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*forth out of the land of Egypt.*] Who have obliged you with far greater blessings than I command you to bestow upon others.

*To give you the land of Canaan.*] Under such covenants as have been mentioned.

*And to be your God.*] To preserve you in the possession of it in peace and plenty, if you keep these covenants, (ver. 18, 19.)

Ver. 39. *And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee.*] Some were sold by the court of judgment, when they had committed theft, and were not able to make satisfaction; of whom the Hebrews interpret that place, Exod. xxi. 2, &c. Others were sold by their parents, (ver. 7, 8. of that chapter.) But others sold themselves, being reduced to great poverty, notwithstanding the alms that had been bestowed upon them, and the money or goods that had been freely lent them. And of such the Hebrew doctors understand these words; and say, it was not lawful for a man to sell himself till his poverty was extreme, and he had nothing at all left, but must preserve his life by the price which was given for him. Thus Maimonides, in these words: "A man might not sell himself to lay up the money which was given for him; nor to buy goods; nor to pay his debts; but merely that he might get bread to eat. Neither was it lawful for him to sell himself, as long as he had so much as a garment left." See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 7. where he observes, that the court of judgment might not sell a thief of their nation to any but to a Hebrew; not to a proselyte of either sort; much less to a mere gentile. But if a Hebrew sold him to a proselyte, or to a gentile (which he was admonished not to do), the bargain was good; but he was to be redeemed by his kindred, or by the people; as it here follows, ver. 48, 49. Which other people imitated, who derived their laws from Moses; particularly the ancient Indians (as Huetius observes out of Diodorus), whose philosophers commanded that none of their nation should submit themselves to servitude, (Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 6.)

*Thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bondservant.*] As a slave, which they bought of other nations, or took in their wars; over whom they had an absolute dominion (as they had over their goods, or cattle), and might bequeath them and their children to their sons and posterity for ever, (ver. 45, 46.) or sell them and their children at their pleasure.

Ver. 40. *But as a hired servant, and as a sojourner.*] They were to treat him gently; as they did those who let out their service for wages, for a certain time, and then were at their own disposal again.

*Shall he be with thee.*] Some of the Jews have carried this very far in speculation. For thus they gloss upon this place in Jalkut: "Let him be with thee in meat and drink; so that thou do not eat bread of fine flour, and he of bran; nor thou drink old wine, and he new; nor thou lie on a soft bed, and he upon straw." But it is not likely that this was their practice.

*And shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee.*] Beyond which time it was not lawful to keep him in service: for in the very beginning of this year, all such servants were immediately dismissed. Which made the year of jubilee such a time of joy, that for *nine* days together, before it began, these servants kept a kind of Saturnalia, in prospect of their approaching happiness. For, as Maimonides saith in the latter end of the tenth chapter of Schemitta ve Jobel, from the beginning of the year until the day of atonement, "Servants were neither dismissed, nor yet served their masters; but they did eat, and drink, and made merry; wearing garlands on their heads. And when the day of atonement came, the Sanhedrin commanding the trumpet to be sounded, all servants immediately went whither they pleased; as lands were restored to their first owners."

Ver. 41. *And then shall he depart from thee.*] His master to whom he was sold might keep him till the jubilee: whereas he that was sold by the court of judgment might go free, if he pleased, in the *seventh* year of release, (Exod. xxi. 2.)

*Both he and his children with him.*] He that bought a servant of the court of judgment, was bound to maintain his wife and children, if he had any, with meat, drink, and clothes; and yet they were not bound to serve him: much less did they remain servants, when their father's and mother's servitude was at an end; as Mr. Selden observes in the forenamed place: and therefore it was much more reasonable in this case, that he and his children should go out together.

*And shall return unto his own family.*] From which he was gone, while he remained a servant.

*And unto the possession of his fathers shall he return.*] If any was befallen him since his servitude.

Ver. 42. *For they are my servants, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt.*] A good reason why they should not be treated like slaves; because they were all redeemed by God out of the slavery of Egypt into a state of perfect liberty.

*They shall not be sold as bondmen.*] Not publicly, and in the common place of sale, or in the street; but privately, and in a way of honour, (as the Jewish phrase is.) So Maimonides, alleged by Mr. Selden, in the forenamed place, p. 705. But the plainest sense is, they should not be used like slaves, while they continued in servitude; for though they had the use of them in all bodily employments, yet their bodies or persons were not theirs, and therefore they might not use them as they pleased. So it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 43. *Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour.*] As Pharaoh did over all the Israelites, (Exod. i. 13, 14.) or as the Israelites were wont to do over their servants of other nations; but gently use their service in such employments, as would not be unworthy of them if they were freemen.

*But shalt fear thy God.*] Remembering that they were all slaves in Egypt, and delivered by his wonderful goodness; which was thankfully and reverently to be acknowledged.

Ver. 44. *Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen.*] If they would have any slaves, they were to be such of other nations, as were sold to them, or were taken by them in their wars. Whence the very name of *mancipia* came, as the Roman lawyers tell us, *quasi manu capti:* and the name of *servus* also, which signifies one who was saved, when he might have been killed.

*Round about thee.*] He doth not say, *in the midst of thee;* for they were bound to destroy the people of Canaan.



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*Of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids.*] If they had need of their service. But it does not appear that they had any great number of them; nor had they any great occasion for them, being themselves so laborious, and breeding their children to look after their land and their cattle (in which their estates chiefly consisted), and being also so very numerous in a small country.

Ver. 45. *Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy.*] Whether they were perfect proselytes by circumcision, or only proselytes of the gate, (as Mr. Selden observes, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 8.) their children were not exempted from being made slaves, if they sold them to the Hebrews.

*And of the families that are with you, which they begat in your land.*] If any of their family or kindred, as the LXX. translate it, had begat children in Judea, and would sell them, the Jews might make a purchase of them.

*They shall be your possession.*] Become your proper goods, and continue with you as your lands do, unless they have their liberty granted to them. And the first sort of proselytes obtained it three ways; either by purchasing it themselves, or by their friends; or by being dismissed by their master, by a writing under his hand; or in the case mentioned in Exod. xxi. 26. where the loss of an eye, or a tooth, by the master's severity, serve only for examples of other maims, which procured such a servant his liberty. But the second sort of proselytes did not obtain their liberty, if we may believe the Hebrew doctors, by this last means, but only by the two first. And the year of jubilee gave no servants of either sort their liberty.

Ver. 46. *And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you.*] To whom they might bequeath the very bodies of them and their children.

*To inherit them for a possession.*] That they might have the same power and dominion over them, that they had over their lands, goods, or cattle.

*They shall be your bondmen for ever.*] Not have the benefit of the year of jubilee, but be your slaves as long as they live; unless they, by any of the means beforementioned, obtained their liberty.

*But over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule over one another with rigour.*] As they did over the slaves beforenamed; whose masters (as the Hebrew doctors say) were not bound to find them food and raiment; and, besides, might treat them with the greatest severity, provided they did not strike out an eye, &c.

Ver. 47. *If a sojourner or stranger.*] The Chaldee interprets these words, *an uncircumcised proselyte.* And so Maimonides says, they signify one who hath undertaken the precepts of the sons of Noah; whom they also call, in their books, *the pious among the gentiles.* (See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 3. p. 153.)

*Wax rich by thee.*] As many of them did by trading, though they could not purchase land.

*And thy brother that dwelleth by him waxeth poor.*] Which was a case, Moses supposes before, (ver. 35.) might happen.

*And sell himself unto the stranger and sojourner by thee.*] So I observed before (ver. 39.) they might do, though they were admonished not to do it; and the bargain held good, though they sold themselves to a gentile. So Onkelos here translates it, *If thy brother sell himself to an Aramite, i. e.* to an idolater; for idolatry was thought to have sprung first from them: Terah and Nahor being Aramites, who were the first idolaters mentioned in the holy Scripture.

*Or to the stock of the stranger's family.*] To one that sprung out of the family of a proselyte; who, though now incorporated into the Jewish nation, yet, being originally of a stranger's stock, was not to have the privilege to keep a Hebrew sold to him from the benefit of redemption.

Ver. 48. *After that he is sold.*] And actually in the possession of a stranger.

*He may be redeemed,* &c.] The Hebrews understand this, as if some of his kindred were bound to redeem him; or, if they did not, he was to be redeemed at the charge of the country; and that, though he sold himself a second time, after he had been redeemed. But if he sold himself a third time, they looked upon him as unworthy of redemption, unless it were merely to save his life. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 7.) But the fifty-fourth verse seems to suggest, that they were not bound to redeem him; though they might, if they pleased, and his master could not refuse it.

*One of his brethren may redeem him.*] This Redeemer (saith R. Bechai) is the Messiah, the Son of David, of the tribe of Judah: which I mention to shew, that the Jews thought there was something more Divine couched under this law of the jubilee, (as I observed, ver. 10.) than the very letter of it imported. Though the truth is, they wretchedly mistook the business of the Messiah: for the same R. Bechai (speaking of this section of the law) saith, "It contains a sign and a hope to Israel of redemption from the captivity of the four monarchies;" as if the Messiah should have nothing to do, but to put them in possession of their own country, and to make them lords of the world.

Ver. 49. *Either his uncle, or his uncle's son, may redeem him,* &c.] Here the persons are named by whom his redemption might be made; which, in short, was by any man of his family.

*Or, if he be able, he may redeem himself.*] If, after his sale, an estate fell to him, whereby he became able to redeem his liberty.

Ver. 50. *And he shall reckon with him that bought him, from the year that he was sold to him unto the year of jubilee,* &c.] That no injury might be done to his master, they were to compute how long he had served him, and how long he had still to serve, and what price was paid for him; and then, according to the number of years gone and to come, he was to make his demands: which is the meaning of the following words, *And the price of his sale shall be according to the number of years.*

*According to the time of a hired servant shall it be with him.*] The labour and service that he had done him was to be valued, as they would do that of a hireling (who wrought for so much by the day or the year), and deducting that from the price which was given for him, the remainder was the price of this redemption.

Ver. 51. *If there be yet many years behind, according unto them he shall give again the price of his redemption.*] If he had served but a few years, and there were many to come before the jubilee; then there was less to be deducted from what his master gave for him, and the price of his redemption was higher. But if there remained *but few*

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*years unto the year of jubilee* (as it follows in the next verse), then less was to be given for his redemption, because he had had his service a long time.

Ver. 53. *And as a yearly hired servant shall he be with him.*] His master was to treat him as a hired servant, who let out his service for wages by the year; and that both with respect to the price of his redemption, and to his usage while he remained in his service; as appears by the next words.

*And the other shall not rule with rigour over him.*] Use him harshly and severely; for one Israelite was not permitted to use another in that manner, (ver. 43.) and therefore much less was it to be suffered from a stranger.

*In thy sight.*] If they observed any such rigorous usage, they were to endeavour to get it remedied by the authority of the magistrate.

Ver. 54. *And he be not redeemed in these years, then he shall go out in the year of jubilee.*] If neither his kindred nor country redeemed him, nor he was able to redeem himself, (ver. 49.) from the time he was sold to the year of jubilee, he was to stay till then; when he went out, as others did, without paying any thing for his liberty. By which it is evident, that he had not the benefit of the seventh year of release, as Hebrew servants had who served Hebrew masters. For it had been unequal, if Hebrews sold to proselytes had been discharged from their service so soon, when the children of proselytes sold to Hebrews (ver. 45.) were to be their inheritance for ever. It was more reasonable (and therefore so here enacted), that the Hebrews sold to proselytes should not be free till the year of jubilee, unless they were redeemed by themselves or their friends. By which law also they were made more careful not to sell themselves to strangers.

*He and his children with him.*] It seems a proselyte was bound, when he bought a Hebrew servant, to maintain his family while he served him; as the Hebrews were bound to do, when they bought one of their own nation, (ver. 31.)

Ver. 55. *For unto me the children of Israel are servants; they are my servants, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt.*] He would not have them serve with rigour, nor beyond the year of jubilee, because they were his servants by a peculiar title, being redeemed by him from the Egyptian bondage, where they were held a long time in cruel servitude, (ver. 38.)

*I am the Lord your God.*] Your sovereign, who will be ever kind to you, while you serve and obey me.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Ver. 1. *YE shall make you no idols.*] This precept hath been often mentioned; but being now to enforce all his precepts by the most solemn promises and threatenings, he repeats the principal thing upon which all depended, which was, that they should keep close to the worship of him, the only God, and abhor all idolatry, which he knew would corrupt their manners.

The Hebrew word *elilim* hath been observed before, (chap. xix. 4.) to express contempt; signifying the *idols* (as we translate it) which the heathen worshipped, to be mere empty vanities, things of nought, as we speak; and therefore to be rejected with disdain, rather than any way regarded.

*Nor graven image.*] The Hebrew word *pesel* signifies the image of any thing hewn out of wood or stone: (see Exod. xx. 4.) These images the gentiles did not worship, till they were dedicated and consecrated with certain rites and ceremonies (which were very various, according to the difference of the deities, and the superstitions of several countries), by which consecration they imagined their gods were invited to be present in these images and statues; otherwise they were not so stupid, as to worship wood and stone.

*Neither rear up a standing image.*] The Hebrew word *matsebah*, is translated by the LXX. στύλην, *a pillar*, as we also translate it in the margin. And if we translate it *statue*, or *standing image*, we are not to understand by it the figure of a man, or of any other creature; but, as the Hebrews seem rightly to take it, for any work, an altar for instance, which is erected and set up for sacred assemblies to be held thereat, though they be to the true God. So Maimonides, (as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6.) who saith, this was the custom among idolaters, to erect such statues to their gods. And so Pausanias saith (in his Achaica), that in ancient time among the Greeks, universally, ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι τιμὰς θεῶν, *rude stones, instead of images, had Divine honours paid to them.* (See Maimonides de cultu Stell. et Plan. cap. 6. sect. 8.) These were the most ancient monuments of all other; and being plain and simple, might be thought to be less tempting and inviting, than those images which had the figure of men, or other creatures; yet, even these God forbids to his people, because he would have no representation of him whatsoever, though it might seem to have no danger in it. These were they which the Greeks called Βαιτύλια. (See upon Gen. xxviii. 19. and Selden de Diis Syris, Syntag. 2. cap. 1.)

*Neither set up any image of stone in your land.*] There was greater reason they should not set up *Eben Maschkith*, which signifies *carved or figured* stones that had pictures cut in it, as the Hebrews understand it. (See Maimonides in the place beforenamed, and Dionys. Vossius's notes upon him.) And Mr. Selden observes, also, it was unlawful to set up these *in their land* (as Moses here speaks), though it were without the temple; and it was no more permitted to a proselyte than to an Israelite. If any man did make such statues he was beaten.

Possibly this may signify such images as were common among the Egyptians in aftertimes; which were not representations of their gods, but were full of symbols and hieroglyphics, expressing some of the perfections of their gods. These God would as little allow among his people as any of the former: such caution he used to prevent this sort of idolatry, by *image-worship.*

*To bow down unto it.*] Though they did not worship it, but only worship God before it.

*I am the Lord your God.*] Who admit of no such things where I am worshipped, (Exod. xx. 4.)

Ver. 2. *Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary,* &c.] See chap. xix. 30. where there is the same precept: which seems to be here repeated, because, if they *kept his sabbaths,* they would preserve them from idolatry, being appointed for the worship of the Creator of all things; especially if they had such a sense of his Divine majesty as wrought *reverence* in them, even to his sanctuary.

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Ver. 3. *If ye walk in my statutes, and keep my commandments, and do them.*] If the regard you have to my majesty make you obedient to my laws.

Ver. 4. *Then will I give you rain in due season.*] Here follow the promises of all things that men naturally most desire for their happy living here in this world. And first he assures them they should have fruitful seasons, which depended upon rain in due time, (Jerem. v. 24.) For Canaan was not a country like Egypt, which was watered and made fertile by the overflowing of their river; but without rain was quite barren.

*And the land shall yield her increase.*] Corn for the use of men; and grass for the cattle.

*And the trees of the field shall yield their fruit.*] Which was very various every one knows, such as figs, pomegranates, dates, apples, &c. which he promises they should never want.

Ver. 5. *And your thrashing shall reach unto the vintage, &c.*] This is a promise of such plenty of corn, that before they could have reaped it all, and thrashed it out, the vintage would be ready, and call for their labour about it; and before they could have pressed out their wine, it would be time to sow again: as much as to say, they should have such abundance, that they should have scarce time enough to receive and lay up one blessing before another came upon them.

*And ye shall eat your bread to the full.*] Have no want of any sort of provision (which is comprehended under the name of *bread),* but as much as you can desire: which promise may seem to have a peculiar regard to the command lately given, chap. xxv. 4. 11. though there he took care to secure them by a special promise, that they should not want in those years, (ver. 20, 21.) and therefore much less in any other.

*And dwell in your land safely.*] Plenty would have been little satisfaction to them, if they had been in danger to lose it, or to be disturbed in it; and therefore he promises to defend and protect them in the secure enjoyment of it. (See chap. xxv. 18, 19.)

Ver. 6. *And I will give peace in your land.*] There shall be no insurrections or seditions in your country, which are wont to arise from poverty and discontent: for this seems to relate to peace among themselves; as the latter end of the verse, to freedom from the desolations their enemies might make among them.

*And ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid.*] It is a promise to preserve them from housebreakers and robbers.

*And I will rid evil beasts out of the land.*] Which (as it will appear from ver. 22.) made lamentable havoc when they increased, and were let loose upon them: but these God promises to extirpate, if they would be obedient, either by hindering their breed, or making them devour one another, or driving them out of their country.

*Neither shall the sword go through your land.*] Their enemies should not be able to penetrate their country, to make any ravage there.

Ver. 7. *And ye shall chase your enemies, and they shall fall before you by the sword.*] This supposes their neighbours might invade their country, but should fail in their attempt, and be driven away with shame.

Ver. 8. *And five of you shall chase a hundred, and a hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight.*] That is, a few shall be too hard for a great multitude; as it proved in the conquest of Canaan: insomuch that Joshua saith, (chap. xxiii. 10.) *One man of you shall chase a thousand.* Which was fulfilled in the days of Gideon, who, with three hundred men, put to flight a vast army, (Judg. vii. 22.)

*And your enemies shall fall before you by the sword.*] Which commonly made a greater slaughter in their flight than was made in the battle.

Ver. 9. *For I will have respect unto you.*] The reason of which great success (as well as of the plenty beforementioned), he would make them sensible, was God's great kindness and favour towards them, as the reward of their obedience. This Joshua most thankfully acknowledges, chap. xxiii. 9.

*And make you fruitful, and multiply you.*] Make you a populous, and consequently a powerful nation.

*And establish my covenant with you.*] Keep it inviolably, and most certainly perform it: (see Gen. vi. 18.)

Ver. 10. *And ye shall eat old store.*] Have a great deal of old corn left when the new is come in.

*And bring forth the old because of the new.*] Have so much of it left, as to want room for it when the new is to be laid up.

Ver. 11. *And I will set my tabernacle amongst you.*] This is the great promise of all, that his tabernacle, wherein he dwelt among them, should remain and abide with them: for it was set already among them; but now he promises it should be *fixed:* that is, his Divine presence should continue with them.

*And my soul shall not abhor you.*] I will not cast you off, because of your offences; for which I have appointed an expiation.

Ver. 12. *And I will walk among you.*] Conduct you from place to place, all the time you are in this wilderness. For he dwelling in the tabernacle, in the cloud of glory which covered it; when that cloud was taken up, the ark presently moved to go before them, and led them to the next station, where they should pitch their tents, Numb. x. 11, 12. (See Exod. xxv. 8.) This is given as the reason why they should keep their camp from all impurities: (see Deut. xxiii. 12—14.)

*And I will be your God, and ye shall be my people.*] Bring you to the land of Canaan; and there continue with you, and bless you, as my peculiar people.

Ver. 13. *I am the Lord your God, which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt.*] I will not leave my own work imperfect; but as I delivered you from the Egyptian slavery, so I will continue to preserve your liberty and happiness.

*That ye should not be their bondmen.*] Remain any longer their slaves, as they intended to make you for ever.

*And I have broken the bands of your yoke.*] When you could not deliver yourselves, I set you free from the heavy burdens which oppressed you.

*And made you go upright.*] They were so loaded with insupportable burdens in Egypt, that they could not look up, but hung down their heads with heaviness: till God, by setting them free, made them go out from thence, not with dejected, but with cheerful countenances. For that is the meaning of making them *go upright:* as freemen, not bowed down with oppression, but lifting up their heads for joy at their deliverance: (see Exod. xiv. 8.)

Ver. 14. *But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not*

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*do all these commandments.*] After the promise of these extraordinary blessings, as the reward of their obedience, he threatens them with as extraordinary plagues and calamities, if they were disobedient. And as nothing moves us more powerfully than hope of some good, or fear of some evil; so there are no greater blessings in this world than those which God's promises gave them hope to enjoy, nor greater evils than those of which his threatenings put them in fear. But such is the Divine goodness, he always offers mercy before he proceeds to judgment, and mingles judgment with mercy, before he proceeds in rigour of justice. Which will appear in the following threatenings.

Ver. 15. *And if ye despise my statutes, or if your soul abhor my judgments.*] They were not thus wicked at the first; but disobedience to God's commands (mentioned in the foregoing verse) proceeded to a contemptuous neglect of them; and that in time to an abhorrence of them.

*So that ye will not do all my commandments.*] Though often admonished by his prophets; whose messages they not only rejected, but slighted and despised.

*But that ye break my covenant.*] By forsaking him, and falling to idolatry. For that was the principal thing in the covenant, that they should have no other God, but him alone.

Ver. 16. *I also will do this unto you.*] I will alter the method of my providence towards you.

*I will even appoint over you.*] Or, as it is in the Hebrew, *upon you:* causing the following diseases to seize upon them (as the phrase signifies) and arrest them; that they might feel the heavy displeasure of Him, whose laws they set at nought.

*Terror, consumption, and the burning ague.*] It is not certain what diseases are comprehended under these words; especially the first, *behalah,* which we translate *terror.* But, coming from a word importing *haste* and precipitancy, I take it to signify the *falling sickness;* whereby people are so suddenly surprised, that they sometimes fall into the fire by which they sit.

The other two words probably are rightly translated. For the next, *sachepheth* is by Kimchi and a great many others understood to signify a *consumption,* or a *hectic fever;* though R. Solomon and some others seem to take it for a *dropsy;* for he says it is a disease that puffs up the flesh, or (as David de Pomis) makes it to break out in blotches. (See Bochart in his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 18.) As for the last word, *chaddachat,* it coming from a word denoting *great heat,* may well be translated a *burning fever.*

*That shall consume the eyes.*] Make you look ghastly.

*And cause sorrow of heart.*] Take away all the comfort of life.

*And ye shall sow your seed, but your enemies shall eat it.*] Next to bodily sickness, he threatens them with the incursions of their enemies; which was a higher punishment than the former, according to that of David, it is better to fall into the hands of the Lord than into the hands of men.

Here also it is observable, he doth not threaten the worst that their enemies might do to them; but first, that they should carry away their harvest, and make a scarcity among them; and in the next verse, speaks of delivering them to be slain by them.

Ver. 17. *And I will set my face against you.*] Be extremely angry with you. (See chap. xvii. 10.)

*And ye shall be slain before your enemies.*] The neighbouring nations oft-times made great slaughter of them, and conquered them; as we find in the book of Judges, and in the beginning of the first book of Samuel.

*They that hate you shall reign over you.*] And grievously oppressed them, (Judges iv. 3. vi. 2, &c.) This made them very contemptible; and was a just punishment of their contempt of God's laws.

*And ye shall flee when none pursueth you.*] Lose all your courage; directly opposite to the promise, ver. 7, 8.

Ver. 18. *And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me.*] If by these sore punishments they were not reclaimed from their idolatrous practices, he threatens to send greater.

*Then will I punish you seven times more for your sins.*] The number *seven* is used for any indefinite multitude, and therefore here signifies a great increase of their plagues; which, by their continued provocations, became more and more grievous than in former ages.

Ver. 19. *And I will break the pride of your power.*] That power wherein you glory. Which some understand of the *sanctuary;* which in the days of Eli was forsaken of the *ark of God's strength* (as the Psalmist calls it), 1 Sam. iv. 10, 11. But it seems rather to relate to their numerous forces, which at the first were every where victorious; but, after sundry defeats in foregoing times, were in the days of Saul reduced to such straits, that they hid themselves in caves, and pits, and thickets, &c. and there was not a sword or a spear to be found in any of their hands (save Saul's and Jonathan's), when they should have fought with their enemies, (1 Sam. xiii. 6, 7. 22.)

*And I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass.*] The one, he means, should afford no rain, and the other, for want of moisture, bring forth no fruit; which must needs make a sore famine among them.

Ver. 20. *And your strength shall be spent in vain,* &c.] This is a further description of that calamity; when, after all their labour in ploughing and sowing their land, or digging and dunging their trees, they brought forth nothing for their sustenance. We read in Scripture of such famines, wherein man and beast were ready to perish; particularly 1 Kings xvii. 1. 12. xviii. 15. 2 Kings viii. 1.

Ver. 21. *And if ye walk contrary unto me.*] Go on in your idolatrous courses, directly contrary to my commands, (ver. 1.)

*And will not hearken unto me.*] Be obedient to the admonitions of his prophets, whom he sent to call them to repentance.

*I will bring seven times more plagues upon you according to your sins.*] As their sins increased, so did their plagues: for these that follow are more dreadful than the foregoing. And it was a high aggravation of their sins, that they would take no warning by the severe punishments which God inflicted upon their forefathers. This augmented his plagues upon succeeding generations; which, as Dr. Jackson speaks, usually run by *the scale of sevens;* so that if we call the literal meaning to a strict arithmetical account, these later plagues were *nine-and-forty times* heavier than the former. But it is most likely, a certain number is put for an uncertain; yet denoting a very great increase of their punishments, beyond what had been in preceding times.

It ought to be observed, that there is in the margin another rendering of the first words of this verse *(If ye walk*

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*contrary to me),* which some follow; *If ye walk at all adventures with me;* that is, live carelessly, as if you had no regard at all to me; I will have as little regard to you, or concern for you. But the ancient translations go the other way.

Ver. 22. *I will also send wild beasts among you, which shall rob you of your children,* &c.] If the terrible *famine* would not work upon their stubborn hearts, no more than the forenamed *sicknesses* and *wars,* (ver. 16, 17. 19, 20.) then he threatens they and their cattle should be devoured by wild beasts; the principal of which were lions, unto which the depopulation and devastation of countries are ascribed in Scripture; particularly in the prophet Jeremiah, (chap. ii. 15. iv. 7.) where the Assyrians and Nebuchadnezzar are therefore compared to lions, because by those fierce beasts countries were sometimes laid desolate; man and beast being destroyed by them. We read of no other that killed the people planted in Samaria by the king of Assyria, instead of the Israelites, whom they carried away captive, (2 Kings xvii. 25.) And God threatened to destroy the remnant of Moab, by the same means, (Isai. xv. 9.) But there were other wild beasts also to do this execution, (Jer. v. 6.) As bears, who killed two-and-forty children at one time, (2 Kings ii. 24.) Serpents and cockatrices, (Jer. viii. 17.) And in general, that prophet threatens the destruction of Judea by such creatures, (Jer. xv. 3.) Nor are examples wanting in other histories of such calamities; one monument of which continues still in the church. For the solemn prayers in Rogation week were first instituted (as Sidonius relates), by Mamertus bishop of Vienne, in France, for this reason among others, that wolves and other wild beasts did very great mischief in those parts. (See Sirmondus, in lib. vii. Epist. 1.) Nay, some countries have been so infested with smaller creatures, particularly Spain, by conies, that they left no thing untouched; being noxious not only to roots and seeds, but subverting whole towns, which were undermined by them. And in the neighbouring islands, called Baleares, they were so plagued with them, that they were forced to petition Augustus to send soldiers to defend them from these little animals. (See Bochartus, in his Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 7.)

*And your highways shall be desolate.*] For travellers would not venture into the highways, for fear of the wild beasts, and because of the scarcity of people to give them entertainment. It is observable, that this plague is directly opposite to the blessing promised unto their obedience, (ver. 6.) where he saith, *I will rid evil beasts out of the land;* which was never overrun with them till it was overspread with wickedness.

Ver. 23. *If ye will not be reformed by me, by these things.*] He would have them observe his hand in all these punishments; by which he intended their reformation.

*But will walk contrary unto me.*] See ver. 21.

Ver. 24. *Then will I also walk contrary unto you.*] Serve you in your kind, and still make your plagues more grievous, as your stubbornness grows more obstinate. To what was said before of this matter, I shall add the interpretation of Maimonides, in his More Nevoch. (par. iii. cap. 36.) where he thus glosses on this place: "If, when I inflict upon you these punishments, you believe them to be accidental things, mere *chances* (so he understands the word *keri,* which we translate *contrary*), then will I deal with you according to your opinion, and lay more heavy punishments upon you: for because they believed these plagues happened by *accident,* which were the consequents of their false opinions and evil works, therefore they did not reform them; as Jeremiah saith, (chap. v. 3.) *Thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved.*" Thus he.

*And will punish you yet seven times for your sins.*] If we should follow the literal exposition mentioned ver. 21. then those plagues there threatened being *seven times multiplied,* would make the plagues threatened in this verse, for their multiplied transgressions, *three hundred and forty-three times* greater than the first, ver. 18. But the meaning is only, that they should still grow more numerous and more destructive.

Ver. 25. *And I will bring a sword upon you.*] This seems to be no new plague, having been before threatened, ver. 17. Therefore the meaning is, that he would send three sore judgments upon them, all at the same time, *viz. war, pestilence,* and *famine;* which are contained in this and the next verse. Of *war* and *famine* at once, see Jer. xiv. 18. and xvi. 4. Of *pestilence* added to them, together with captivity, chap. xv. 2—4. and xliv. 12, 13. and see Ezek. vi. 11, 12. and still worse, Ezek. xiv. 21.

*That shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant.*] My quarrel with you for the breach of that covenant which you solemnly made with me, (Exod. xxiv. 3. 8. and xxxiv. 10—12, &c.)

*And when you are gathered together within your cities.*] Thinking there to defend yourselves against your enemies, by impregnable fortifications.

*I will send the pestilence among you.*] To destroy the soldiers in your garrison.

*And ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy.*] Forced to surrender, because you have no men left to defend the place.

Ver. 26. *And when I have broken the staff of bread.*] Taken away its power to nourish you (as Bochart expounds it), or rather, taken bread itself from you, which is the support of life by a sore famine, (ver. 10.) If they either wanted corn to make bread, or their corn had no heart in it (as we speak), either way they would be starved.

*Ten women shall bake your bread in one oven.*] That is, there shall be such scarcity, that a small oven shall be sufficient to bake bread for ten families, *i. e.* for a great many, as the number *ten* in Scripture signifies, (1 Sam. i. 8. Job xix. 3.)

*And they shall deliver you again your bread by weight.*] Distribute to every one in the family a certain quantity; not enough to satisfy them, but only (as we speak) to keep body and soul together. So it follows:

*And ye shall eat, and not be satisfied.*] Never have enough to satisfy their hunger; but, by eating, made to crave the more to eat: so Pellicanus glosses, who thus concludes his notes on these verses, *Hæc sunt arma Dei contra insensatos,* &c. "*These are the weapons of God against stupid wretches;* which no wicked man can evade, when God in anger begins to fall upon them. Let no man, though never so great and rich, hope to be safe from the hand of the Lord, *who can kill kings by worms and lice when he pleaseth.*"

Ver. 27. *And if you will not for all this hearken unto me,*

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*but walk contrary to me.*] If all these plagues have no better effect upon you than the former. (See ver. 21. 23, 24.)

Ver. 28. *Then will I also walk contrary to you in fury.*] His indignation rises proportionable to their offences: for now he not only saith he will set *his face against them,* (as he speaks, ver. 17.) but proceed against them, *in fury;* by such punishments as should quite ruin them.

*And I, even I will chastise.*] The very manner of speech expresses anger and indignation: being as if he had said, I will make you know who it is that you have despised, (ver. 15.) The word *jissarti* also, which we render *chastise,* imports smarter punishments than those expressed by *hickethi,* I will *smite,* or punish you, (ver. 24.)

*Seven times for your sins.*] If we should by a literal account multiply the number of plagues mentioned, ver. 24. *seven times,* the threatening here would amount to this: that their rebellion, not amended by so many plagues, but continued still from age to age, (notwithstanding all the corrections inflicted on them for their reformation, ver. 23.) should in conclusion be punished *one thousand one hundred ninety-seven times* more severely than at first, (ver. 18.) But the simple sense is, that their obstinate contempt of his laws, should be punished with new and more grievous plagues. Which was fulfilled, as our Dr. Jackson observes, (book i. on the Creed, chap. 22.) in their captivity, in the days of Manasseh, Jehoiachim, and Zedekiah: and again in the time of Ptolemy, the first under Antiochus Epiphanes. For these latter calamities were at least *seven times* greater (both for extent and durance) than the former persecutions, which they suffered from the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, and Syrians. By all which, and by what follows, it plainly appears, that these threatenings were a kind of prediction. For Moses evidently foresaw they would not prove so obedient as he desired, (Deut. xxxi. 27, 29.) and consequently that these threatenings, in case of disobedience, would turn into prophecies. Unto every one of which their history exactly answers; as the book of Deuteronomy will give me occasion to shew more fully.

Ver. 29. *And ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat.*] This is the very utmost calamity that could come upon a people: and yet (as Conradus Pellicanus observes) it is put before the throwing down of their high places and images, &c. As if the devouring of their children (such was their incredible lust after idols) would seem a less evil to them, than the loss of their images.

This was fulfilled among the Israelites in the siege of Samaria, (2 Kings vi. 29.) and among the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem before the Babylonian captivity, (Lament. iv. 10.) and in the last siege by Titus, as Josephus relates, (lib. vii. de Bello Judaico, cap. 8.)

Ver. 30. *And I will destroy your high places.*] Where they were wont to worship their idols, according to the manner of the heathen; who built temples, and altars, and offered sacrifices to their gods, upon mountains and high hills; especially such as were shaded with trees. Insomuch, that the Indians in Philostratus call the high mountain Caucasus, Θεῶν οἶκον, *the house of the gods.* And the ancient Persians, (as Herodotus saith in his Clio, cap. 131.) ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες, *going up to the top of the highest mountains,* there offered sacrifices unto Jupiter; calling the whole circle of the heavens by that name. And in the island Naxus the highest mountain was also consecrated to him; as from his worship on Mount Athos he is called Ἄθως in Hesychius. They that would see more of this matter, may look into Cuperus's Apotheosis Homeri, p. 15, 16, &c. And the reason of their choosing these places for their worship was, because they thought their sacrifices would be more acceptable there than in valleys. For, as Lucian himself saith, they thought themselves in such high places to be nearer to their gods, and so should more easily obtain audience, Ὅτι τῶν εὐχωλέων ἀγχόθεν ἐπαΐουσι οἱ Θεοί. (Lib. de Dea Syr.) and Tacitus saith the same in the last book of his Annals.

How much the Israelites were inclined to follow the nations of the world in this, appears too plainly by their history; which shews that high places were frequented in the reigns of their good kings, as well as of their bad. Yea, they were so fond of them, that when they could not go to them, they offered upon the tops of their houses, (Jer. xix. 13. xxxii. 29. Zeph. i. 5.)

*And cut down your images.*] The Hebrew word *chammanecem,* which we translate *your images,* properly signifies *temples erected for the worship of the sun,* as Aben Ezra says upon this place. For it is certain that the Hebrews call the sun *Chammæ;* from whence comes the word *Chamman,* the temple of the sun: whom the ancient Phœnicians took to be the Lord of Heaven. So Sanchoniathon, Τοῦτον γὰρ (speaking of the sun) Θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ Κύριον. Though it is very probable, that, as superstition increased, the name of *Chammanim* was given to other temples, as well as those of the sun. (See Bochart in his Canaan, lib. ii. cap. 17.) Others take this word to signify what the Greeks call Πυραθεῖα and Πυρεῖα, *temples of the fire;* which being worshipped by the eastern people, temples were erected in honour of it. But this is not much different from the former: the Persians worshipped the sun in the fire, which was the symbol and representative of the sun: (see Selden Syntagma ii. de Diis Syris, cap. 8.)

*And cast your carcasses upon the carcasses of your idols.*] Which were both burnt together, as some imagine. However, this expresses the utmost contempt both of them and of their idols; who were alike detestable. Their fondness of them also when they were alive seems to be represented by throwing them upon them when they were dead. And the Hebrew word *gillulim* (which we barely translate *idols),* importing something belonging to the dunghill, is taken by some to signify the images of Baal-peor; who was worshipped, as the Jews say, after a most beastly manner. These idols, whatsoever they were, though dressed up finely, yet were no better than dead *carcasses,* without any life or soul in them. And we might think (if that superstition were so old) that Moses alludes to the little images of Isis, which were made of plaster and clay, and are found frequently in the sepulchres of Egyptians at this day. Unto which Christoph. Arnoldus (in his epistle to Wagenseil) thinks the Talmudists allude, when they say that Pharaoh's daughter, becoming a proselyte to the Jewish religion, washed herself in the river Megullile, from these dunghill idols (as some render it) of her father's house, (Excerp. Gemaræ in Sota, cap. 1. sect. 40.) The Dutch interpreters translate it *dreck-goden,* not merely for the matter (as Arnoldus thinks), but also for the form of a beetle, which lives in dung: for so they represented Isis, as Plutarch



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tells us in his book de Isid. et Osir. (See Wagenseil Sota, p. 1176.)

*And my soul shall abhor you.*] As so offensive to me, that I can bear with you no longer. This is directly opposite to his promise, if they would be obedient, ver. 11. *My soul shall not abhor you.*

Ver. 31. *And I will make your cities waste.*] Their walls being thrown down, and their houses burnt.

*And bring your sanctuaries unto desolation.*] They had but one *sanctuary*, and therefore some think their *synagogues* are comprehended under this name; for they are sometimes called sanctuaries, as I observed before. But the sanctuary, properly so called, having several parts, which were all holy, Moses may be thought to speak of it here in the plural number. As Jeremiah represents the Jews, saying, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these;" (chap. vii. 4.) that is, both these courts wherein we stand, as well as that of the priests, and the most holy place, are all the Lord's temple. Or the word *your* is to be applied to such places of worship as they themselves had consecrated, in opposition to God's sanctuary.

*And I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours.*] This seems to determine the meaning of *sanctuaries* to God's own house, where *sweet odours* of incense, made of several sweet spices, were daily offered unto him: which being a representation of their prayers sent up to him, he here declares that he will not be appeased by them, nor by any sacrifices they could offer to him, but utterly reject them.

Ver. 32. *And I will bring the land into desolation.*] The people being carried captive, or forced to flee into strange countries, (ver. 33.)

*And your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it.*] They that possess this country, out of which you are expelled, shall be amazed when they reflect upon the calamities that are fallen upon you: which Jeremiah describes as very dreadful, (chap. vii. 20.) and often mentions the astonishment wherewith they were struck, who beheld them, (chap. xviii. 16. xix. 8. xxv. 9. 11.) and see 2 Chron. xxix. 8, 9. which shews this began before Jeremiah's time.

Ver. 33. *And I will scatter you among the heathen.*] Some fled into one strange country, and others into another, according as they could find means and opportunity; insomuch, that there were no known places where they were not dispersed. So Jeremiah threatens, chap. xiii. 24. xv. 4.

*And I will draw a sword after you.*] So Jeremiah threatens those that would go into Egypt for safety; that "the sword which they feared should overtake them there," (chap. xlii. 16—18.)

*And your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste.*] For they that were left there, and their enemies to whom the country was given, were not enough to cultivate the land and build their cities. By all this, as well as by what follows, it appears that here is a plain prediction of the miseries that came upon Israel, by Tiglath-Pileser and Salmanasar; and upon Judah by Nebuchadnezzar; who laid their cities waste, destroyed the sanctuaries, despoiled them of their goods, drove them into strange countries, and, as it here follows, made their land keep its sabbaths.

Ver. 34. *Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemy's land,* &c.] This is a most bitter reproach to them for their ingratitude to God, and inhumanity to their brethren, in not keeping the sabbatical year, mentioned in the foregoing chapter. Dr. Hammond hath another notion of the word, which we translate *enjoy:* (see Note g. upon Psal. cii. p. 504.)

Ver. 35. *As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest.*] Lie untilled, as it ought to have done every seventh year. And it lay thus seventy years; because, as some think, they had neglected to keep so many sabbatical years: which we cannot think to be true, without supposing that they kept none for half the time, from their entrance into Canaan, till they were expelled out of it by the captivity of Babylon.

*Because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it.*] "For in those four hundred and ninety years (says Procopius Gazæus), when they were under the government of kings, there were seventy years to be kept as sabbaths: which, that the land might enjoy its sabbaths, were spent in the captivity of Babylon." We do not expressly read, indeed, of this profane neglect, while they dwelt in their land; but Jeremiah complains, that they did not, in his time, give their servants liberty in the seventh year, (chap. xxxiv. 17.) and he gives this as one reason why God delivered them up to slavery, (for so I understand those words, Lam. i. 3. "Judah is gone into captivity, because of affliction, and because of great servitude.") And from thence we may conclude, that the same covetous humour (and distrust of God's providence) made them not suffer their land to rest in that year; especially since the author of the second book of Chronicles expressly mentions this as a reason of their captivity, *to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah the prophet, until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths; for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbaths, to fulfil threescore and ten years,* (2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.) Now their punishment in this was made the more remarkable, if it be true, that both the kingdom of Samaria and the kingdom of Judah were destroyed in a sabbatical year; and that immediately after a jubilee, the city and temple were destroyed by Titus, according to Scaliger's computation. And so I observed before Maimonides makes account, (chap. xxv. 8.) that the year when they were carried captive to Babylon, and the first temple destroyed, was in the expiration of a sabbatical year, (Schemitta ve Jobel, cap. 10. sect. 3.)

Ver. 36. *And upon them that are left alive of you.*] This imports that the body of the people should be destroyed.

*I will send a faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies.*] Where their spirits sunk under their present miseries.

*And the sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them.*] And yet they were condemned to live in continual dread of more miseries. For the Hebrew word we translate *faintness* signifies *softness*, which could not support the weight of their affliction. And this last phrase imports such a timorousness as should make their life always uneasy to them, and such a cowardice as should render them vile and despicable. And so they are noted at this day to be mean-spirited and faint-hearted: it being scarce ever heard, that a Jew listed himself for a soldier, or engaged in the defence of the country where he lives.

*And they shall flee, as fleeing from a sword, and fall when none pursueth.*] Fancy they hear the sound of trumpets or clashing of arms; which made them start and run away, nay, fall into a swoon, when there was no danger.

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Such terrors the heathen themselves have observed, in men of an evil conscience, who are afraid of their own shadow, as they say of Orestes.

Ver. 37. *And they shall fall one upon another.*] As people are wont to do, when they make too much haste, and run confusedly; or the foremost hinder the flight of those that follow, (Jerem. xlvi. 16.)

*As it were before a sword,* &c.] For fear of the sword; as this Hebrew phrase certainly signifies, and is so translated in the margin of our Bibles, Isa. xxi. 15. and xxxi. 8. (See Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 8.)

*And ye shall have no power to stand before your enemies.*] Being so timorous as to flee when there were none (as it goes before), they could not stand before them when they appeared.

Ver. 38. *And ye shall perish among the heathen.*] Die with grief, or by diseases, poverty, oppression, and hard usage.

*And the land of your enemies shall eat you up.*] Insomuch, that the ten tribes never returned to their own land: but either perished by hunger and bad accommodations; or were swallowed up (as we say) into the body of another nation.

Ver. 39. *And they that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquities, in their enemy's land.*] With grief and sorrow, and sad reflections upon the miseries into which their sins, and the sins of their fathers, had thrown them: insomuch that death was more acceptable to them than life, (Jerem. viii. 3.)

*And also in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away with them.*] Especially those of Manasseh king of Judah, whose wickedness was so great, that the zealous reformation which his grandchild made could not turn away "the fierceness of God's great wrath against them," (2 Kings xxiii. 26, 27.)

Ver. 40. *If they shall confess their iniquity,* &c.] Though Moses had been above three times as long in recounting the plagues, which he either foresaw, or feared would come upon them for their sins, than in the blessings which he promised should follow their obedience: yet he plainly shews, that the blessings would have far excelled the curses, had not their disobedience hindered. For after all these dreadful calamities were come upon them, he concludes with a most gracious promise, that God would restore them to their own land, from whence they were expelled, if they truly repented of those sins which were the cause of it.

He means, by *confessing their iniquities, and the iniquities of their fathers,* &c. acknowledging them with such unfeigned sorrow as wrought repentance; without which he gave them no hope of deliverance. And it is well observed by a great divine of our own, that if, without confession of *their fathers' iniquities,* they could not be absolved from *their own,* their fathers' iniquity not repented of was their own, and so was the punishment due unto it.

*And that they have walked contrary to me.*] Both they and their forefathers; whose ways had been so contrary to God's laws, that, if they sincerely confessed it, God expected they should take the quite contrary course, and observe those precepts carefully which their fathers had violated.

Ver. 41. *And that I also have walked contrary unto them, and have brought them into the land of their enemies.*] Be sensible that all the miseries they have endured came not by chance, but were the just punishment I sent upon them for their sins: particularly that it was by my order that they were carried captive into a strange land.

*If then their uncircumcised heart be humbled.*] By an *uncircumcised heart* seems to be meant a heathenish temper of mind, insensible of God; which made them stubborn and refractory; and, therefore, this phrase is the same with a *hard heart:* for which there was no cure, but such remarkable judgments, as evidently carried in them the marks of a Divine hand: which when they saw, and submitted to it, he gives them hope of deliverance.

*And they accept of the punishment of their iniquity.*] Patiently bear it, as their just desert; and acknowledge they do not deserve to be delivered from it.

Ver. 42. *Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob, and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham.*] See Exod. iii. 6. He promises to restore them to their own land; according to the covenant made with their forefathers, that he would give it them for an everlasting possession. For to *remember* a covenant, or promise, in Scripture language, is to perform it, and make it good. Accordingly we find the forenamed confession made by Daniel, (chap. ix.) and he makes it in the name of all the people; among whom, no doubt, there were many that heartily joined with him: and then followed their wonderful restoration in the reign of Cyrus; of which we read, Ezra i. &c.

*And I will remember the land.*] Repeople it with its former inhabitants, &c. See 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. where this immediately follows the relation he had made of the land being laid desolate.

Ver. 43. *The land also shall be left of them, and shall enjoy her sabbaths,* &c.] This verse is very obscure; unless we take it to speak of a new expulsion out of their land, after their reduction to it. And then the next words,

*And they shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity.*] Must be interpreted, *after they had accepted,* or *though they had accepted,* &c. This made their sin the more provoking; that they offended God again, when he had so graciously forgiven them, and delivered them from a dismal captivity.

*Because, even because they despised my judgments, and because their soul abhorred my statutes.*] Returned to the very same wicked disposition for which they had been formerly expelled, (ver. 15.) This was fulfilled by degrees, by the successors of Alexander, and at last by the Romans.

Ver. 44. *And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies.*] He would not have them utterly despair of mercy, even after a new banishment, which hath now continued many ages. For this promise is not yet fulfilled; as Dr. Jackson observes, book i. on the Creed, chap. 31. sect. 9.

*I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly.*] As we see at this very day they are not *destroyed utterly,* but remain a great body in several countries; after above sixteen hundred years' expulsion from their own land.

*And to break my covenant with them.*] Never more to own them for my people.

*For I am the Lord their God.*] I still continue to have a

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peculiar right to their obedience, as they have to my kindness, if they will return to their duty.

Ver. 45. *And I will for their sakes remember the covenant of their ancestors,* &c.] The meaning cannot be, that God would be so gracious *for their sakes* who were so very wicked; but, as the words in the Hebrew are, he would *for them* (*i. e.* for their good and advantage) *remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom he had brought forth out of the land of Egypt;* that is, once more deliver them from their miserable condition, and restore them to his favour, that he may be *their* God. And that great man (now mentioned on the foregoing verse) observes, "That the continuation of their plagues seems so much interrupted, and the plagues themselves so much mitigated, in the last age (since the gospel hath been again revealed), as if their misery were almost expired, and the day of their redemption drawing nigh." But then they must first *confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers,* (as Moses speaks before, ver. 40.) *with their trespass which they trespassed* in crucifying Christ the Lord, *and accept the punishment of their iniquity,* acknowledging that so horrid a crime deserved so long and so heavy a punishment. For *every child* (as he observes in another place, book xi. p. 3750.) *is born,* as it were, *heir to his father's sins,* and to their plagues; unless he renounce them by taking their guilt upon him, and such hearty confession as this law prescribes, and patient submission of himself to God's correction.

Ver. 46. *These are the statutes, and judgments, and laws, which the Lord made between him and the children of Israel.*] This may be thought to refer either to all the foregoing book of laws, or to what is said in this chapter. Menochius thus expounds it: These are the punishments which God threatened to the breakers of his laws. But it is more reasonable to take in the whole, in this manner, *These are the statutes, and judgments, and laws* (together with the promises and threatenings annexed to them), *which the Lord made between him and Israel.*

*In Mount Sinai.*] See chap. xxv. 1.

*By the hand of Moses.*] By the ministry of Moses, who delivered these laws from God's own mouth.

It is obvious to observe, that, instead of *these are the laws which the Lord made between him and the children of Israel,* Onkelos, the famous Chaldee interpreter, hath, *between his Word and the children of Israel.* Which Theodoric Hackspan produces, among other places, to prove, that in those paraphrasts the Word of the Lord signifies no more than αὐτὸς, *himself.* Which, though it be true in some places, yet in others, as I have observed before, it cannot have that signification; particularly in Psal. cx. 1. where the Hebrew words are, *The Lord said unto my Lord;* which are thus expounded by Jonathan, *The Lord said unto his Word:* where it can signify nothing, but another Divine person. And so Onkelos might intend it here; that the Lord made all these laws between his eternal Word and them.

## CHAP. XXVII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Some religious people, it is possible, were touched with such a sense of what Moses had now delivered, in the foregoing promises and threats, that they thought of giving themselves wholly unto God, or of vowing some of their goods to him: and therefore he gives Moses further directions for the regulating of such vows.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When a man shall make a singular vow.*] And, first, if any man vowed himself, or his children, wholly to the service of God in the tabernacle, he directs what was to be done in that case. Which he calls a *singular,* or *extraordinary vow;* and by Philo is called εὐχὴ μεγάλη, *the great vow:* it being a wonderful piece of devotion (as the word *japhli* in the Hebrew imports), because men were desirous to help God's priests in the meanest ministry; such as bringing in wood, carrying out ashes, sweeping away the dust, and such-like.

*The persons shall be for the Lord by thy estimation.*] The meaning would have been more plain, if the words had been translated just as thy lie in the Hebrew, *According to thy estimation, the person shall be for the Lord.* For this immediately suggests to one's thoughts, that the service of the persons themselves thus devoted, was not to be employed in the tabernacle; but a value set upon them by the priest, and that to be employed *for the Lord, i. e.* for holy uses; for repairing the sanctuary, suppose, or any thing belonging to it. The reason why God would not accept the persons themselves, as they desired, but the value of them, for his service, seems to be, because there was a sufficient number of persons peculiarly designed for all the work of the tabernacle; which he would not have encumbered by more attendants there than were needful.

Ver. 3. *And thy estimation shall be.*] That the priest might not either overvalue, or undervalue any person, the rates are here set down which he should demand for their redemption.

*Of the male from twenty years old even unto sixty years old.*] For at twenty years of age (saith Procopius Gazæus) men begin to be fit for business, and continue so till sixty; when it is time to leave it off.

*Thy estimation shall be fifty shekels of silver.*] That this one rule should serve for all men, though of different qualities, Philo thinks was fit for several reasons, which he gives in his book of Special Laws: the principal is, because God regarded only the vow, the value of which was equal, whosoever made it, whether a great man or a poor.

*After the shekel of the sanctuary.*] See Exod. xxx. 13.

Ver. 4. *And if it be a female, then thy estimation shall be thirty shekels.*] Women could not be so serviceable as men, and therefore were valued at a less rate: for all that they could do was, to spin, or weave, or make garments, or wash for the priests and Levites.

Ver. 5. *And if it be from five years old even unto twenty years old.*] It appears by this, that, though a child of five years old could not make a vow, yet his parents might solemnly devote one of that age to God; and it did oblige them to pay what is here required for the use of the sanctuary.

*Thy estimation shall be of the male twenty shekels, and for the female ten shekels.*] Less is required than for those above twenty, because their life was more uncertain; and they were less capable to do any service, before they came to their full growth.

Ver. 6. *And if it be from a month old even unto five years old,* &c.] Before a child was a month old, it seems, it was

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not capable to be devoted to God; but then it might. And still less was demanded as the value of them; because children so small were very weak and imperfect, and the price therefore set accordingly. But the words may be understood, not of children that were a month old, but that were in the first month of their life: and Samuel we find was devoted to God before he was born.

Ver. 7. *And from sixty years old and above, if it be a male, then thy estimation shall be fifteen shekels,* &c.] They are valued much less after sixty than before, (ver. 3.) because their service then was little worth, and their life likely to be short.

*And for a female ten shekels.*] The Hebrews think it observable, that in their youth (ver. 3, 4.) males were valued almost double to females; but now, in old age, they are made almost of equal value: for old women continue very serviceable in many things, when old men are not; whence they have a saying, *An old woman in a house is a treasure in a house.*

Ver. 8. *And if he be poorer than thy estimation.*] If he be not able to pay according to the forenamed rates.

*Then he shall present himself before the priest.*] Who was then in attendance at the tabernacle; for he doth not speak of the high-priest, but of the lower.

*And the priest shall value him.*] According to the best information he could get of his ability; as it here follows.

*According to his ability that vowed shall the priest value him.*] He was to examine his condition; and accordingly set such a rate upon him as he might be able to pay, without undoing his family.

Ver. 9. *And if it be a beast.*] Now he proceeds to the second case; which was, when any man vowed to give God a beast of some sort or other.

*Whereof men bring an offering unto the Lord.*] And first he mentions clean beasts, such as God accepted at his altar; as these are explained by the opposite *unclean beast,* (ver. 11.)

*All that any man gives of such unto the Lord.*] Whether to be sacrificed or not.

*Shall be holy.*] Set apart for God's service, according to the nature of his vow; to be offered at the altar, if he so expressed it; or to be given to the priests and Levites, if that was his desire; or to be sold for the service of the tabernacle, if it was left at large.

Ver. 10. *He shall not alter it, nor change it.*] Some think these words, *alter* and *change,* are two expressions of the same thing. But the first word may signify, that he should not *alter* it for any other beast, or thing; and the second, that he should not *change* it for any beast of the same kind: but that very beast which was vowed, was to be given to the uses intended; and no other accepted in his stead, though it were really better.

*A good for a bad, or a bad for a good.*] If men had been left to their liberty, either to give unto God the beast they had vowed, or another in its room, they might have given a bad instead of a good, as Maimonides observes, which had been a great profaneness. But supposing those that were truly religious would have brought a good instead of a bad (that is, one much fatter and more valuable), God would not suffer it, because he would preserve a reverence to things once consecrated, which he would not should return to common uses, though a better thing was substituted in its room. If any man did change what he had vowed, though it were for the better, he was to be beaten, as Maimonides saith in his treatise on this subject, (cap. 1.)

*And if he shall at all change beast for beast, then it and the exchange thereof shall be holy.*] The man was to be beaten, and both the one and the other beast was to become God's. Which the Jews understand thus (as Maimonides tells us in the same treatise), that if he changed the beast he vowed twice or thrice, nay, a thousand times, they all became holy; and he was also to suffer the punishment of stripes for every one of them.

Ver. 11. *But if it be an unclean beast, of which they do not offer a sacrifice unto the Lord.*] Some comprehend under this, such beasts as, though in themselves clean, yet had some blemish in them, which rendered them unfit for sacrifice. But, as they could not be offered in sacrifice, so one would think it was not lawful to vow them either to that or any other holy use.

*Then he shall present the beast before the priest.*] That he might consider the worth of it.

Ver. 12. *And the priest shall value it, whether it be good or bad.*] Of a great price or a small. He was not allowed to exchange it for a clean beast; both because it was dedicated to God, and because that exchange might have been a great damage to the priest: many unclean beasts being of greater value than some clean; a horse or a camel, for instance, of greater price than a sheep or a goat.

*As thou valuest it, who art the priest, so shall it be.*] He directs his speech to the priest, to awaken his conscience, to attend and make upright judgment; because that was to be the value of it, which the priest determined it to be worth.

Ver. 13. *But if he will at all redeem it.*] It was in the man's choice, either to leave the beast with the priest, or to pay him the money at which he had rated it.

*Then he shall add a fifth part thereof unto thy estimation.*] If he chose the latter, it was a sign he thought it worth more than the price which the priest had set upon it, who could not understand the value of it so well as himself. And every man, as Maimonides observes, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46.) regarding his own advantage, and inclining naturally to save what he can; if a beast were not rated at its just value, he that had vowed it would be disposed rather to redeem the beast than let the priest have it. Which is the reason that God orders he should in this case pay a fifth part more than the priest set upon it, that he might be sure to give the full value.

Both this and the foregoing law was to preserve that from being vile and cheap, which bare the name of God (as he there speaks), and was consecrated to his uses.

Ver. 14. *And when a man shall sanctify his house to be holy unto the Lord.*] By vowing it to God's service; for of such *sanctifying* he speaks in this chapter: and this is the third case about vows; which commonly consisted in promising to God some part of their estates, either to serve for sacrifices, or to be kept for some sacred uses: whence came those vast treasures which were in the house of God, mentioned 1 Chron. xxvi. 26—28. for they were chiefly oblations of part of the spoils taken from their enemies, which David, and Saul, and Abner, and Joab had dedicated: together with the oblations of such persons as Samuel the

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seer, who is there said to have dedicated a great deal *to maintain the house of the Lord.*

*Then the priest shall estimate it, whether it be good or bad,* &c.] He makes the same law in this case which he had done about unclean beasts; that the priest should consider the worth of it, and accordingly set the price, having respect to the condition of the house, whether it was great or little, old or new, &c.

*As the priest shall estimate it, so shall it stand.*] That was to be the fixed price; which no man was to attempt to alter.

Ver. 15. *And if he that sanctified it will redeem his house.*] If he that vowed it to God, chose afterward rather to pay the price himself than part with the house, he was to submit to the law made in the foregoing case; which was, to add a fifth part to the rate set upon it. For there was another reason why many might make this choice, (besides that mentioned in ver. 13.) because, if they did not redeem it, the house could never return to them again; no, not at the jubilee. For it is probable, that the law concerning lands (which immediately follows) was the rule for houses also, which were valued according to their distance from the year of jubilee, at a higher or lower price, as lands were, (ver. 18. 22, 23.)

*Then shall he add the fifth part of the money of thy estimation, and it shall be his.*] "He that gave us the law, (saith Maimonides in his treatise on this subject, cap. *ult.*) knows the most intimate sense of all men's souls, and penetrates into the most secret recesses and lurking-places of human desires: and he seeing that their love of riches would make them very saving; so that, if out of a religious motion they had consecrated any thing to him, they would be prone to repent of it; he therefore ordained, that if any man had a mind to redeem what he had consecrated, he should add a fifth part to its just value;" that is, pay well for it.

Ver. 16. *And if a man shall sanctify unto the Lord.*] By a vow; after the same manner that some did a house, (ver. 14.)

*Some part of a field.*] This seems to signify, that it was not lawful for a man to vow his own field; that is, all his estate: because God would have no man's family undone and made beggars to enrich his sanctuary.

*Of his possession.*] Not purchased by him, but descended to him as an inheritance from his ancestors.

*Then thy estimation shall be according to the seed thereof.*] It shall be valued according to the quantity of seed which is required to sow it.

*An omer of barley-seed shall be valued at fifty shekels of silver.*] So much land as an omer of barley would sow, was to be rated at fifty shekels, and so proportionably; so much as would take up two omers at a hundred, or half an omer at five-and-twenty. Menochius thinks it was to be rated so much yearly; but there is not the least intimation of this in the text; and his only reason for it is this of Abulensis, that it would have been too little to give for a piece of land to be held forty-nine years. (See lib. ii. de Republ. Hebræor. cap. 19. Quæst. 7.) Which is of no force at all; for it is plain God designed a moderate rate should be set upon all things which men vowed to him; whereby men were not discouraged to vow. And this yearly rent had been excessive and oppressive: for a piece of land, which an *omer of barley* (*i. e.* about a pottle of our measure) would sow, could yield no great crop, and consequently could not be of a considerable value; barley also being much cheaper than wheat. Concerning an *omer,* see Exod. xvi. 36.

Ver. 17. *If he sanctify his field from the year of jubilee.*] Make this vow immediately after the jubilee, or in that year.

*According to thy estimation.*] Beforementioned, of *fifty shekels* for an omer of barley.

*It shall stand.*] It shall be so rated, and nothing abated.

Ver. 18. *But if he sanctify his field after the jubilee.*] Some years after.

*Then the priest shall reckon unto him the money according to the years that remain, even unto the year of jubilee,* &c.] The priest was to compute how many years were gone since the last jubilee, and how many yet remained till the next; and accordingly to deduct from the rate of *fifty shekels* beforementioned, either more or less, as the years yet to come were more or fewer.

Ver. 19. *If he that sanctified the field will in any wise redeem it, then shall he add the fifth part,* &c.] The very same rule is given in this case, as in those of unclean beasts and houses, ver. 13. 15.

Ver. 20. *And if he will not redeem the field.*] When the priest hath set his value upon it, and tells him he may have it again at such a rate, if he pleases, and he refuses the offer.

*Or if he have sold the field to another man.*] That is, if the priest, upon his refusal, have sold it to another man; and afterward he that vowed it hath a mind to it himself, and would give the price at which he might have had it.

*It shall not be redeemed any more.*] He was then excluded from all benefit of redemption.

Ver. 21. *But the field when it goeth out in the jubilee.*] Out of the possession of him to whom the priest sold it.

*Shall be wholly unto the Lord.*] Shall not return to him that vowed it, but continue God's portion.

*As a field devoted.*] Being solemnly consecrated to the Divine service.

*The possession thereof shall be the priests'.*] Who were to have the inheritance of it for their better support. But they might sell it; nay (Menochius thinks), were bound to sell it to some of the kindred of him that devoted it, or to some of his tribe; for otherwise lands would go out of the tribe to which they belonged; and besides, the priests were to have no inheritance in the land, (Numb. xviii. 20.) See him, lib. ii. de Republ. Hebr. cap. 19. and his Annotations upon this place. But these seem not to be solid reasons why the priests should not enjoy this land themselves: for though they were not to have any inheritance in the division of the land of Canaan, yet if any fell to them by the means now mentioned (which was but very seldom, since men were very careful to preserve their inheritances), God doth here bestow such land upon his priests; who might possess it if they pleased, because they had it in God's right; or else sell it, (ver. 20.) and keep the money to their own use.

Ver. 22. *And if a man sanctify unto the Lord a field which he hath bought.*] And consequently could enjoy only till the year of jubilee; when it was to return to the family of whom he purchased it.

*Which is not of the fields of his possession.*] No part of

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his paternal inheritance, (as that mentioned ver. 16.) but bought of the priests, to whom it was fallen by a vow; or of him to whom the priests had sold it.

Ver. 23. *Then the priest shall reckon unto him the worth of thy estimation.*] Set a value upon it, according to his judgment.

*Even unto the year of jubilee.*] With respect to the number of years, between the time of the vow and the year of jubilee.

*And he shall give thy estimation in that day.*] Presently pay the price that the priest hath set upon it, without the addition of the fifth part (as Menochius well observes in the place beforementioned), which he, who redeemed his paternal inheritance, was bound to pay over and above the price at which the priest esteemed it, (ver. 19.) For this was not so much worth as that, being but for a term of years, till the jubilee.

*As a holy thing unto the Lord.*] As a thing devoted unto God, instead of the land, which was redeemed with this money.

Ver. 24. *In the year of jubilee the field shall return unto him of whom it was bought,* &c.] Not unto him who bought the field, and then vowed it to God, but unto the hereditary owner; which is the meaning of the next words, *even unto him to whom the possession of the land did belong.*

Ver. 25. *All thy estimations shall be according to the shekel of the sanctuary,* &c.] Full weight, according to the standard kept in the sanctuary: (see Exod. xxx. 13. and chap. xix. of this book, ver. 36.)

Ver. 26. *Only the firstling of the beasts, which shall be the Lord's firstling, no man shall sanctify it.*] By vowing it to be a whole *burnt-offering,* or a *peace-offering* unto the Lord; as Maimonides expounds it. The reason was, because no man could lawfully vow that which was not his own, as the *firstlings* were not; they being the Lord's already, as it follows in the end of this verse.

The same reason held (as Maimonides likewise observes) in all things belonging to God, as *tenths.* Yet they devised ingeniously enough (as he speaks) a way to give these *firstlings* to God by a new obligation, and yet not offend, as they imagined, against this law; for they interpret these words of *firstlings* already brought forth: no man might sanctify such; but while they were in the womb, they might; saying, "I vow that lamb (suppose) which my ewe goes with to be a whole burnt-offering to God, if it be a male:" but they could not vow it for a *peace-offering,* because no man could alter any thing for his own profit.

*Whether it be ox, or sheep.*] Under these two are comprehended all other kind of creatures, whose firstlings belonged to God.

*It is the Lord's.*] Num. iii. 13. viii. 17. For this reason no man was to presume to vow such things; it being a kind of mockery to make a present of that to another which was his own before. (See Mr. Mede concerning this verse, p. 512.)

Ver. 27. *And if it be of an unclean beast.*] Most understand this of the *firstling* of an unclean beast. Against which there is this objection, that such things were before ordered to be redeemed, not with money, but with a lamb, (Exod. xiii. 13.) Therefore it seems more reasonable, to understand this of the firstlings of such an unclean beast, which a man hath redeemed, (ver. 13.) but afterward devoted to God; which he might do; for, after the redemption, it was become his own again.

*Then he shall redeem it according to thy estimation.*] At the rate thou shalt set upon it.

*And shall add a fifth part of it thereto.*] As was ordained before in the like case, (ver. 11.)

*Or if it be not redeemed, then it shall be sold according to thy estimation.*] Any other man might buy it, at that rate the priest had set upon it; and the money was applied to holy uses.

Ver. 28. *Notwithstanding, no devoted thing that a man shall devote unto the Lord.*] Nothing that was devoted by that sort of vow, which was called *cherem* (as the word is here in the Hebrew), with a curse (as the word implies) upon themselves and others, if the thing was not employed according to their vow.

*Of all that he hath, both of man and beast,* &c.] All manner of things which might be sanctified to the Lord, by the forementioned simple vow, might be thus devoted and consecrated to him by a *cherem,* i. e. *beasts* and *houses,* and *lands,* and even *men* themselves, as far as they had power over them; for that is meant by those words, *all that a man hath.* (See the next verse.)

*Shall be sold or redeemed.*] For this was the peculiar nature of this sort of vow; that the thing devoted by it should remain irreversibly and unalterably to the use unto which it was devoted; for the person was *accursed* that applied it to any other use than that to which it was consecrated.

*Every devoted thing.*] Of this kind.

*Is most holy to the Lord.*] Other things devoted by a simple vow were *holy,* (ver. 9, 10, &c.) but these were *most holy,* so that none might touch them but the priests; and they were so strictly applied to the Divine service, that they could not be alienated, either by sale, or redemption, or commutation, or donation, or any other way. (See Mede, p. 160.)

Ver. 29. *None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed, but shall surely be put to death.*] Some learned men have, from these words, asserted, that parents and masters among the Jews had such a power over their children and servants, that they might devote them to death, and so kill them; only the sentence of the priest was to concur, to whom every devoted thing fell as his portion. This is maintained by Ludov. Capellus, and confuted by Mr. Selden, lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disciplin. Hebr. cap. 6. where he judiciously observes, that this power would have too much entrenched upon the *sixth commandment,* if private men might have, at their pleasure, thus disposed of their children and slaves. And, in the next chapter, he explains the sense of this verse; and proves, indeed, that there may be a *cherem (minha-adam) of men,* or *from among men,* as well as of *beasts;* but this word hath four several senses among the Hebrews. First, it signifies the sacred gift itself, which was devoted to God, or to holy uses; and so it signifies in the foregoing ver. 28. Secondly, it signifies that which was devoted to perdition and utter destruction, either by the right of war, or upon the account of capital enmities: an example of which we have in Jericho, Josh. vi. 17. where the whole city was a *cherem* (devoted to destruction), as a punishment to their enemies; yet so, that the metals were made a *cherem*

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of the first sort; that is, sacred to the Lord and his holy uses. And thus the great Sanhedrin (called in Scripture *the whole congregation*) might devote those to be a *cherem*, who, going to the wars, did not obey orders, and perform the charge laid upon them. An example of which we have, Judges xxi. 5. 1 Sam. xiv. 24. I omit the other two for brevity's sake, (of which there are examples, Josh. vi. 26. Ezra x. 8. Acts xxiii. 12.14.21. see Selden, ib. cap. 7, 8.) because the *cherem* here mentioned by Moses is of this second sort: for it is evident that the *cherem* of the first sort, mentioned ver. 28. was of such things, over which they had an entire power, to dispose of them as they pleased. And therefore those words, *both of man and beast*, the Hebrews understand of their slaves, whether men or women (who were Canaanites, or gentiles, not others), who were in their power as much as their *beasts*, to give away or to sell. But to take away their life, or to give them to be slain, was not in their power; but all the effect of this *cherem* was, that the whole right which they had to the service of such slaves, was transferred by him that devoted them to the service of the priests and sacred uses. (See Selden in that book, cap. 9. p. 518, &c.) But though they might not devote their servants to death, yet they might their enemies, before they went out to war with them; and such of their own people also as did not observe the military laws. An example of which we have, Numb. xxi. 2. Upon which account also, the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead were slain, (Judges xxi. 9, 10.) for violating the solemn public *cherem*, pronounced against those that came not up to Mizpeh, (ver. 5.) And this is the *cherem* spoken of in this verse. (See Selden, cap. 10.) For as for the *cherem*, whereby a man was excommunicated, it only loaded him with many curses, and made him execrable, so that no man might come near him; but did not touch his life, as he there shews, p. 520.

Ver. 30. *All the tithe of the land, &c. is the Lord's.*] By an ancient right before the law of Moses was delivered: for this is the first time we find any mention of a law about tithes: for which he giving no reason, it is a sign this was a pious usage all the world over; and therefore, being no new thing, but what all nations practised, the Jews could not think it burdensome to them; unless they would be wholly irreligious, and not acknowledge God to be the author and fountain of all the plenty and happiness they enjoyed: which was the intention of paying tithes; as the gentiles anciently did, and the Jews themselves, after victory over their enemies. For which there being no precept that appears, what can we think, but that natural reason, and the common custom of mankind (founded, perhaps, upon some direction given to our first parents from above), taught them to make this acknowledgment to God, as the author of their successes and safety, as well as of all plenty and prosperity. (See Gen. xiv. 19. xxviii. 22.)

*Whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the trees.*] By the *seed of the land* is meant corn (as Rasi expounds it), and by the *fruit of the trees*, wine and oil. For thus they are reckoned up in other places, (Numb. xviii. 12.) where he gives the priest the first-fruits of the *wine, and oil, and wheat*. And the like we read in Deut xviii. 3, 4. and in Deut. xiv. 23. they are commanded to eat before God, *the tithe of their corn, of their wine, and their oil*. Under which last is comprehended the fruit of all other trees; as under the word *seed* in this place seems to be comprehended all manner of herbs, as well as corn. For so the pharisees understood it; and our Saviour doth not disallow it.

*It is holy unto the Lord.*] God, having declared his right in the tithe, in the beginning of the verse, here commands that it be reserved to him as his portion: which he afterward conferred and settled upon the Levites by a special donation, (Numb. xviii. 21.)

Ver. 31. *And if a man will at all redeem aught of his tithes, he shall add thereto the fifth part thereof.*] Mr. Selden, in his History of the Tithes, (chap. ii.) speaking of the second tithe, mentioned Deut. xiv. 23. which was to be spent at Jerusalem (either in kind, or else, if it were too far thither, by turning it into money, and therewith to buy provision to make feasts), saith, *that to this tithe do the Jews apply that of* Lev. xxvii. 30, 31. But for this he quotes only R. S. Jarchi: who, though he was a great Talmudist, yet must not be thought to understand the sense of all their doctors. Aben Ezra, it is plain (to name no more), takes it otherwise; making Moses to speak of such a tithe as Abraham gave Melchisedec, and Jacob vowed to God. Lyra, I might add, a converted Jew, agrees with him. And there is great reason for it; no such thing as a *second tithe* being as yet ordained: and when they were commanded, and the changing of them into money allowed, there is not a word said of *adding a fifth part*, (see Deut. xiv. 24, 25.) which is sufficient to shew that Moses, in these two verses, speaks of the *first tithe*, which was paid to the Levites, by a law made some time after this; which transferred the right that God had *in the tithe of the land* unto them: which, if any man had a mind to *redeem*, and not pay it in kind, God allows him so to do; because the tithe was not more holy than things vowed to God, spoken of before: but then he was to do as in the case of such things, (ver. 13.) add a *fifth part*, over and above, to what such a portion of tithe was esteemed to be worth. The reason of which was, as Mr. Calvin well observes, not that the priest should get more than his due, by the man who desired to redeem his tithe, but that the man might not make a gain of the priest. For it is seldom seen that a husbandman desires to pay money rather than his tithe; unless he propound some considerable advantage to himself.

Ver. 32. *And concerning the tithe of the herd and of the flock.*] Every one knows, that by *the tithe of the herd* here is meant *calves*, and by the *flock* is to be understood *lambs* and *kids*, (Lev. i. 2.) For this was the tithe of those young ones that were brought forth that year; the same cattle not being again tithed every year. And he speaks of clean beasts, which were allowed in sacrifice; for tithe was not paid of other beasts; but their first-born only was the Lord's. This tithe was paid to God every year, as an eucharistical sacrifice, for all the benefits they received from God by their cattle.

*Even of whatsoever passeth under the rod.*] This expresses the manner of this tithing, which, if we will believe the Jews, was thus: they were all brought into a sheep-cot (saith Maimonides, in his Treatise of First-born, cap. vii. in the beginning), in which there was but one gate or door, and that so narrow as to suffer no more than one to come out at once. Their dams being placed without, and the gate opened, the young ones were invited by their bleatings to

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press to get out to them; and as they passed by, one by one, a man who stood at the gate with a rod, coloured with ochre, told them in order; and when the tenth came out, whether it was male or female, sound or not, he marked it with his rod, and said, *Let this be holy in the name of the tenth.* And this account R. Solomon and others give of this matter; of which notion they are so fond, that R. Bechai (upon Numb. xvii.) makes Jacob (who vowed tithe of all that God should give him) to have decimated his children on this manner, beginning at Benjamin and stopping at Levi, who was the tenth according to that reckoning, and hath some pretty conceits about it. But Bochartus thinks Moses doth not speak here of the rod of the tithes, but of the shepherd's crook; and so doth Aben Ezra, the Syriac, and the Vulgar: for the flock passed under his rod as oft as he numbered them, which was every morning and evening (if he was a good shepherd), especially in the evening. (See Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 44. p. 499.) Of this Jeremiah speaks, (chap. xxxiii. 13.) and Ezekiel alludes to it, when he saith, (chap. xx. 37.) *I will cause you to pass under the rod.* Where Kimchi notes it is the same phrase with this in Leviticus, and as much as to say, "As he that telleth his sheep holdeth a rod in his hand, and telleth them one by one, and brings out the tenth for the tithe; so will I number you, and the sinners shall perish," &c.

*The tenth shall be holy unto the Lord.*] That is, saith Maimonides (in his forenamed treatise called Bechoroth), the fat and the blood of them was offered at the altar; and then the owners eat the flesh any where in Jerusalem, as they did the lesser holy things. For the priests had no portion of them, but all belonged to the owner, as did the paschal lamb. If there was any blemish in them, whether before or after the tithing, then they might be eaten in any place. And so Bartenora, (as Dr. Outram observes, lib. i. de Sacrificiis, cap. 11.) "we do not find in the whole law that any part of these tenths was given to the priests." So a great many other of their doctors, who observe that Moses doth not reckon these among the twenty-four *gifts* (for so many they make the whole number of them) which were bestowed upon the priesthood. But as there is nothing else in Scripture to warrant this, which no where prescribes how these *tenths* should be employed, but only declares that they are *holy to the Lord;* so this very phrase, I should think, sufficiently signifies that they belonged to the Lord's ministers; and if not entirely to the priests, much less entirely to the owners of them (before they were the Lord's); but if they were to eat them at Jerusalem, as the Jews imagine, the Levites sure were to have their share, and the stranger and other poor people, as they were to have in their *second tithe* of corn, wherewith they made feasts there, (Deut. xiv. 27—29.)

Ver. 33. *He shall not search whether it be good or bad, neither shall he change it.*] It is not easy to give an account why God required so punctually the *tenth* calf, goat, or lamb; that though it were never so lean or blemished, he would not suffer it to be exchanged for the better, unless it were to avoid all disputes, strife, and contention. There are those, indeed, that think the reason was; because in those ages this was looked upon as so sacred a number, that it mystically denoted God, whose Divine perfections, providence, and bounty, they were thought to acknowledge, who gave the *tenth* to him; which was not to be altered and changed no more than he himself can be.

*If he change it at all, then both shall be holy.*] As it was in beasts avowed to God, (ver. 9, 10.)

*It shall not be redeemed.*] Nor might they sell it, no more than suffer it to be redeemed. If they did, he that sold it or bought it got nothing (as Maimonides speaks); and besides, the seller was to be scourged, as he that sold the *cherems* given to the priest, ver. 28. (Bechoroth, cap. 6. sect. 5.)

Ver. 34. *These are the commandments which the Lord commanded Moses, for the children of Israel, in Mount Sinai.*] That is, these moreover were added to the foregoing commandments, before they removed from the wilderness of Mount Sinai. (See chap. xxv. 1. xxvi. *ult.*) For having said before, in the conclusion of the foregoing chapter, *these are the statutes, and judgments, and laws which the Lord made,* &c. which respect all that preceded in this book, the *commandments* here spoken of can relate to nothing more but the laws delivered in this chapter about *vows,* and *devoted things,* and *tithes.*

Which laws ought not to be passed over, without serious consideration how far we may be concerned in them. And therefore to make what I have noted about them more useful to us in these days, I desire the reader to observe, that the very same pious inclinations have ever been in all good Christians, which Moses here supposes (in the former part of this chapter) would be in the Jews, to devote some part of their goods, their houses, or lands to the service of God; which became sacred things, and were to be employed to no other use but that. The very first Christians had so much of this spirit in them, that they sold all their possessions, and goods, and let every one that needed have a share of them; (Acts ii. 45. iv. 35.) because the whole number of believers attended to nothing else but the service of Christ; and the apostles also were to be furnished with means to go and propagate the gospel in all the world. Where, as soon as the Christian religion prevailed in any place, immediately there were the like voluntary oblations made, in such a proportion, as served not only for the support of the service of God in that church, but helped to maintain the Christians at Jerusalem, who had been brought low by parting with their estates to further the first preaching of the gospel. This we find in a great number of places; but it may suffice to say, that the feasts of charity were maintained out of these oblations.

By which it is apparent, that they took themselves to have the very same obligations upon them in this matter, which the Jews formerly had; and therefore it is no wonder that *tithes* came in time to be devoted for the maintenance of God's ministers. For it is senseless to imagine, that the gospel, which constrained them to give up themselves to God, should not constrain them, with the same freedom of mind, to give some of their goods (as Moses here supposes the Jews would do) for the maintenance of his service. And it is as unreasonable to think it did not move them to give the ministers of God as honourable a maintenance, as had been allowed under the law of Moses.

Which required, besides the *tenth* here mentioned, another tithe of the remainder to be spent in sacrifices at Jerusalem, of which the Levites had their share, as I observed from Deut. xiv. 22. 28. To which, if we add the first-born, with all sin-offerings, and the priest's share of peace-offer-



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ings, and the skins of the sacrifices (which alone made a good revenue, as Philo observes), and likewise all such consecrations as are mentioned in this chapter, the Levites' cities and suburbs, it will easily appear it could not be so little as a *fifth* part of the fruit of the land which came to their share.

Now the reason we find no such certain rate determined by the gospel, as was by this law, is, because there was no need of it; and for the same reason there was none, for a good while, settled by the church; all the revenues belonging to it, which served for all sorts of pious uses, arising from the devotion and oblations of the people, which were more than enough for God's service. This was visible in the beginning of our religion, when the first Christians far outdid any thing that had been done under the law. And they could not imagine, that they who succeeded them would fall so short as not to offer sufficient for God's service; though not so much as they had done, because there could not be the same necessity. And so Mr. Selden himself observes, that this reason is given by Agobardus, why nothing was decreed in councils, or publicly promulgated by the fathers in the first ages, concerning giving of their goods, and adorning churches; because there was no necessity of it: the religious devotion, the love of Christians to such things *ultro æstuante, being very fervent, and abounding of its own accord.*

And when love began to wax cold, so that they found it needful to make laws about such things, they could not think fit to order less for the settled maintenance of God's service than the *tenth* (besides all voluntary oblations), which had been the part most eminently limited under the law of nature, long before the law of Moses. See Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 34. where he saith, Christians, having greater hopes, could not give less than they did in former times, when their hope was lower.

I shall add but one observation more, from an excellent person of our own church, (Mr. Thorndike, in his Rights of the Church, &c. p. 219.) that as all such consecrations, as here are mentioned by Moses, tended to communion with God, by the participation of sacrifices offered to him, which were maintained by such contributions; so whatsoever is devoted by Christians unto such holy uses, as to build and repair churches, to maintain holy assemblies, and to support those who minister God's ordinances, or enable the poor to attend upon them, hath the like intention to obtain an interest in the sacrifice of Christ, represented in the eucharist; which is the chief part of the service rendered to God in the church. This is notably exemplified in the account which Tertullian gives of Marcion the heretic, (lib. de Præscriptionibus, cap. 30.) who, when he first embraced the faith of Christ, and was received into the church, *pecuniam Catholicæ Ecclesiæ contulit, contributed a sum of money to the church;* which money, when he fell off from the Christian truth to his own heresy, was straightway thrown out together with him. This both demonstrates that they continued, in those days, to bring offerings into the treasury of the church; and that the intention of them was, that they might have communion with the church in all its services; for when men fell off from Christianity they cast out their offerings, in token they had no communication with them.

I end all with the words of Conradus Pellicanus upon the thirtieth verse of this chapter; which will shew the sense of the first reformers in this matter. "All the tithe is the Lord's, and remains so for ever, &c. and therefore tithes are to be paid by Divine and natural right, and religiously expended, according to his appointment, &c. And if tithes should not be sufficient for the maintenance of those who ought to be sustained in the church, at the public charge, the ninths, or the eighths, ought of necessity to be raised by the judgment and consent of the church; for the law of charity dictates this, and the excellent, irreprehensible ordinance of God: which charity binds more strongly in the evangelical law than in the Mosaical; inasmuch as the church ought to be more perfect than the synagogue; and charity than fear."

THE

# FOURTH BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

# NUMBERS.

## CHAP. I.

THIS Book is called by the name of NUMBERS in our language; because it begins with an account of the numbering of the people in the beginning of the second year after they came out of Egypt; though it contains a great many things besides that; particularly, another numbering of them (chap. xxvi) towards the conclusion of their travels in the wilderness: for this book comprehends a history of about thirty-eight years, though most of the things related in it fell out in the first and in the last of these years; and it doth not appear when those things were done, which we read of about the middle of the book, from the fifteenth to the twentieth chapter.

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Ver. 1. *And the Lord spake unto Moses.*] Who undertook nothing without order from God.

*In the wilderness of Sinai.*] Where they had continued near a full year (as appears by comparing Exod. xix. 1. with this place), and shortly after this removed from it, (chap. x. 11.)

*In the tabernacle of the congregation.*] From whence the Lord delivered those laws which we read in the foregoing book, (see on Lev. i. 1.) and now seems to have admitted him into the tabernacle, whereas before he only spake to him *out of it.*

*On the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt.*] All that is related in the foregoing book, seems to have passed in the first month of the second year after their coming out of Egypt, in the beginning of which the tabernacle was set up, (Exod. xl. 2. 17.) and in the middle of it the Passover was kept; as appears by this book, (chap. ix. 1; 2, &c.)

Ver. 2. *Take ye the sum.*] There had been a muster, as we may call it, of the people, before the tabernacle was erected, (Exod. xxx. 12.) and consequently some months before this; for it was in order to a contribution, which every one was to make towards that holy work, (Exod. xxxviii. 26.) whereas this was for the better disposing of their camps about the tabernacle now that it was set up; and for their more regular march when they removed from Mount Sinai, which they were to do shortly.

*Of all the congregation of the children of Israel.*] Who alone were numbered; all except the Levites; but none of the mixed multitude that came with them out of Egypt, (Exod. xii. 38.)

*After their families,*] It appears by Josh. vii. 16, 17, &c. that the several tribes of Israel were divided into *families,* and those *families* into *households,* and those *households* had every one of them a head or chief, who is called the *father* of it. There were seventy of these *families* in all; but some tribes had more, others fewer, according to the number of souls (as they are called); that is, persons who were in each when they went down into Egypt, (Gen. xlvi. 27.)

*By the house of their fathers.*] Every *family,* as I said, being distributed into *houses* (which we now call families); these *houses* were denominated from their chief, whom they called their *father;* for no houses were denominated from the mother, as Jews say.

*With the number of their names.*] The names of every person, in the several houses, were set down and registered, that they might be the better known.

*Every male by their poll.*] But no women; for the reason which follows.

Ver. 3. *From twenty years old and upward.*] Which was ever after this the age when men were thought fit for war.

*All that are able to go forth to war in Israel.*] One would think by this they were not to number very aged and decrepit people, because they were no more able to go to war than women and children, and those under twenty years old. And if we may believe Josephus (lib. ii. Antiq. cap. 9.) after fifty years old, men were not bound to pay the half shekel which was due in such musters; and therefore we may reasonably think were excused from going to war, unless they had a mind themselves.

*Thou and Aaron.*] Who had the highest authority in the nation.

*Shall number them by their armies.*] This seems to import, that, in taking the account of them, they distributed them into certain troops or companies, out of which were formed regiments (as we now speak), and greater regular bodies, which composed several armies. We do not read this was required in the former numbering, (Exod. xxx.) that being for another end, as I now observed; not for their more orderly march in their remove from Mount Sinai. And here I cannot but take notice, what a vast difference there was between this method and that rude way which Cecrops, the first king of Attica, after the Ogygian flood (which happened about the time of Moses), took to know the number of his people; which the Greek writers say, was by requiring every one of them to bring a stone, καὶ βάλλειν εἰς τὸ μέσον, *and throw it down before them;* which he counting, found them twenty thousand. So the scholiast upon Pindar, (Ode ix.) and others in Meursius de Regibus Atheniens. (lib. i. cap. 7.)

Ver. 4. *And there shall be with you a man of every tribe.*] Whom they were to take for their assistants.

*Every one head of the house of his fathers.*] The LXX. and the Vulgar understand this to signify the principal persons in each tribe, who were best acquainted with every family and household in that tribe. And so it is expounded, ver. 6. and many think these were the first-born in their tribe: but there is this objection against it, that Nahshan, who is named for the tribe of Judah, (ver. 7.) was not descended from the first-born of that tribe; for Pharez was not Judah's eldest son, Selah being before him, who had children, as we find in chap. xxvi. of this book, (ver. 20.) Besides, when the principles of the tribes are reckoned again (chap. xxxiv. of this book), in the last year of their abode in the wilderness, none of them are derived from these men here mentioned, but from others: and therefore these were the most eminent men in the several tribes, upon a different account; either for wisdom or valour, or some other excellent quality.

Ver. 5. *And these are the names of the men that shall stand.*] Be assistants.

*With you.*] *i. e.* With Moses and Aaron.

*Of the tribe of Reuben, Elizur the son of Shedeur.*] There is little to be observed concerning these tribes, but that they are here placed not in the order of their birth, but of their mothers who bare them. First, the children of Leah, who are all reckoned in the same order wherein they were born of her, (ver. 6—9.) Then the children of Rachel, (ver. 10, 11.) and after them the children of the two handmaids, in the four following verses; where (ver. 12.) Dan is set first, he being the first-born of Bilhah, whom Rachel gave Jacob for his wife, (Gen. xxx. 5.) but then the next that follow are not reckoned according to the order of their birth; for Naphtali, who was born next, is placed the last; and the youngest son of Zilpah placed before the eldest; for which we cannot now discern the reason, though it is likely it was upon the account of some pre-eminence or other which they had gained; as Ephraim, the youngest son of Joseph, is mentioned before Manasseh the eldest, (ver. 10.) because Jacob had given him the precedence, when he blessed them before his death, (Gen. xlviii. 19.)

Ver. 6. *Of Simeon, Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.*]



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There is less to be observed concerning the names of these great men of each tribe; for whatsoever the import of them may be in the Hebrew language (which Chytræus and others have endeavoured to make out), it signifies nothing to us: only most of them shew how much God was in the thoughts of those who imposed these names on their children; for Elizur signifies *my God the rock;* and Shelumiel is as much as *God my peace,* or *God my rewarder;* and Zurishaddai, *my rock omnipotent,* or *all-sufficient,* &c.

Ver. 14. *The son of Deuel.*] So he is called also, chap. vii. 42. and yet in the second chapter, (ver. 14.) he is called the son of Reuel; for these two letters, *daleth* and *resch,* are very often changed, the one for the other; as Ripah (Gen. x. 3.) is called Dipath, (1 Chron. i. 6.) as, on the other hand, Dodanim (Gen. x. 4.) is called Rodanim, (1 Chron. i. 7.) and it is to no purpose to heap up more examples there are of this.

Ver. 16. *These were the renowned of the congregation.*] The Hebrew word *keruim* signifies properly men *called* or *named;* that is, who had the honour to be named by God to this employment; which made them more noble than they were before. But, without this respect to their nomination by God, this word signifies, in general, *famous* men, as we translate it, (chap. xvi. 2. xxvi. 9.) or *renowned,* (Ezek. xxiii. 23.) Accordingly the Vulgar translates it, *most noble.*

*Princes of the tribes of their fathers.*] As appears more plainly from the noble offerings which each of them made for the dedication of the altar, (chap. vii.)

*Heads of thousands in Israel.*] Men not only of great authority; such as Jethro advised Moses to take to his aid in governing the people, (Exod. xviii. 21.) but the highest of that rank; being chief commanders over all the thousands that were in their several tribes; under whom, no doubt, were many inferior officers of great account; for so all people have found it necessary to submit themselves to the government of some supreme power, with several subordinate rulers under it. In which Israel excelled all other nations, being under the government of God himself, who appointed Moses immediately under him, with several others, as we here find, to assist him; for it is truly observed by Xenophon, that οὐδὲν οὕτως οὔτ' εὔχρηστον, οὔτε καλὸν ἀνθρώποις ὡς ἡ τάξις: *nothing is either so profitable for men, or so becoming, as good order;* and, on the contrary, nothing so mischievous, or unseemly, as confusion. Now *order* is nothing else but the apt disposition of every thing, in its proper place, for certain ends and uses. Accordingly among men nothing is more necessary, than that every one should know and keep his place in that degree and rank that belongs to him; as was here ordered by God for the preservation and good government of his people.

Ver. 17. *And Moses and Aaron took these men.*] To be their associates in the numbering of the people.

*Which are expressed by their names.*] Whom God himself marked out by name to be joined with them. For as people cannot be preserved without order, so that cannot be preserved without rulers and governors; and they will signify nothing if their authority be not reverenced; and nothing can gain them such reverence, as a particular designation by God to their office.

Ver. 18. *And they assembled all the congregation together on the first day of the second month.*] They immediately executed their commission, on the same day they received it, (ver. 1.) summoning all the people to appear before them.

*And they declared their pedigrees.*] The people instantly obeyed, and every one shewed from whom he was descended; or it may refer to Moses and Aaron, and the rest, who set down every man's original in the public tables.

*After their families, by the house of their fathers,* &c.] First, they shewed of what family they were; and then of what house in that family; and then the name of every person in that house was given in. (See ver. 2.) Such a kind of distinction Cecrops made in Attica, when he numbered the people, whom he divided into four tribes (which in the days of Alcmæon, their last king, were increased into ten); every one of which had several people in it, which were like the families in Israel; there being no less than ten or eleven people in that tribe which was called after his own name, Κεκροπίς. (See Meursius, lib. i. de Reg. Athen. cap. 7. and lib. ii. cap. 10.) And every one knows how Rome, at the first, had three tribes instituted by Romulus, which were divided into ten courts (if I may so call them), and those into certain families; which in aftertimes were increased into five-and-thirty tribes, according to the regions of the city.

Ver. 19. *As the Lord commanded Moses, so he numbered them.*] With the assistance of the forenamed persons.

*In the wilderness of Sinai.*] Before they removed from Sinai; which being upon the twentieth day of this month, (chap. x. 11.) they finished this work in so many days, or less.

Ver. 20. *And the children of Reuben, Israel's eldest son, by their generations,* &c.] The word *generations* seems to be larger than *families,* as that is than *houses,* comprehending every family in that tribe; as families comprehend every household, and household comprehends every person therein. So the meaning is, all that were descended from Reuben, according to their several families; and houses in those families; and persons in those houses.

Ver. 21. *Those that were numbered of them,* &c. *were forty and six thousand and five hundred.*] Some have observed, that this tribe was one of those who had the smallest number of men in it; in which they think was fulfilled the prophecy of Jacob, who foretold that Reuben should not excel, (Gen. xlix. 4.) But I do not look upon this as solid; for there were several tribes, who all this time had fewer persons in it than this; particularly the children of Joseph (whom Jacob compared to a *fruitful bough,* Gen. xlix. 22.) were very much fewer. (See below, ver. 33. 35.) Gad also, Benjamin and Asher, were fewer in number than Reuben; who, in this regard, excelled five tribes.

Ver. 23. *Of the tribe of Simeon were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred.*] He had six children when they went down into Egypt, and Reuben but four; which is a plain reason of the greater increase of this tribe than the former.

Ver. 24. *Of the children of Gad,* &c.] It is probable that this tribe is therefore mentioned next, though descended from a handmaid, because they were to encamp and march together with Simeon under the standard of Reuben; as is ordered in the next chapter, ver. 14.

Ver. 25. *Of the tribe of Gad were forty and five thousand six hundred and fifty.*] He had more sons than Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10. 16.) when they came out of Egypt; and yet fewer descended from him, by many thousands,

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than there did from Simeon; of which the reason doth not appear.

Ver. 27. *Of the tribe of Judah were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred.*] It may be justly thought, that Jacob's prophecy concerning the power and strength of this tribe (Gen. xlix. 8, &c.) began already to be fulfilled, they being far more numerous than any other.

Ver. 28. *Of the tribe of Issachar,* &c.] There is a plain account why this tribe and Zebulun are mentioned next to Judah, because they two marched under his standard, (chap. ii. 4, 5. 7.) It may be observed also, that these two tribes were more numerous than many other, who had more children when they came out of Egypt.

Ver. 32. *Of the children of Ephraim.*] He had the preeminence given him to Manasseh long ago, (Gen. xlviii. 19.) and therefore is here placed before him.

Ver. 33. *Of the tribe of Ephraim were forty thousand and five hundred.*] Though they were hitherto but few in comparison with some other tribes; yet in this the prophecy of Jacob was fulfilled, (Gen. xlviii. 19, 20.) that they were more fruitful than Manasseh, there being above eight thousand persons more in this tribe than in the other, (ver. 35.)

Ver. 35. *Of Manasseh were thirty and two thousand and two hundred.*] This was now the smallest tribe; but before they got to Canaan they grew very numerous, being increased above twenty thousand, (chap. xxvi. 34.)

Ver. 37. *Of the tribe of Benjamin were thirty-five thousand and four hundred.*] Though Benjamin had more children than any of the rest of his brethren, when they went down into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 21. where it appears he had ten sons), yet his tribe had the fewest men in it of all other, except Manasseh.

Ver. 39. *Of Dan were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred.*] On the contrary, Dan, who had but one son when they went down into Egypt, (Gen. xlvi. 23.) grew to a greater number than any other tribe, except Judah. So variously did the Divine providence work in fulfilling the promise to Abraham, of multiplying his seed.

Ver. 41. *Of Asher were forty and one thousand and five hundred.*] The growth of this tribe was not proportionable to that of some other, considering how many children Asher had at their going down into Egypt. But they increased near twelve thousand more before they got out of the wilderness, (chap. xxvi. 47.)

Ver. 43. *Of Naphtali were fifty and three thousand and four hundred.*] The great increase of this tribe is alleged by Bochartus, to justify his interpretation of Gen. xlix. 21. by altering the punctuation of the words. But I have there observed, that five other tribes were more numerous than Naphtali when this account was taken of them.

Ver. 44. *These are those that were numbered.*] This is the account that was taken of the number of men in each tribe.

*Which Moses and Aaron numbered, and the princes of Israel being twelve men.*] See v. 3, 4, &c.

*Each one was for the house of his fathers.*] Who could the better judge to what tribe every one belonged.

Ver. 45, 46. *So were all those that were numbered,* &c. *six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty.*] By which it appears there was not one man dead since their last numeration (seven months ago), when they were taxed for the tabernacle; for they were at that time just so many as are here mentioned, (Exod. xxxviii. 26.) As for Nadab and Abihu, they were of the tribe of Levi, who are not here reckoned; and the man that was stoned for blasphemy (Lev. xxiv.) was not of Israel, by the side of his father.

Ver. 47. *But the Levites, after the tribe of their fathers, were not numbered among them.*] There was no account taken of them among the other tribes; as it is likely they were not comprehended in the former number, (Exod. xxxviii. 26.) being the persons who took the account, (ver. 21.) and had before this consecrated themselves to the Lord, (chap. xxxii. 29.)

*After the tribe of their fathers.*] Is a Hebraism, for the *fathers of their tribe;* expressing, in short, what is at large said of all the rest, *by their generations, after their families, by the house of their fathers,* (ver. 20. 22. 24, &c.)

Ver. 48. *For the Lord had spoken unto Moses, saying.*] He had received an order from God, when he commanded him to number the people, not to number them; which he sets down, that it might not be thought he favoured them, because he was of their tribe, and therefore exempted them from the wars, unto which all others were engaged.

Ver. 49. *Only thou shalt not number the tribe of Levi,* &c.] Because they were intended for another service, and therefore were to be numbered by themselves. There was as stout and valiant men in this tribe as any other, (which appeared sufficiently when God's honour was to be vindicated, Exod. xxxii.) but God did not design them for the wars of Canaan, they having employment enough in carrying and guarding the tabernacle.

And from this example, the heathen learned to exempt all those who ministered to their gods from all other services; particularly from the war. Strabo notes (lib. ix. Geograph.) this custom to have been as old as Homer's time; for in all his catalogue there is no mention of any ship that went against Troy from Alalcomenon, because that city was sacred to Minerva, who is thence called by Homer Ἀλαλκομενηὶς Ἀθηνᾶ. The same is observed by Cæsar (lib. vi.) of the ancient Druids, that they were freed from the wars, and from tribute also. Which privilege St. Basil challenges as belonging to the clergy, κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον, *according to the ancient law,* Epist. cclxix. and S. Greg. Nazianzen doth the same in many places; particularly by his letter to Julianus, Epist. clxvi.

Ver. 50. *But thou shalt appoint the Levites over the tabernacle.*] This was their work, to attend continually upon the house of God.

*Of testimony.*] So it is called, because the ark of the testimony was there; for which it was principally made. See Exod. xxxviii. 21. and what I have noted upon Exod. xxv. 16. chap. xl. 3.

*And over all the vessels thereof, and over all things that belong unto it.*] Not to use them in any sacred ministry (which belonged to the priests alone), but to carry them when they were to be removed; and to keep them in safety at all times. See chap. viii. *ult.* where it is expressly said, they *shall do no service* there.

*They shall bear the tabernacle and all the vessels thereof.*] As is particularly directed in the fourth chapter.

*And they shall minister unto it.*] Which ministry is at large described in the third chapter.

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*And shall encamp round about the tabernacle.*] As a guard unto it: they being like to the legions about the palace of a great king, to secure and defend it from violence or rudeness. Which was the reason that they did not march under any of the standards of the other tribes: because they were to make a camp by themselves; the order of which is directed in the same third chapter. And for the same reason they were not to go to the wars; because their camp was to attend upon the tabernacle, the house of God.

Ver. 51. *And when the tabernacle setteth forward, the Levites shall take it down; and when it is to be pitched, the Levites shall set it up.*] When the Israelites removed to a new station, the tabernacle was taken in pieces, that it might be the more easily carried from place to place: in which the Levites were to be employed; and likewise in putting it together again, when it was to be set up, where they rested in their journeys; as is more fully ordered in the fourth chapter, where the manner of taking it down and setting it up again is directed; and every one's office about it, whether priests (for they had some hand in it) or Levites, exactly appointed.

*And the stranger.*] Who is not of this tribe, though an Israelite.

*That comes nigh.*] To perform any of the forenamed offices.

*Shall be put to death.*] As a presumptuous person, in meddling with that which doth not belong unto him. The author of Schebet Jehudah extends this to all strangers, who worshipped strange gods; and saith, there was a golden sword hung up in the gate of the temple with this inscription, *The stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.*

Ver. 52. *And the children of Israel.*] The rest of the tribes beforementioned.

*Shall pitch their tents every man by his own camp,* &c.] In the order prescribed in the next chapter.

Ver. 53. *But the Levites shall pitch round about the tabernacle of testimony.*] As is directed chap. iii. where they are ordered to make a camp nearer the tabernacle, within the other camp of the Israelites.

*That there be no wrath upon the congregation of the children of Israel.*] To prevent the other camp of the Israelites from coming too nigh the tabernacle; whereby they might have incurred God's displeasure.

*And the Levites shall keep the charge of the tabernacle of testimony.*] That is, therefore they were to be a constant guard about it; that no man might approach nearer than God allowed, and so bring heavy punishments upon himself and upon the congregation.

Ver. 54. *And the children of Israel did according to all that the Lord commanded Moses, so did they.*] Consented to all that is here required, and did accordingly.

## CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, saying.*] The just number of days that were spent in taking the forenamed account of the people is uncertain, (see chap. i. 19.) but that being finished, now order is given for their encamping under their several standards. And it is directed to Aaron as well as Moses; though the order for numbering them was directed to Moses only, (chap. i. 1.) Aaron having by that first order been joined with him in taking the account of them.

Ver. 2. *Every man of the children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard.*] By the banner of that tribe, to which he was joined by the following order.

*With the ensign of their father's house.*] Every family and household had their particular ensigns, beside that great banner under which they encamped and marched; it being pitched and carried (as will appear) in the midst of them. How these banners and ensigns were distinguished one from another, we have no certain knowledge. The later Jews say (particularly Aben Ezra upon this place), that Judah carried in his standard the figure of a lion, and Reuben the figure of a man; Ephraim of an ox, and Dan of an eagle, for which I can see no ground. For though Judah be compared to a lion, yet the reasons he gives for the other are very absurd; with which I shall not trouble the reader, but only observe, that there is not one word of any such thing in their ancient writers; no, not in the whole body of the Talmud, as the famous Bochartus assures us. And it is not likely that they, who so lately smarted for making the golden calf, would adventure to make any other images, and expose them to the eyes of all the people. Nor is it impertinent to observe, that when Vitellius in after-ages was to march against the Arabians through Judea, the great men of the nation met him, and beseeched him to march another way: the law of their country not allowing images (such as were in the Roman ensigns) to be brought into it. So Josephus relates, lib. xviii. Antiq. cap. 7. for which one can see no reason, if their ancestors in the wilderness had, by the command or allowance of Moses, carried an eagle in any of their standards: (see Bochart in his Hieroz. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 5.) It is more probable, if there be room for conjecture in this matter, that the name of Judah might be embroidered in great letters in his standard, and of Reuben in his, and so of the rest: or they were distinguished by their colours only, as now our regiments are.

*Far off about the tabernacle of the congregation shall they pitch.*] At such a distance as might shew their reverence to the tabernacle; and that there might be another camp of the Levites within them, who made a nearer inclosure about it, in the same form with the camp of Israel, which was quadrangular. This distance of the camp of Israel from the tabernacle, is reasonably judged (by Josh. iii. 4.) to have been two thousand cubits; that is, a mile.

Ver. 3. *And on the east side toward the rising of the sun.*] These are two expressions (after the manner of the Hebrews) for the same thing. Or *kedma*, which we here translate *on the east*, may be translated *on the fore-part, viz.* of the tabernacle: which was towards the sun's rising.

*Shall they of the standard of the camp of Judah pitch.*] These had the most honourable post (as we now speak) of all others; pitching before the most holy place, where Moses and Aaron had their station in the camp of the Levites, (chap. iii. 38.) And therefore the LXX. translate the first words of this verse thus, *οἱ παρεμβάλλοντες πρῶτοι,* &c. *they that encamp first towards the east shall be,* &c.

*Throughout their armies.*] They being, as we read before (and as the next verse tells us again), threescore and

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fourteen thousand and six hundred men, were divided into several bodies (such as we now call *companies*, and *regiments*, and *brigades*), under their several officers: for which the Hebrews have no name but that of *army* or *host*.

*And Nahshon the son of Amminadab.*] He who was employed as the principal person in that tribe to help to take the number of them, (chap. i. 7.)

*Shall be the captain of the children of Judah.*] Their commander-in-chief, or general, as we now speak.

Ver. 4. *And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and fourteen thousand,* &c.] Hitherto Moses had set down the words that God spake to him: but these are his own words, which he intermixes all along with those of God's.

Ver. 5. *And those that do pitch next unto him.*] These now are the words of God; ordering what tribes should pitch under the standard of Judah.

*Shall be the tribe of Issachar.*] He and Zebulun were two of the sons of Leah, as well as Judah: and therefore their tribes are fitly placed under the standard of the tribe of Judah, as likely to agree well together.

*And Nethaneel, the son of Zuar, shall be captain of the children of Issachar.*] It may be noted, once for all, that the commanders-in-chief of the several tribes, were those very persons who were chosen to take the number of them: which shews they were men of eminence among them; as I observed, chap. i. 4.

Ver. 6. *And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were,* &c.] These are the words of Moses, which to the end of the chapter (as I noted before) are interspersed with the orders that God gave for the forming of their camp.

Ver. 9. *And all that were numbered in the camp of Judah were a hundred thousand,* &c.] This was the greatest body of all other; which had the honour to be placed just before the oracle, as the strongest guard to it: the tribe of Judah lying in the midst, and the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun on each side of his standard; unto which all their ensigns were in some sort of subjection.

*Throughout their armies.*] This great body was divided into several smaller companies; for which they had no other name (as I observed before), but that of armies.

*These shall first set forth.*] When they removed from one station to another, this camp marched first. For they commonly went eastward; in which quarter this camp was pitched, (ver. 3.).

Ver. 10. *And on the south side shall be the standard of the camp of Reuben, according to their armies,* &c.] There is nothing to be observed concerning this camp, but that the tribe of Reuben had the honour to pitch in the midst of it; and the tribes of Simeon and Gad lay on either side of him under his standard or banner: just as Issachar and Zebulun did on either side of Judah. And there was an evident congruity in it; Simeon being his next brother, and Gad the eldest son of Zilpah, the handmaid of their mother Leah, (Gen. xxx. 10, 11.)

Ver. 14. *Eliasaph the son of Reuel.*] See note upon chap. i. 14.

Ver. 16. *And they shall set forth in the second rank.*] That is, when they removed, the three tribes that were pitched on the east marched first under the banner of Judah, (as was said before, ver. 9.) and then followed these three that lay on the south under the banner of Reuben.

Ver. 17. *Then the tabernacle of the congregation shall set forward with the camp of the Levites.*] After the forenamed camps the tabernacle was to follow, between those two that went before, and the camp of Ephraim and the camp of Dan that came after. So they did not march as they pitched; for then there was a camp on each side of the tabernacle: whereas when they marched there was none on the sides, but two camps went before it, and two followed it.

*In the midst of the camp.*] Not entirely in the midst: for it appears by the tenth chapter of this book, ver 17. that after the first camp under the standard of Judah was gone forward, the tabernacle was taken down and carried by the sons of Gershon and Merari between the camp of Judah and that of Reuben, which next followed: and then the sanctuary set forward, borne by the Kohathites, (ver. 21.) who marched exactly *in the midst*, between the standards of Judah and Reuben and the standards of Ephraim and Dan.

*As they encamp so shall they set forward.*] This may refer either to the Levites, the sons of Kohath; that, as they lay encamped on the same side of the tabernacle that the standard of Reuben did, so they should immediately march after them. Compare ver. 10. of this chapter with chap. iii. 29. Or to the two camps forenamed; that they should march in the same order wherein they lay encamped: Judah, for instance, in the midst of Issachar and Zebulun, before and behind him, or on each side of him.

*Every man in his place by their standards.*] Every man keeping his place which was assigned him, under the standard to which he belonged; that there might be no disorder among them.

Ver. 18. *And on the west side shall be the standard of the camp of Ephraim.* &c.] There is little to be noted here, but that Ephraim is plainly preferred before his brother, as he was in Jacob's blessing, (Gen. xlviii. 19, 20.) and that the two tribes which encamped under his standard, *viz.* Manasseh (ver. 20.) and Benjamin, (ver. 22.) are fitly joined with him; they being all descended from Rachel.

Ver. 24. *All that were numbered of the camp of Ephraim were a hundred and eight thousand,* &c.] This was the smallest body of all the four.

*And they shall go forward in the third rank.*] And therefore, though they lay on the west side in their encampment, yet when they marched they did not go in the rear of all, but immediately behind the tabernacle.

Ver. 25. *The standard of the camp of Dan shall be on the north side,* &c.] This tribe, we may reasonably think, was advanced to this dignity, of bearing one of the four standards, though they descended from a handmaid; because Dan was the eldest of Jacob's sons of that sort, (Gen. xxx. 6.) and this tribe was the most numerous of all others, except Judah; as the foregoing chapter shews, (ver. 39.) with whom the tribes of Asher and Naphtali are fitly joined, being descended from handmaids also.

Ver. 31. *All that were numbered in the camp of Dan were a hundred and fifty-seven thousand,* &c.] This was the greatest body of men, except that under the standard of Judah, who marched in the front; and is the reason, perhaps, why these are ordered here, in the next words, to bring up the rear.

*They shall go hindmost with their standards.*] Here the

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*standard* comprehends *ensigns;* for there was but one *standard* for this camp, as there were no more for the other three: therefore the meaning is, they shall march hindermost under their several colours, as we now speak; which was ordered for the greater security of the sanctuary, by the two strongest bodies marching before and behind, where there was the greatest danger.

Ver. 32. *These are those which were numbered of the children of Israel by the house of their fathers,* &c.] That is, thus were all these persons disposed under their several standards; whose number was taken by Moses and Aaron, with their associates, (chap. i. 44, 45.)

Ver. 33. *But the Levites were not numbered among the children of Israel, as the Lord commanded Moses.*] And consequently did not belong to any of these standards, being to make another camp by themselves, (chap. i. 47, &c.)

Ver. 34. *And the children of Israel did according to all that the Lord commanded Moses.*] As they gave in their names when they were to be numbered, (chap. i. 54.) so they now joined together under such standards as God appointed.

*So they pitched by their standards, and so they set forward,* &c.] Each tribe encamped under the standard that was assigned to them; and they also marched, when they set forward, in such order as is here directed. Some order, no doubt, had been observed before, both when they rested and when they marched, (see Exod. xii. 18.) but it was not so exact and regular as this form, into which they were now cast by God himself, nor can we think it was so strictly observed.

The Jews say that this camp made a square of twelve miles in compass about the tabernacle; as Dr. Lightfoot hath observed, in his Cent. Chorogr. cxlviii. and J. Wagenseil more lately, in his annotations upon the Gemara of Sota, cap. 1. sect. 51. where several of them say, that the camp was three parasots in compass: and a parasot was four miles.

## CHAP. III.

Ver. 1. *THESE are the generations of Aaron and Moses.*] Being now to give an account of the Levites, who had not been numbered with the rest of the children of Israel, he sets down the descendants of the principal persons among them; *viz.* Aaron (whom he puts in the first place, because he was the eldest brother, and his posterity were advanced to the dignity of priests) and Moses; whose posterity were only ministers to the priests, as all the common Levites were. It may seem, indeed, at first sight, as if he gave an account only of Aaron's posterity; (ver. 2.) but if we look further to ver. 27, 28. we shall find the posterity of both here numbered in the family of the Amramites, of which both Aaron and Moses were: Amram being their father; from whom the genealogy of the children of Moses is derived, (1 Chron. xxiii. 13, 14, &c.) through their generations; as here those of Aaron.

Concerning the word *generations,* see Dr. Hammond on the first of St. Matthew, note a.

*In the day that the Lord spake unto Moses in Mount Sinai.*] This circumstance seems to be particularly specified, because at that time Nadab and Abihu (who are mentioned in the next verse) were both alive, and very eminent persons, (Exod. xxiv. 1. 9, 10.) though they were now dead, at this numbering of the Levites.

Ver. 2. *These are the names of the sons of Aaron, Nadab the first-born,* &c.] There seems no necessity of setting down the names of Aaron's sons, they not being here to be numbered. But it was of great concernment to have the distinction preserved between the priests and the Levites, their offices being very different; and therefore Moses here sets down who belonged to the one, and who to the other.

Ver. 3. *These are the names of the sons of Aaron, the priests which were anointed.*] See Levit. viii. 30.

*Which he consecrated.*] In the Hebrew, *whose hand he filled.* (See Exod. xxviii. 41. and xxix. 9.)

*To minister in the priest's office.*] He would have it noted, that Aaron's posterity were solemnly consecrated to a higher office than the rest of the tribe of Levi, who were to be their servants: the very name of *cohen* carries dignity in it; signifying sometimes a *prince,* as well as a *priest.* Accordingly, the priests had very little servile work imposed upon them; but their chief business was to draw near to God, to present him with the blood, and the fat, and some part of the sacrifices which might be killed by other persons. This shews that they were God's familiars; insomuch that some sacrifices were divided between him and them: and it was the same thing, whether they were consumed on the altar, or eaten by the priests: and those things are said to be given to God which were put into their hands, though they never came to the altar: which is an evidence of the near relation they had to the Divine Majesty, which the Levites had not; for they could not come nigh to offer any thing to him, no more than the rest of the Israelites but were employed in inferior service about the tabernacle, that the priests might wholly attend to the service of God at the altar.

Ver. 4. *And Nadab and Abihu died before the Lord,* &c.] A little after their consecration, (Lev. x. 1, &c.)

*And they had no children.*] Which is here recorded, that all posterity might know there were none to be admitted to the office of priesthood, but such as could derive their genealogy from Eleazar or Ithamar. If the other had left any sons, they would have inherited their father's office before Eleazar; as Maimonides observes out of Siphre: (see Schickard's Jus Regium, cap. vi. Theor. xx.)

*And Eleazar and Ithamar ministered in the priest's office, in the sight of their father.*] The LXX. rightly translate it, *together with their father,* who was the high-priest, and they lower priests under him: and so were all their sons; which it is likely they had in good number: for they are appointed, (ver. 38.) for the guard of the tabernacle towards the east. And thus the Gemara Hierosol. in the title concerning Fasting, saith, that Moses appointed eight classes of priests: four of the family of Eleazar, and as many of Ithamar; which continued till the time of Samuel the prophet, and David, who admitted many more: (see Selden de Success. in Pontif. cap. 1.)

Ver. 5. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Now he gives order about the rest of the tribe of Levi, who had been omitted in the late muster.

Ver. 6. *Bring the tribe of Levi near, and present them.*] They had consecrated themselves to God by a noble act,

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mentioned Exod. xxxii. 29. which procured them this blessing, to be presented to God, and consecrated to him in a solemn manner, for such services as he should assign them. So this word, *bring near*, signifies to offer them unto God: as they were, chap. viii. 10, 11.

*Before Aaron the priest.*] In his presence.

*That they may minister unto him.*] Unto Aaron and the rest of the priests, who were the immediate ministers of God; and the Levites were given to minister unto them: which they did many ways; especially while they remained in the wilderness, where they had a peculiar charge (which otherwise would have been incumbent on the priests), not only to guard the tabernacle, and keep a watch night and day about it; but also to take it down, and to carry it, when they removed, and to set it up again when they rested; as we read in the following part of this chapter, and in the next. When they came into the land of Canaan, and were settled there, they had less to do of this kind: but as the charge of the tabernacle still lay upon them, as it had done before, so did other works in the courts of the Lord's house, and in the chambers where they waited on the priests; which are particularly mentioned in 1 Chron. xxiii. 28, 29, &c. And in David's time their work was still more increased; for he appointed them to be singers in the house of the Lord, and to play upon several sorts of instruments, (1 Chron. xxv.) which they did morning and evening, (1 Chron. xxiii. 30.) Porters, perhaps, there were before, who stood at the several gates of the tabernacle, as afterward of the temple; and are said therein "to minister in the house of the Lord," (1 Chron. xxvi. 12.) as also guards of the treasury of God's house, and of things dedicated to him, (ver. 20.) But as he increased the number of them, so he settled them in their courses, that there might be a constant attendance with greater ease. As for those of them that were made judges and officers, not only in matters concerning the Lord, but in the service of the king, (as we read there, 1 Chron. xxvi. 29, 30.) it no more belongs to what is said of them here, than what follows there, (ver. 31.) that "there were found among them mighty men of valour." (See upon ver. 10.)

Ver. 7. *And they shall keep his charge, and the charge of the whole congregation.*] It highly concerned Aaron in particular, and the whole congregation in general, that the tabernacle should be well guarded: and this was the Levites' great business at present; who took this charge from off their hands, by attending that service, which all of them were bound to perform.

*Before the tabernacle of the congregation.*] This exactly expresses in what their ministry consisted; which was not performed *in* the tabernacle (where the priests only officiated in the holy place, as the high-priest in the most holy), but *before* it, in the external part of it, where they assisted the priests in their service.

*To do the service of the tabernacle.*] Such service as I have mentioned before, (ver. 6.)

Ver. 8. *And they shall keep.*] By guarding them, and keeping a continual watch about them.

*All the instruments of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Every thing belonging to it.

*And the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service of the tabernacle.*] By which service at the tabernacle they took upon them the charge; which otherwise was incumbent on the whole congregation, who were to take care that the holy things were kept both safe and secure, and also separate to the sacred uses to which they were appointed.

These words, which are often repeated, [*to do the service of the tabernacle,*] are to be carefully noted; because the Levites did not *serve in the tabernacle* (which belonged only to the priests), but *served the tabernacle*, by guarding it, and taking it down, and carrying it, &c. as was said before.

Ver. 9. *And thou shalt give the Levites unto Aaron and to his sons.*] They were first presented unto God, (ver. 6.) and God bestowed them as a gift upon the priests. (See chap. viii. 19.)

*They are wholly given unto him out of the children of Israel.*] To attend upon the priests, and to obey their orders; for which they paid them nothing, but they were to do it freely, being given to them to be their servants by God, who paid them their wages.

Ver. 10. *And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons, and they shall wait on their priest's office.*] Or, thou shalt appoint them to wait on their priesthood: which he had shewn before was very different from the Levitical office; but, to make them more mindful of their dignity, he repeats it again; that Aaron and his sons alone should officiate as priests, *viz.* in offering sacrifice; in setting the bread upon the holy table; looking after the lights, and burning incense; which they were to perform in their own persons, and not appoint any others, as their deputies, to do them: for none of these things could be performed by the Levites, whose business it was to look after the fine flour of which the bread was made; to prepare it, and the frankincense which was to be burnt; and abundance of such-like things, which are particularly mentioned, 1 Chron. ix. 27—29. 31, 32. But they could not make the *anointing oil*, or the *sweet perfume*, mentioned Exod. xxx. 23. 34. for they were *most holy*; and, therefore, the priests only could compound them.

*And the stranger that cometh nigh.*] By *stranger* is meant any one (though a Levite) that was not of the sons of Aaron, who alone had the privilege to approach unto God.

*Shall be put to death.*] God himself sent out a fire to consume Korah and his company, who presumed to offer incense, being but bare Levites, and not priests, (chap. xvi.)

Ver. 11. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] To make the matter more clear, he further tells Moses the reason, why he took the Levites from among the children of Israel to be his after a peculiar manner.

Ver. 12. *And I, behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel.*] Take notice of the reason why I have taken the Levites from among the rest of the Israelites, (ver. 9.) for it is by my order and appointment.

*Instead of all the first-born that openeth the matrix,* &c.] To make an exchange with them for all their first-born, which I have heretofore challenged as my own, and now take the Levites in their stead.

*Therefore the Levites shall be mine.*] As all the first-born were, which now shall be *theirs*, and the Levites be mine.

Ver. 13. *Because all the first-born are mine.*] By a special right, which is mentioned in the next words.

*For on the day that I smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt.*] The title whereby he laid a claim to all the first-born was, that great miracle (as R. Levi of Barcelona calls



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it) which he wrought, when he destroyed all the first-born of their neighbours in Egypt, and touched not one of theirs. By which sparing mercy he acquired a just right to them; and by that solemn dedication which he then commanded to be made of them unto his uses, (Exod. xiii. 2. 12, 13.)

*I hallowed unto me all the first-born in Israel,* &c.] He separated them unto himself, by sparing them, when he killed all other first-born, but only theirs.

*Mine they shall be.*] Both by that act of his own, and by the act of the children of Israel, whom he commanded to sanctify them to him, (Exod. xiii. 2. and xxii. 29.) they became God's. By which it appears, that he had not a peculiar right in the first-born, more than in any other of their children, till their coming out of Egypt. And therefore, the taking of the Levites to be his, instead of the first-born, is no argument that the first-born had hitherto been the priests who ministered unto God, till this exchange of them for the Levites. So our learned Dr. Lightfoot seems to infer, in his notes upon this passage; "The first-born (saith he) had been priests till the consecration of the Levites; but now that function must be confined to that tribe." In which words (with due respect be it spoken to that excellent man's labours) there are several mistakes. For, as the priesthood was not now confined to this tribe, but to one family in this tribe (that of Aaron), so it was not confined to it upon this occasion; but he and his sons were consecrated before this exchange of the Levites for the first-born, who were now given to minister unto them, but had nothing to do with the priesthood; no more than the first-born had, for whom they were exchanged; that peculiar right which God had in the first-born being since their coming out of Egypt. Upon all which considerations, we may look upon this exchange as an argument rather that the first-born were not priests in former times than that they were: as the Jews fancy, and as many have suggested from this very taking of the Levites to be God's portion in their stead. For so Menochius himself (lib. ii. de Repub. Jud. cap. 1.) asserts from this very place, "Jus sacerdotum in Levitas translatum, et eos loco primogenitorum acceptos, quibus hoc jus debebatur," *that the right of priests was transferred to the Levites, and they were accepted instead of the first-born, to whom that right belonged.* In which there is not a word of truth, but only that the Levites were accepted instead of the first-born; who had the same right to the priesthood that the Levites had; that is, none at all.

*I am the Lord.*] Who may take whom I please to be employed in my service; and think it reasonable that those whom I spared, when I slew the Egyptian first-born, should be mine.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord spake unto Moses.*] There was some reason, no doubt, why Moses alone is commanded to take the number of the Levites upon this occasion, (as he alone did, ver. 16.) when Aaron is joined with him in numbering the Israelites, (chap. i. 3.) and in numbering the Levites themselves who were fit for service, (chap. iv. 2. 41. 45.) nay, the chief of the Israelites assisted therein, (ver. 46.) And it is most probable he alone was employed to take this account, because Aaron was a party in it; the money that was to be paid for so many of the first-born, as exceeded the number of the Levites, being given to him and to his sons, (ver. 48.)

*In the wilderness of Sinai.*] This command immediately followed the other, in the two preceding chapters, before they departed from the wilderness of Sinai; where they had been ever since God delivered the law to them from that mountain.

Ver. 15. *Number the children of Levi, after the house of their fathers, by their families.*] Just as they had numbered the rest of the children of Israel. (See chap. i. 2.) Only those they numbered from twenty years old and upward; but the Levites from a month old and upward.

*Every male from a month old and upward shalt thou number them.*] The reason of this difference was, that this was the age at which they were to redeem their first-born, (chap. xviii. 16.) in whose stead the Levites were to be given unto God. (See ver. 40. of this chapter.)

Ver. 16. *And Moses numbered them according to the word of the Lord,* &c.] This charge was committed to him alone, (ver. 10.) and he alone (as I there observed) performed it.

Ver. 17. *And these were the sons of Levi, by their names, Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari.*] The same account we had before, (Gen. xlvi. 11. Exod. vi. 16.)

Ver. 18. *And these are the names of the sons of Gershon, by their families, Libni and Shimei.*] The same is said Exod. vi. 17.

Ver. 19. *And the names of the sons of Kohath,* &c.] They are mentioned in the same order, in Exod. vi. 18, 19.

Ver. 20. *These are the families of the Levites, according to the house of their fathers.*] These were the principal families in this tribe; from whence the several households, and the persons in them, were derived.

Ver. 21, 22. *Of Gershon was the family,* &c.] From his two sons sprung two families; who had in them seven thousand and five hundred male children, from a month old and upward.

Ver. 23. *And the families of the Gershonites shall pitch behind the tabernacle westward.*] Where the most holy place was; and where they under the standard of Ephraim lay, in the great camp of Israel, (chap. ii. 18.) between whom and the tabernacle this part of the camp of Levi pitched.

Ver. 24. *And the chief of the house of the father of the Gershonites,* &c.] The commander-in-chief, as we may style him, or the principal officer in this part of the camp of the Levites, was Eliasaph the son of Lael; but of what family he was, whether of the Libnites or Shimites, is not related.

Ver. 25. *And the charge of the sons of Gershon.*] That which was committed peculiarly to their care.

*In the tabernacle of the congregation.*] In the things belonging to the tabernacle; for none went into it but the priests alone.

*Shall be the tabernacle.*] Not the boards, and pillars, and bases of it, (for they belonged to the care of the sons of Merari, ver. 36.) but the ten curtains, which were the inward hangings of it, and are called the *mischan,* or tabernacle, (Exod. xxvi. 1. and see the next chapter of this book, ver. 25.)

*And the tent.*] The outward curtains of goats' hair, which are called *ohel,* the tent, (Exod. xxvi. 7. 12.)

*The covering thereof.*] The *michse,* as the Hebrews call it, or the covering of the tent, were the rams' skins and badgers' skins, which lay outmost of all, upon the curtains of goats' hair, (Exod. xxvi. 14.)

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*And the hanging for the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] The outward veil, mentioned Exod. xxvi. 36. for the inward veil, which hung before the most holy place, was the charge of the Kohathites.

Ver. 26. *And the hangings of the court.*] See Exod. xxvii. 9.

*And the curtain for the door of the court.*] Exod. xxvi. 16.

*Which is by the tabernacle, and by the altar round about.*] Or, as the Hebrew particle *al* may be translated, is *over*, or *upon* the tabernacle, &c. that is, this curtain at the door and the hangings of the court compassed the tabernacle, and the altar of burnt-offerings (which stood at the door of it, Exod. xl. 19.) round about; so that they were not exposed to common sight: for these Gershonites had nothing to do with the altar itself, which was the charge of the Kohathites, (ver. 31.)

*And the cords of it.*] This seems to refer, not merely to the curtain for the door of the court, but to all that went before, *viz.* the cords whereby those hangings were stretched out, and fastened by pins to the wood-work of the tabernacle: for the cords of that belonged to the custody of the sons of Merari, (ver. 37.) and we find pins and cords, as well for the tabernacle (that is, the hangings) as for the court, *i. e.* the boards, &c. (Exod. xxxv. 18.)

*For all the service thereof.*] Of this part of the house of God, as appears from ver. 31. and 36. where this is repeated with respect to the other parts of it.

Ver. 27. *And of Kohath was the family of the Amramites,* &c.] He was the second son of Levi, and had as many more families sprung from him as from the eldest; among which was the family of the Amramites, of which were Moses and Aaron.

Ver. 28. *In the number of all the males,* &c.] Though there were four families of the Kohathites, and but two of the Gershonites, yet the latter were as numerous as they, within eleven hundred.

*Keeping the charge of the sanctuary.*] Of what belonged to the holy place, which was committed to their charge, as it follows afterward; and they were instructed in it betimes.

Ver. 29. *The families of the sons of Kohath shall pitch on the side of the tabernacle southward.*] Between the tabernacle and the standard of Reuben, (chap. ii. 10.)

Ver. 30. *And the chief of the house of the father of the families of the Kohathites shall be Elizaphan the son of Uzziel.*] There was a commander-in-chief appointed over this body of the Levites, who was chosen out of the youngest family of the Kohathites. But it is observable, there were no standards belonging to any of these bodies, they being designed for other service, and not for war.

Ver. 31. *And their charge shall be the ark, and the table, and the candlestick.*] The sanctuary, as was said before, (ver. 28.) being committed to their custody, the particulars are here mentioned, which were the most precious of all the holy things, with which the Kohathites had the honour to be entrusted, though a younger family than those descended from Gershon, because Moses and Aaron were of it, being of the family of the Amramites; which is the reason why the Kohathites are reckoned first in the next chapter; (ver. 2.) and that of the forty-eight cities given to the Levites by Joshua, almost half of them fell to their families, (Josh. xxi. 4, 5.)

*The altars.*] Both the altar of burnt-offerings and the altar of incense.

*And the vessels of the sanctuary wherewith they* (*i. e.* the priests) *minister.*] See Exod. xxv. 29. xxxvii. 16.

*And the hanging.*] That is, the veil before the most holy place, for all other hangings were under the care of the Gershonites, (ver. 25. 26.) wherein the ark was wrapped, when they carried it, (chap. iv. 5.)

*And all the service thereof.*] Whatsoever belonged to this part of God's house: (see ver. 26.) and the particulars are mentioned in the next chapter, ver. 7. 9. 14.

Ver. 32. *And Eleazar, the son of Aaron, shall be chief over the chief of the Levites.*] There was one officer in chief set over each of these great families; of the Gershonites (ver. 24.) of the Kohathites, (ver. 30.) and the Merarites, (ver. 35.) And over all these chiefs there is now appointed a supreme chief (who was to govern them as they governed those under them), and that was Eleazar, who was more than a Levite, being the eldest son of Aaron, the high priest.

*And have the oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary.*] But, more particularly, Eleazar was to supervise those that had the sanctuary under their care; that is, all the Kohathites and Elizaphan their chief, (ver. 20.)

Ver. 33, 34.] *Of Merari was the family of the Mahlites, and the family of the Mushites,* &c.] Nothing is observable of these, but that they were the fewest in number, being thirteen hundred less than the children of Gershon, (see ver. 22.)

Ver. 35. *These shall pitch on the side of the tabernacle northward.*] Opposite to the Kohathites, between the standard of Dan and the sanctuary, (chap. ii. 25.)

Ver. 36. *And under the custody and charge of the sons of Merari, shall be the boards of the tabernacle,* &c.] Concerning all the things mentioned in this, and in the next verse, see Exod. xxvi. 15, 16, &c. xxvii. 10—12, &c. and the next chapter of this book, ver. 31, 32.

Ver. 37. *And their cords.*] These are different from those beforementioned, ver. 27. as I noted there.

Ver. 38. *But those that encamp before the tabernacle towards the east.*] Where the entrance into it was.

*Even before the tabernacle of the congregation eastward.*] He would have this station observed, as much excelling the rest.

*Shall be Moses, and Aaron and his sons.*] There were but three bodies of the Levites, descended from the three sons of Levi, (ver. 1.) and therefore none left to guard this side of the tabernacle, but Moses and Aaron, and their families; who lay between the standard of Judah and the tabernacle, (see chap. ii. ver. 3.) which was the most honourable post, as I there noted: where the priests were with great reason placed, together with the chief governor of all, Moses; because they were to guard the holy place, that none might go into it but themselves.

*Keeping the charge of the sanctuary.*] Of the entrance into it.

*For the charge of the children of Israel.*] Which it concerned every one of the children of Israel should be kept sacred: (see ver. 7.)

*And the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.*] No man that was not of the house of Aaron (though a Levite) was, upon the peril of his life, to enter into the sanctuary: of which they had the charge: (see ver. 10.)

Ver. 39. *All that were numbered of the Levites, which*



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*Moses and Aaron numbered, at the commandment of the Lord.*] This looks like a contradiction to the observation I made, ver. 14. 16. But Aaron's numbering here, in all probability, is only agreeing that this was a true account which Moses took of the tribe of Levi. For Moses still continues to be alone concerned in numbering the first-born of the children of Israel, for whom they were to be exchanged, (ver. 40. 42.)

*Were twenty and two thousand.*] If the particular sums beforementioned (ver. 22. 28. 34.) be put together, they amount to *three hundred* more than *twenty-two thousand.* Therefore it is a reasonable conjecture, that the *three hundred* are omitted in this account, because they were the first-born of the Levites themselves; and upon that score belonging to God already, (by the law in Exod. xiii. 2. xxxiv. 20.) could not be exchanged for the first-born of other tribes, and substituted in their stead, as other Levites were. It is very observable here also, that the Levites were the fewest in number of any tribe; being but *two-and-twenty thousand three hundred,* from a month old and upward: when some tribes were twice, nay thrice as many, (see chap. i. 27.) not reckoning children, but only men from twenty years old and upward. In which the Divine Providence was very conspicuous, which so ordered it, that this whole tribe might be dedicated to him; whereas, if it had grown proportionably to the rest, there would have been more Levites by far than the first-born of all the tribes.

Ver. 40. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] To whom alone this command is directed, as I observed above.

*Number all the first-born of the males of the children of Israel from a month old and upward.*] The first-born males were to be a month old, before their parents were bound to redeem them: if they died before, they were not to pay any thing for them. Which depends upon another law, Lev. xii. 4. 6. where if a woman brought forth a male, besides the *seven days* of her separation, she was to stay *three-and-thirty* days more before she went unto the sanctuary: at which time the child being to be presented to God, it appears that he acknowledged them for his when they were a month old. Yet they distinguish between the time when the redemption money was due, and when it was offered. This latter was deferred till the mother was abroad again: but it was due, and the father obliged to pay it, as soon as the child was a month old. So Const. L'Empereur observes out of Maimonides, upon Bava kama, cap. vii. sect. 6.

*And take the number of their names.*] That their number, and that of the Levites, might be compared one with the other; for the reason which here follows.

Ver. 41. *And thou shalt take the Levites for me (I am the Lord), instead of all the first-born among the children of Israel.*] God had taken them before, as we read, ver. 12. by declaring his will to Moses about it. And now he commands Moses to declare his will to the people, and actually to make this exchange; after he had taken the number, both of the first-born and of the Levites. For he had authority to take which he pleased, being their Lord.

*And the cattle of the Levites, instead of all the firstlings among the cattle of the children of Israel.*] Not that they should be sacrificed, or taken from the Levites; but that they should be accounted God's cattle; they being the cattle of the Levites, who were his entirely: and therefore were presented unto him, as the Levites were; but still continued in their possession by his allowance, for their encouragement in his service: (see ver. 45.)

Ver. 42. *And Moses numbered as the Lord commanded him all the first-born of the children of Israel.*] But we do not find that he numbered the firstlings of their cattle, or the cattle of the Levites; because the exchange of them was not made in particular, by substituting one for one; but generally, by substituting all the cattle of the Levites, instead of all the firstlings of the Israelites' cattle.

Ver. 43. *And all the first-born males, by the number of names, &c. and were twenty and two thousand two hundred and threescore and thirteen.*] It may appear something strange, that, from above six hundred thousand men, (reckoning from twenty years old and upward, chap. i. 46.) there should not be more than this number of first-born sons; till it be considered, that thus many were born since the slaughter of the Egyptian first-born (which was not much above a year ago), after which time all the first-born of Israel became God's; but not those that were born before: for so the law is, Exod. xiii. 2. *Whatsoever openeth the womb, (i. e.* hereafter) *both of man and beast, shall be mine.*

Ver. 44. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Still he is the person solely employed in this business.

Ver. 45. *Take the Levites instead of all the first-born among the children of Israel, and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle.*] Having numbered both the Levites and the first-born, now he bids him take those two-and-twenty thousand Levites instead of so many first-born. As for the cattle, they were not numbered, as I observed before, but exchanged in the lump, as we speak.

*And the Levites shall be mine.*] I think it is remarkable that he doth not add, *and their cattle shall be mine also.* For he did not take their cattle from them when they became his; but left them the use of them, who still enjoyed them in his right.

*I am the Lord.*] This exchange is made by my authority, who am the Lord, both of them and all they have.

Ver. 46. *And for those that are to be redeemed of the two hundred and threescore and thirteen, &c.*] There being two hundred threescore and thirteen first-born more than there were Levites, they are directed, in the next verse, what to do about them. For there could be no exchange of Levites for them, because there was not a sufficient number to be taken in their stead.

Ver. 47. *Thou shalt even take five shekels a-piece by the poll.*] This was the price of redemption ever after, as appears from chap. xviii. 16. For it had been lately constituted the value of a man-child, from a month to five years old, in Levit. xxvii. 6.

*After the shekel of the sanctuary, &c.*] See Exod. xxx. 13, &c. The only difficulty in this matter was, to determine which of the first-born should be redeemed by paying this money, and which should be exchanged for the Levites. For every one of the Israelites, no doubt, was desirous rather to have his first-born redeemed by a Levite, than by paying five shekels; and yet some of them must be put to this expense, there not being Levites enough to answer for them all. The Jews think (particularly R. Solomon) that there was no way to satisfy this doubt like that by draw-

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ing of lots, which was done in this manner. Moses, saith the forenamed doctor, took two-and-twenty thousand scrolls of parchment, and wrote in them these words, *a son of Levi;* and two hundred and seventy and three more, wherein he wrote *five shekels;* and then putting them all together in an urn, and shaking it to mingle them, he commanded every one of the first-born to come, and put in his hand, and draw out a schedule: and to him that drew out one of the former sort, he said, *a Levite hath redeemed thee;* but to him that drew out one of the latter, he said, *pay thy price.* And thus they tell the story also in the Gemara Babylon. Tit. Sanhedrin, which is probable enough; unless we suppose the congregation to have redeemed the two hundred seventy-three first-born out of a common stock; which was a shorter way, but not so Divine as the other.

Ver. 48. *And thou shalt give the money, wherewith the odd number of them is to be redeemed, unto Aaron, and to his sons.*] Which was but reasonable; because the Levites being given to them by God, (ver. 6, 7.) the money that was paid to make up what was wanting in their proportion to the first-born belonged to them likewise.

Ver. 49. *And Moses took the redemption-money of them that were over and above.*] To whom the lot fell, having *five shekels* written upon it.

*Them that were redeemed by the Levites.*] The first-born were redeemed by the Levites as far as their number would reach; the rest, who were more than the Levites, were redeemed by money.

Ver. 50. *Of the first-born of the children of Israel took he the money, a thousand three hundred and threescore and five shekels.*] Five times *two hundred seventy and three* make just this number.

Ver. 51. *And Moses gave the money of them that were redeemed unto Aaron, and to his sons.*] Which was a rule observed in future generations, (chap. xviii. 15, &c.)

*According to the word of the Lord, as the Lord commanded Moses.*] This is so oft repeated, to shew how faithful a servant Moses was; who did nothing but by the Divine order, and omitted nothing that was commanded him.

## CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying.*] They being both of them concerned to see this carefully executed, he speaks to both; and they took others to their assistance, (ver. 34. 46.)

Ver. 2. *Take the sum of the sons of Kohath,* &c.] They are first mentioned, being employed in the most honourable work; as I observed before, (chap. iii. 31.)

Ver. 3. *From thirty years old and upward.*] In this work, to which they are appointed, they were not employed till they came to *thirty* years of age; but they were admitted to attend at the tabernacle, and do other service, at the age of *five-and-twenty;* as we read, chap. viii. ver. 25. Which place the Jews (in the Gemara Babylonica upon the title Cholin) reconcile with this, after this manner: they were admitted to learn their duty at *five-and-twenty,* and to minister at *thirty.* And so Aben Ezra upon Numb. viii. *They were probationers, and might do some service at five-and-twenty years old, but not do all:* for they might wait upon the tabernacle, but not bear the ark. And that is the exact truth; they were admitted to minister to the priests at *five-and-twenty,* but were not put upon this laborious work here mentioned, till they had sufficient strength for it; which was at *thirty* years of age, when they were able to *carry burdens;* for by that word their work is described, (ver. 15. 19. 24. 31. 47.) For though some things, which they were charged withal, might be put into waggons, yet the ark and the most holy things were to be carried upon their shoulders, though they marched never so far, (ver. 15. and vii. 9.) When the ark, indeed, was settled in the temple, which was a fixed place, and therefore was no longer to be carried up and down, then (as D. Kimchi observes upon 1 Chron. xxiii.) king David appointed them to enter upon their office at *twenty* years old; there being also other great work to be performed in his time, for which they were fit at that age. And so it continued even after their return from the captivity at Babylon, Ezra iii. 8. (See Selden de Success. in Pontificat. lib. ii. cap. 4. and Lightfoot in his Temple Service, chap. vi. sect. 1.)

*Even until fifty years old.*] Beyond which age they were not bound to do any service, but only to minister with their brethren at the tabernacle, (chap. viii. 25, 26.)

*All that enter into the host.*] Or, *into the warfare.* For their watching continually, as a guard, about the tabernacle, (chap. iii. 7, &c.) made them a sort of militia, who were encamped, as appears by the foregoing chapter, about the tabernacle for its security. Besides which, there was other work which might make their service as laborious as a soldier's life is, and give it the name of *entering into the host;* which manner of speaking St. Paul uses unto Timothy, 1 Tim. i. 18. where he exhorts him to *war a good warfare.*

*To do the work of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] They did not perform any work in it, but about it (such as here follows), unless we understand by the *tabernacle,* the outward court, into which they went to minister unto the priests.

Ver. 4. *This shall be the service of the sons of Kohath, in the tabernacle of the congregation, about the most holy things.*] The next verses explain what this service was: or, if the word *about* (in the latter end of the verse) were quite left out, the sense would be more clear; *this shall be the service of the sons of Kohath,* &c. *the most holy things;* that is, the ark, as Aben Ezra expounds it. And his interpretation may be justified from ver. 19, 20. in the latter of which it is called the *holy,* and in the former the *holy of holies;* as it is here in the Hebrew: for it was the *most holy of all other holy things* in the tabernacle; and gave the name to the place where it stood, of *holy of holies,* or the *most holy place.* And this made the service of the Kohathites the most honourable of all other, and is the reason they are mentioned first.

Ver. 5. *When the camp setteth forward.*] Which it did not do till the cloud was taken up, and removed from off the tabernacle, (Exod. xl. 36, 37. Numb. x. 11.)

*Aaron shall come, and his sons.*] While the cloud rested upon the tabernacle, and the glory of the Lord filled the house, none but Aaron might come into the most holy place where the ark was, and that but on one day in the year; and then, after he had filled it with incense, which made a cloud before the mercy-seat (which was the cover-

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ing of the ark), over which the Schechinah was. But that being removed in the cloud, when it was taken up from the tabernacle; not only Aaron, but his sons also might come into the most holy place, without any irreverence; that which made it so holy (*viz. the glory of the Lord*) being gone out of it for the present; so that there was no danger in approaching to the ark where it was wont to rest.

*And they shall take down the covering veil.*] Whereby the holy place was parted from the most holy; which is always meant by the word *parocheth*, (as I shewed upon Exod. xxvi. 31.) which is here used: and though the word *masach* be added to it, which constantly signifies the outward veil at the entrance of the sanctuary; yet it is plain that the inward veil, which was at the entrance of the most holy place is here intended: for the other was committed to the care of the Gershonites, (ver. 25.)

*And cover the ark of the testimony with it.*] By this it is evident they went into the holy place, unto the very ark, over which they threw this covering.

Ver. 6. *And shall put thereon the covering of badgers' skins.*] Not any of those wherewith the tabernacle was covered, (Exod. xxvi. 14.) but a covering made on purpose for this use, to defend the ark from the injury of the weather when they carried it on their shoulders.

*And shall spread over it a cloth wholly of blue.*] Or, of *perfect blue*. This was the third covering of the ark; which, till it was laid upon it, the Levites might not approach it. And since the tabernacle was the image of things in the heavens (as not only the apostle, but the Jews themselves say), the ark in particular being a figure of the celestial throne of God; it is not an unreasonable conceit of R. Bechai, that this *blue*-coloured cloth was spread over it as an emblem of the skies, which are spread like a curtain between us and the Majesty on high.

*And shall put in the staves thereof.*] It is not said they shall put them *in the rings;* for they were never to be taken out of them, (Exod. xxv. 15.) Nor do the Hebrew words signify that they should *put them in;* but it should be translated, *put the staves thereof*, that is, upon their shoulders. So Aben Ezra interprets it; which seems to me the most simple exposition: or, *fit and dispose them*, under the covering, that they might be laid on their shoulders: or, *order* them so in the rings (which is Chuskuni's explication), that they might fall into the two notches, which were in the staves, to keep the ark from sliding up and down.

Ver. 7. *And upon the table of shew-bread they shall spread a cloth of blue.*] It is not said *wholly of blue*, as it is of the former; which shews it was of something a different colour.

*And put thereon the dishes.*] Upon which the bread was set.

*And the spoons and bowls*, &c.] See Exod. xxv. 29.

*And the continual bread.*] *i. e.* The bread which stood continually in the presence of God.

*Shall be thereon.*] Even when the table was carried from place to place; which shews that they provided this bread, (according to the order, Exod. xxv. 30.) all the time they were in the wilderness. And it was not hard to procure so much corn from their neighbours, bordering upon the wilderness, as would be sufficient for this purpose, and for others, which I shall note in their proper places; particularly from the land of Midian, where Moses's father-in-law lived; which was not far from Sinai, (as appears from Exod. iii. 1.) where they were at present.

Ver. 8. *And they shall spread upon them a cloth of scarlet, and cover the same with a covering of badgers' skins.*] These had a triple covering, as well as the ark; being holy things, and having a *holy thing* (that is, the *bread of the presence*, as it is called in the Hebrew, because it stood before God continually) in the dishes upon the table.

*And shall put in the staves thereof.*] That it might be ready to be carried, (Exod. xxv. 27, 28.)

Ver. 9. *And they shall take a cloth of blue.*] Like that which covered the table, (ver. 7.)

*And cover the candlestick of the light.*] See Exod. xxv. 31. and xxxvii. 17, &c.

*And his lamps, and his tongs*, &c.] Exod. xxv. 37, 38, and xxxvii. 23.

*And all the oil-vessels thereof.*] For God commanded them to bring pure oil to feed the lamps continually, (Exod. xxvii. 20.) which was put, no doubt, in vessels, to preserve it for daily use.

*With which they minister unto it.*] With which oil they keep the lamps continually burning.

Ver. 10. *And they shall put it, and all the vessels thereof, within a covering of badgers' skins.*] There were but two coverings for the candlestick and its vessels, it being of lesser value than the table of shew-bread, and what belonged to it.

*And shall put it upon a bar.*] Rather upon a *bier;* for the word we here translate *bar*, is different from that used before, (ver. 6. 8.) which we translate *staves;* and signifies any instrument whereby things are removed from one place to another. We translate it indeed a *staff*, (chap. xiii. 23.) whereon two of them that went to spy out the land carried the cluster of grapes they had cut down: which was laid, no doubt, upon something that was broad; as this bar was whereon they carried the candlestick: which had no rings belonging to it, and therefore, I take it, was carried upon something resembling a *bier*, on which corpses are carried to their grave in this country: see ver. 12. and so the LXX. ἐπ' ἀναφορέων.

Ver. 11. *And upon the golden altar.*] So called, because it was overlaid with pure gold, (Exod. xxx. 3.)

*They shall spread a cloth of blue*, &c.] As they did upon the candlestick, (ver. 9.)

*And shall put to the staves thereof.*] Into the rings; which were made on purpose, that it might be carried upon the staves, (Exod. xxx. 4, 5.)

Ver. 12. *And they shall take all the instruments of the ministry wherewith they minister in the sanctuary.*] I do not see what can be meant by these, but the holy garments which Aaron and his sons put on in the time of their ministration. For all other things have been already mentioned; and these are called the *clothes of service*, Exod. xxxi. 10. where they are immediately mentioned after all the forenamed furniture of the tabernacle.

*And shall put them in a cloth of blue, and cover them with a covering of badgers' skins.*] As they did the candlestick, and the altar of incense, (ver. 9. 11.)

*And put them on a bar.*] By this it appears that the Hebrew word *mot*, which we translate a *bar*, signifies a broad instrument for carriage; such as I have described ver. 10.

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Ver. 13. *And they shall take away the ashes from the altar.*] Of burnt-offering; which was often cleansed from its ashes, (Lev. vi. 10, 11.) but then especially when it was to be removed. What they did with the fire, which was always to burn upon it, (Lev. vi. 12, 13.) is not here related; but we may suppose that it was carried upon the grate, which had rings on purpose, that it might be carried separate from the altar. (See Exod. xxvii. 4.)

*And spread a purple cloth thereon.*] As being a *holy thing*, though not of such sanctity as those beforenamed.

Ver. 14. *And they shall put upon it all the vessels thereof,* &c.] That they might be carried with it.

*The censers, the flesh-hooks, and the shovels, and the basons.*] Here the *censers* are put first, which are mentioned last in Exod. xxvii. 3. where this word is translated *fire-pans.* Others understand by it, *tongs.*

*All the vessels of the altar.*] Immediately after these words, we find there follows, in two places, *the laver and his foot,* Exod. xxxv. 16. and xxxix. 39. where, in the very same verse, the *laver* is mentioned with the *altar* and its *vessels:* and immediately follows them in two other, Exod. xxxviii. 7, 8. and xl. 30. The reason why it is not mentioned here, is, perhaps, because he names only those things upon which the sons of Aaron were to put a covering; and this, it is likely, was carried without one.

*And put to the staves of it.*] Exod. xxvii. 6, 7. and xxxviii. 6, 7.

Ver. 15. *And when Aaron and his sons have made an end of covering the sanctuary and all the vessels,* &c.] This work was to be performed by them alone; and the Levites were not to meddle with any of these things till they had done.

*After that the sons of Kohath shall come to bear it.*] For all the forementioned things, belonging to the sanctuary, were to be carried by them, even the ark itself: which they carried so, that all the people might see it went along with them. For the rings being fastened to the bottom of the ark, (see Exod. xxv. 12.) when the staves were on their shoulders it appeared on high: to represent, saith R. Bechai, Him that is most highly exalted over all. The priests, indeed, might carry the ark, being more than Levites, (Deut. xxxi. 9.) and accordingly we find, that, upon extraordinary occasions, they did; as when they went over Jordan, (Josh. iii. 14.) and when Jericho was besieged; (chap. vi. 6.) some think also, when David, as he fled from Absalom, sent the ark back, (2 Sam. xv. 29.) But it appears, from ver. 24. that there is no certainty of that; especially since, when he brought it from the house of Obed-Edom, he not only employed the Levites in it, but declared none else ought to bear it, (1 Chron. xv. 2. 15. 27.) He bade the priests indeed, as well as the Levites, sanctify themselves for this work: for *ye* (saith he to the priests, ver. 12.) *are the chief of the fathers of the Levites:* but they seem to have been present, only to see the Levites perform their charge; and to accompany the ark, as David himself did.

*But they shall not touch any holy thing, lest they die.*] Some imagine they were not to touch these things till they were covered by the priests: but it is more likely that even then they were not to touch them, but only the staves, or the bar, whereon they were carried; especially the ark, which is here principally meant by *the holy thing* (the word *any* not being in the Hebrew), whose staves only they touched, and lifted it up by putting them upon their shoulders.

*These things are the burden of the sons of Kohath, in the tabernacle of the congregation.*] When it was removed; for at other times they had nothing to do with these things: which are here called their *burden,* as, ver. 4. they are called their *service,* to shew the nature of their service, which required the strength of grown men, (ver. 3.)

Ver. 16. *And to the office of Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, pertaineth the oil for the light,* &c.] It is commonly thought, that he is required to carry this, and the other things that follow in this verse, himself: but, if all things be considered, it will appear more reasonable to think, that he, who was the chief of all the chiefs over the Levites, (chap. iii. 32.) is peculiarly required to see the Kohathites did their duty: for, though they had a chief over them, whose work it was to inspect them, (chap. iii. 30.) yet God thought good to appoint Eleazar to supervise both him and all under him in these weighty concerns: and so the words may be interpreted out of the Hebrew.

*The oversight of Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, shall be the oil,* &c. *the oversight of all the tabernacle, and of all that is therein,* &c.] And there is the greater reason thus to understand it, because the *oil-vessels* are before committed to the Kohathites, (ver. 9.) and consequently the *oil* itself; which could not be carried but in the *vessels.*

*The sweet incense.*] Mentioned Exod. xxx. 34.

*And the daily meat-offering.*] See Exod. xxix. 40, 41.

*And the anointing oil.*] Exod. xxx. 23, &c. These were not named before; but it is here laid upon Eleazar, to see that they were as carefully carried by the Kohathites as any other things belonging to the sanctuary.

Ver. 17. *And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying.*] The things beforementioned, especially the ark, were so sacred, that he repeats the admonition he had given about the danger of irreverence to it: which he here represents in a frightful manner.

Ver. 18. *Cut ye not off.*] Do not by your negligence occasion the destruction of a great many persons.

*The tribe of the family of the Kohathites from among the Levites.*] A considerable part of the tribe of Levi, *viz.* the family of the Kohathites, who were near a third part of it.

Ver. 19. *But do thus for them, that they may live and not die.*] Proceed in this manner, to prevent so great a mischief as their destruction.

*When they approach unto the most holy things.*] Come to take up the ark: which is meant by the *holy of holies:* (see ver. 4.)

*Aaron and his sons shall go in.*] And cover the ark, and the rest of the things within the sanctuary; as is before directed.

*And appoint them every one to his service, and to his burden.*] And then allot to every one his share in this work; that is, to carry such particular things, as they think most proper for them.

Ver. 20. *But they shall not go in to see.*] They might go in to the most holy place, when not only the glory of the Lord was removed; but the ark and mercy-seat, upon its removal, were covered by the priests (for then the place where they lay covered was no longer holy), but they

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might not come in to see the priests cover them; which was to be done before they approached.

*When the holy things are covered.*] In the Hebrew it is in the singular number, *when the holy,* or *holy thing* is covered, *i. e.* the ark, as the Jews generally understand it; and that with great reason, as any one may be satisfied, who will take the pains to compare 1 Kings viii. 8. with 2 Chron. v. 9. Where that which in the former place is called the *holy,* in the latter is called *the ark.*

*Lest they die.*] They might not, under pain of death, either see it when it was covered, or touch it afterward, (ver. 15.) but only carry it in the manner there described.

Ver. 21. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] He was principally concerned in this, but Aaron was also joined with him, to see the execution of what is here required, (ver. 1. 19. 34.)

Ver. 22. *Take also the sum of the sons of Gershon,* &c.] The eldest son of Levi, (chap. iii. 17.) who, though they were employed in lower services, were to account it an honour to serve about the tabernacle.

Ver. 23. *All that enter in to perform the service.*] I do not understand why this should not be translated as ver. 2. *into the host.* For it is the very same phrase in the Hebrew, both here and there: only here more emphatical by doubling the word for *host:* and therefore may, very properly, be translated in this place, *that enter in to war the warfare.* For the service of the Gershonites was more burdensome than the former, though they were fewer in number, (ver. 36. 40.)

Ver. 24. *This is the service of the families of the Gershonites.*] Which were only two, (chap. iii. 18. 21.)

*To serve, and for burdens.*] To *serve,* when the tabernacle rested; and to *carry burdens,* when it removed: (see ver. 47.)

Ver. 25. *And shall bear the curtains of the tabernacle.*] The ten fine curtains, which were the inward hangings of the tabernacle, (Exod. xxvi. 1, 2, &c.) Which, I suppose, were taken down as well as carried by the Gershonites: because nothing is said here of Aaron or his sons being employed, to make them ready for carriage.

*And the tabernacle of the congregation, his covering.*] Not the boards of the tabernacle, which were the charge of the children of Merari, (ver. 31.) but the eleven curtains of goats' hair which covered the boards, (see Exod. xxvi. 7, 8, &c.)

*And the covering of badgers' skins, which is upon it.*] The outward covering of all, which was of rams' skins died red, and badgers' skins (as we translate it, Exod. xxvi. 14.)

*And the hanging for the door of the tabernacle.*] Which is described, in the conclusion of the same chapter, (Exod. xxvi. 36.)

Ver. 26. *And the hangings for the court.*] Exod. xxvii. 9, &c.

*And the hanging for the gate of the door of the court.*] See Exod. xxvii. 16.

*Which is by the tabernacle, and the altar round about.*] The sense would have been more plain, if the particle *al,* which we translate *by,* had been translated *upon,* or *over;* for the court encompassed both the tabernacle and the altar, (Exod. xl. 6—8.)

*And their cords.*] Which were employed in fastening these hangings.

*And all the instruments for their service.*] The brazen pins, I suppose, mentioned Exod. xxvii. 19.

*And all that is made for them.*] And whatsoever else belonged to them: (see chap. iii. 26.)

*So shall they serve.*] Or, in that shall they serve.

Ver. 27. *At the appointment of Aaron and his sons shall be all the service of the sons of the Gershonites,* &c.] In the Hebrew it is, *at the mouth of Aaron,* &c. *i. e.* according to their order, every one of the Gershonites were to apply themselves to such services as they directed: for God had given the Levites to them to be their ministers, and keep their charge, (chap. iii. 6, 7.)

*And ye shall appoint unto them in charge all their burdens.*] The word here for *appoint* seems to import, that the priests gave them a particular, as we speak, of what they were to do; that they might neither forget nor mistake; for it is the same word that is used in the beginning of this book (chap. i. 3.) for numbering the people; and so it is used here, ver. 34. 47, 48. Therefore the Vulgar translates these words: "Et sciant singuli cui debeant operi mancipari;" *and every man may know what is the proper business of his own calling;* not to meddle with other men's, nor to think himself fit to undertake every thing. Ἓν γὰρ ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἔργον ἄριστα ἀποτελεῖται, as Aristotle speaks in his Politics, (lib. iii.) *one work is best performed by one person.*

Ver. 28. *And their charge shall be under the hand of Ithamar, the son of Aaron the priest.*] That is, under the direction and conduct of Ithamar: for though the Gershonites had a chief of their own, (chap. iii. 24.) yet Ithamar was to inspect both him and them, and see they did not neglect their duty. Thus Eleazar was set over the Kohathites, (ver. 16.)

Ver. 29. *As for the sons of Merari, thou shalt number them after their families,* &c.] Which were but two, (chap. iii. 33.) as those of Gershon were.

Ver. 30. *Every one that entereth into the service.*] The words in the Hebrew are the very same with those, ver. 3. which we translate *enter into the host.* (See there.)

Ver. 31. *This is the charge of their burden,* &c.] The most cumbersome things fell to their charge; which here follow.

*The boards of the tabernacle.*] See Exod. xxvi. 15, &c.

*And the bars thereof.*] See there, ver. 26, &c.

*And the pillars thereof.*] See in the same place, ver. 32. and xxxvi. 36.

*And sockets thereof.*] These belonged both to the boards of the tabernacle, (Exod. xxvi. 19. 21. 25.) and to the pillars, (Exod. xxvi. 32. xxxviii. 27.)

Ver. 32. *And the pillars of the court round about.*] Exod. xxvii. 10—12.

*And their sockets.*] See there.

*And their pins.*] Ver. 19. and chap. xxxviii. 20.

*And their cords.*] Exod. xxxv. 18. xxxix. 40.

*By name ye shall reckon the instruments of the charge of their burden.*] The priests (particularly Ithamar) were to give them an inventory of these things; expressing by name every pin, for instance, and to what use, and in what place it served; because otherwise such small things might have been lost, if they had not taken a special care of them; and they might not have been able to set up the tabernacle again when they rested for want of them.

Ver. 33. *This is the service of the families of the sons of*

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*Merari, according to all their service in the tabernacle of the congregation.*] In taking down and carrying the tabernacle.

*Under the hand of Ithamar,* &c.] Who had the oversight both of the Gershonites and the Merarites; as Eleazar had of the Kohathites, (ver. 16. 28.)

Ver. 34. *And Moses and Aaron, and the chief of the congregation.*] They took to their assistance the very same men, I suppose, who were employed in numbering all the children of Israel, (chap. i. 4. 16, 17.)

*Numbered the sons of the Kohathites,* &c.] Having assigned to them their particular charge, they now proceed to number them; as God commanded, (ver. 2, 3.)

Ver. 35. *Every one that entereth into the service.*] Or, as we translate it, (ver. 3.) *entereth into the host.*

Ver. 36. *And those that were numbered of them, by their families, were two thousand seven hundred and fifty.*] Of the whole number of males descended from Kohath, (compare this with chap. iii. 28.) there was a fourth part, and better, that were fit for service.

Ver. 37. *These were they that were numbered of the families of the Kohathites, all that might do service in the tabernacle.*] Such service as is particularly mentioned from ver. 4. to ver. 16.

Ver. 38. *And these are they that were numbered of the sons of Gershon,* &c.] He proceeds in the same order to number them, which he observed in giving them their charge; beginning with the children of the second son of Levi, and then going back to the eldest.

Ver. 39. *From thirty years old and upward,* &c.] This verse is the very same with ver. 35.

Ver. 40. *Two thousand and six hundred and thirty.*] A third part and little more of their males were fit for service. Compare this with chap. iii. 22.

Ver. 41. *These are they that were numbered of the families of the sons of Gershon, of all that might do service in the tabernacle,* &c.] Such service as is described from ver. 24. to ver. 29.

Ver. 42, 43.] These two verses are the same with ver. 38, 39.

Ver. 44. *Even those that were numbered of them, after their families, were three thousand and two hundred.*] It is very remarkable, the descendants from the youngest son of Levi, (chap. iii. 17.) which had the fewest males in it of a month old and upward, had the most robust men fit for service: for here are above half (compare this with chap. iii. 34.) of the whole number of males grown up to thirty years of age: which was a singular providence, the heaviest burden laying upon them who were to carry the boards, &c. of the tabernacle; not indeed upon their shoulders, but in waggons; which they were to load after they had taken them down, and unload when they were to set them up again; and for that reason had more waggons allowed them than their brethren the Gershonites, (chap. vii. 7, 8.)

Ver. 45. *These are those,* &c. *whom Moses and Aaron numbered.*] Who were principally employed in this business.

*According to the word of the Lord by the hand of Moses.*] To whom the command is expressly directed, (ver. 21.)

Ver. 46. *All those that were numbered of the Levites, whom Moses and Aaron, and the chief of Israel, numbered.*] For they took in others to their assistance, (ver. 34.) which is here repeated, to shew that there was no fraud in the business; there being witnesses of every tribe that they proceeded impartially, and did not favour the Levites, who were their brethren.

Ver. 47. *Every one that came to do the service of the ministry, and the service of the burden in the tabernacle,* &c.] The first of these [*the service of the ministry*] one would think related to their serving the priest when the tabernacle was standing; and the latter [*the service of the burden*] to their carrying the tabernacle when it was taken down, and removed; and so I expounded those words, ver. 24. But he mentioning here only those that were numbered from thirty years old, I think, upon further consideration, that there is no regard in these expressions to the service they did to the priests in the tabernacle, unto which they were admitted at twenty-five years old, (see ver. 3.) but only to the service mentioned here in this chapter, which relates altogether to the taking down and carrying the tabernacle. And therefore these must be looked upon as two phrases for the same thing: the former of which is not exactly translated; for there is nothing of *ministry* in the Hebrew; but the words are, *every one that cometh to serve the service of the service, and the service of the burden,* or *carriage.* For it is the same word, which, being joined with *work,* we translate *servile,* (Lev. xxiii. 7. and other places.)

Ver. 48. *Eight thousand and five hundred and fourscore.*] If the three sums, mentioned ver. 36. 40. 44. be put together, they amount exactly to this sum in the whole.

Ver. 49. *According to the commandment of the Lord, they were numbered by the hand of Moses.*] By the assistance of Aaron and others, (ver. 1. 34. 36.)

*Every one according to his service, and according to his burden.*] I observed before, (ver. 47.) that *service* and *burden* are two expressions of the same thing. For though the sons of Kohath had the noblest part of the work, yet their employment is called both a *service* and a *burden,* ver. 19. as that of the Gershonites is, ver. 24. For which service all the tithes of the country of Canaan were given to them, and continued to be theirs when this kind of service ceased; as it did when the temple was built: for then there were no *burdens to be carried on their shoulders,* (as Josiah speaks, 2 Chron. xxxv. 3.) but their duty was changed, even by David, before the building of the temple; who made them singers, and keepers of the treasury, as well as porters at the gates of God's house; and likewise judges and other officers in the country; as we read in 1 Chron. xxvi. But the alteration in their service made no alteration in the wages allotted to them; for they still enjoyed all the tithes.

*Thus were they numbered of him, as the Lord commanded Moses.*] This is so often repeated, (ver. 37. 41. 45.) that all posterity might reverence these ordinances as Divine institutions, and not merely human appointments. And so we are to look upon all these laws, as wise orders made by the Sovereign of the world, for the better government of that people, whom he had taken for his own peculiar. And it argues a very profane spirit in those (as Conr. Pellicanus here observes) who can admire and praise Ovid de Fastis, and such-like books, and have no regard at all (if they do not ridicule them) to these sacred writings, which are of such venerable antiquity.



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## CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] It is not said when this was spoken which here follows; but it is likely immediately after the foregoing commandments, upon which it hath some dependance.

Ver. 2. *Command the children of Israel, that they put out of the camp every leper, and every one that hath an issue, and whosoever is defiled by the dead.*] There were three camps, (as Maimonides, and a great many others mentioned by Mr. Selden, observes, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 1. n. 5.) the camp of the Schechinah, or of the Lord, *viz.* the sanctuary with its courts, which are called the *tents of the Lord;* (1 Chron. xxxi. 2.) and next the camp of the Levites, who, with Aaron and his sons, made a camp about the tabernacle (chap. iii. of this book), and then the camp of Israel, (chap. ii.) which encompassed them all. Answerable to these, when the temple was built, they reckoned the temple itself from the east gate to be the camp of the Lord; and the camp of the Levites, to be from the entrance of the mount of the house of the Lord to that east gate of the temple; and the camp of Israel they thought extended from the entrance of Jerusalem to the mount of the house of the Lord. Now lepers were so unclean, that they were not admitted into any of these three camps, but shut out of them all: (see Lev. xiii. 46.) But he that had *an issue,* (Lev. xv. 2.) was only shut out of the two first camps, the camp of the Lord, and the camp of the Levites; but he might be in the camp of Israel. And he that was *defiled by the dead,* (Lev. xxi. 1.) was only excluded from the first, the sanctuary, but not from the other two: (see Drusius also upon chap. iv. 25.)

Ver. 3. *Both male and female shall ye put out.*] For women had issues (for instance) as well as men, (Lev. xv. 2. 19, &c.)

*That they defile not their camps.*] The camp of Israel consisted of four camps (and therefore he speaks in the plural number), that of Judah, that of Reuben, that of Ephraim, and that of Dan, (Numb. ii. 3. 10. 18. 25.) Which would have been so defiled, if they had suffered these unclean persons to stay among them, that none would have been fit to go to the sanctuary.

*In the midst of which I dwell.*] By his special presence in the sanctuary, which was encompassed by these camps; out of reverence to which, such unclean persons were to be kept at a greater distance than other men and women.

Ver. 4. *And the children of Israel did so, and put them without the camp,* &c.] There was an order for this before; particularly for putting out the lepers, (Lev. xiii. 46.) which could not be put in execution till the camp was formed, as now it was.

Ver. 5. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] It is uncertain when this was spoken; but I see no reason why we should not think it was at the same time with the other things here mentioned.

Ver. 6. *When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit.*] In the Hebrew the words are plainly these, *shall commit any sin of man;* that is, against his neighbour: as in Joel iii. 19. *violence of the children of Judah,* is truly translated, violence *against* the children of Judah. For it is apparent from the next verses, (7, 8.) that Moses here speaks of offences against their neighbours.

*To do a trespass against the Lord.*] Such offences against their neighbours as were also great offences against God. For the Chaldee understands these words of frauds and cheats put upon men by a false oath. And there is a good warrant for this interpretation from Lev. vi. 2, 3. where Moses gives the same command: which seems here to be repeated, only because he had something to add unto it, (ver. 8.)

*And that person be guilty.*] Or rather, *be sensible of his guilt,* (see Lev. vi. 4.)

Ver. 7. *Then they shall confess the sin that they have done.*] Or rather, *if they shall confess,* &c. For so the particle *vau* sometimes signifies: particularly chap. xii. 14. where we (as well as the LXX.) translate it, *if her father had spit in her face:* see what I have noted upon Lev. vi. 4.

*And he shall recompense,* &c.] Rather, *then he shall recompense* the injury he did to his neighbour, in the manner here directed; which hath been explained, Lev. vi. 5. (see there.)

Ver. 8. *But if a man have no kinsman to recompense the trespass unto.*] By this it is apparent, that if a man, to whom an injury had been done, was dead, he that committed it was bound to make satisfaction to his heir, whosoever he was, by restoring the principal, and adding a fifth part to it. Now the Israelites never wanting some of their kindred to succeed to their inheritances, the Hebrew doctors expound this of the *proselytes of righteousness;* who might possibly die without any heir; because they had no kindred, but such as were born after their regeneration. In which case the goods that had been illegally taken from such a proselyte by a Jew, did not become his own, unless he paid the price of them, with such an addition as is here required, &c. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4. p. 684, 685. edit. Lond.)

*Let the trespass be recompensed unto the Lord.*] By bringing to him the principal and the fifth part.

*Even unto the priest.*] Whom God deputed to receive it as his minister. And it was (as the Jews rightly expound it) equally distributed among all the priests, who were then waiting in their course. Which is a new addition to the law in Levit. vi. and the reason, it is likely, why that law is here repeated.

*Besides the ram of the atonement,* &c.] Mentioned Levit. vi. 6, 7. where see what I have noted.

Ver. 9. *And every offering of all the holy things of the children of Israel.*] Upon the occasion of the foregoing laws concerning a recompence to be made to the priest, where a man that had been wronged was dead, and no heir to him could be found, he explains some other laws wherein the priests were concerned: who were to have all the *heave-offerings,* as the word *trumoth* (here used) signifies, (chap. xviii. 8.)

*Which they bring unto the priest.*] To be offered unto God.

*Shall be his.*] Who offers it. For there being many priests who waited in their courses at the tabernacle; all of which could not officiate at the same time, but some at one time, some at another; this law determines, that the particular priest who performed the office of sacrificing, should have to himself that part of the holy things which fell to the priest's share; and it should not be divided among them.

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all. Thus L'Empereur (upon Bava kama, cap. 9. sect. 12.) expounds these words better than any I have met withal.

Ver. 10. *And every man's hallowed thing shall be his.*] As the former verse speaks of the holy things of the children of Israel in general, so this, of what any particular person offered: which still with greater reason was to belong to the priest that offered it. For "the labourer is worthy of his hire:" and therefore he that did the work of sacrificing, had the reward of it. R. Solomon applying this to tithes hath a gloss upon these words, which, though not pertinent, is very remarkable: "He that doth not duly pay his tithe, in the end his land shall yield him but a tithe of what it was wont to yield." And so R. Bechai upon Deut. xiv. expounds these words, when a man divideth not as he ought, *he shall have nothing but the holy things;* that is, the tithe of what he used to have, according to Isa. v. 10.

*Whatsoever any man giveth the priest, it shall be his.*] These words are only a fuller explication of this law (as the same L'Empereur observes), that the rest of the priests might not take away those holy things from him that offered them, under pretence that they belonged to the whole sacerdotal order. For though they were delivered unto him, yet it was, they might say, that they should be divided among the whole classes then in attendance. So some things were, (ver. 2.) and therefore this law is added to prevent their extending what was done in some cases unto all.

Ver. 11. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] There is so little connexion between this and the foregoing laws, that it is not easy to give a reason why it is here placed. All that I can say is, that Moses having spoken concerning frauds, from the suspicion of which men were to purge themselves, by an oath, (ver. 6.) he here takes occasion to mention the greatest case that could happen of this nature: which was, when a woman was suspected of adultery; concerning which God gave him the following order.

Ver. 12. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, If any man's wife go aside.*] Being private, for some time, with another man; whose company her husband had charged her not to keep alone; and therefore is suspected by him to be an adulteress.

For it is certain, that, by a wife that *goeth aside* (whom the Hebrews from hence call *Sota*), is not meant one that hath certainly committed adultery; but is, with some reason, suspected of that crime. And therefore it is a rule among the Jews, "The bitter waters never are used but in a dubious case."

*And commit a trespass against him.*] And thereby hath very much offended him.

Ver. 13. *And a man lie with her carnally.*] As her husband hath cause to suspect; he having (as I said before) admonished her not to be with such a man in private: that is, to give him no cause of jealousy. So Abarbinel rightly expounds a man's *lying with her carnally*, of her husband's opinion and suspicion: and the next verse justifies this exposition.

*And if it be hid from the eyes of her husband.*] There being no clear evidence, but only conjectures, that she is actually defiled.

*And be kept close.*] The matter having been carried very secretly: or, as it may be interpreted, *but she was shut up close with him.*

*And she be defiled.*] In her husband's opinion.

*And there be no witness against her.*] For if there had, she must have been put to death, (Levit. xx. 10.)

*Neither she be taken with the manner.*] She not being apprehended in the very act.

Ver. 14. *And the spirit of jealousy come upon him.*] He be possessed with a strong conceit, of which he cannot rid himself, that she hath been unfaithful to him. For so *a spirit of slumber* (and the like) is used in Scripture, for such a sluggish temper, as a man cannot shake off.

*And he be jealous of his wife, and she be defiled.*] Whether it be really so.

*And he be jealous, and she be not defiled.*] Or whether it be only his suspicion.

Ver. 15. *Then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest.*] To the magistrates of the place where they lived (saith the Mischna, cap. 1. sect. 3. of Sota), together with his witnesses, both of the premonition he had given her, and of the privacy she had had with another man after his premonition, so long that there might be time enough for him to defile her: otherwise this action did not lie against her, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 13.) But having these witnesses ready, he was to speak to the priest when he brought his wife before him, after this manner; "Having a jealousy of this my wife, I admonished her not to keep company with such an one; with whom she afterward was in secret; and these are the witnesses of it. She saith she is innocent, but I desire the water may be given her, that the truth may be tried." See Selden, in the place beforenamed, (cap. 15.) and Wagenseil upon Sota, (cap. 1. sect. 3. not. 2.)

*And he shall bring her oblation for her.*] That is, the husband shall bring her oblation (not the priest, as some understand the words of the Mischna about this matter): which Chaskuni fancies was offered, as his oblation, not the woman's; to expiate his fault in not reproving her sufficiently, when he first observed her immodest behaviour: for it could not be a sacrifice for *her* expiation (saith he), because *the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination.* But this is against the very words of Moses in this place; which say, he shall bring her oblation *for her.* And so Abarbinel expounds it, "the Scripture intimates that this sacrifice was brought by the husband for the sake of his wife; for he had done nothing that needed a sacrifice." Nor is Chaskuni's reason of any moment; for there is nothing said to make us look upon this as an expiatory sacrifice; but the true intention of it was (as Wagenseil well observes, Annot. in Mischna Sota, cap. 2. p. 349.) to supplicate the Divine Majesty, that he would be pleased to clear the woman's innocence if she were causelessly suspected; or otherwise discover and punish her guilt.

By this it appears, that if the process was began in some court below (as the Jews affirm), the cause was removed to Jerusalem (where only they could sacrifice when the ark of God's presence was settled there), and brought before the great Sanhedrin: who, putting her husband out of the court (as they say in the next section of the forenamed Mischna), and having the woman alone by herself, endeavoured first by striking a terror into her, and then by giving her good words, to persuade her to tell the truth: saying, "Dear daughter, perhaps thou wast overtaken by drinking too much wine, or wast in a frolic humour, or carried away by the heat of youth, or by the example of evil neighbours:"



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come, confess the truth, for the sake of His great name, which is described in the most sacred ceremony; and do not let it be blotted out (ver. 23.) with the bitter water." If, after this, she confessed the fact, saying, *I am defiled;* then she was to tear the instrument of her dowry in pieces, and go whither she pleased. For such an adulteress was not put to death, but only lost her dowry, without any other punishment. If she said, *I am pure;* then she was brought to the door of the tabernacle, and they did as follows. So the Mischna, (cap. 1. sect. 5.) and see Wagenseil's annotations on Sota. And now that they have not this way of trial among them, if a man's wife give him suspicion, by keeping a man's company in secret, which he forbade her, he may not use her any more as his wife, and she loses her dowry; as Buxtorfius observes, in his book de Sponsal. et Divort. par. i. sect. 92.

*The tenth part of an ephah of barley-meal.*] The common offering of this sort was of fine wheat-flour; only this, and the sheaf, or handful, mentioned Lev. xxiii. 10. were of barley. But that was of fine flour sifted from the bran; this of coarse flour, that had nothing taken out of it, as the Mischna saith in Sota, (cap. 2.) Where the reason given for this barley-offering is, because she was supposed to have committed the act of a beast (which is not confined to one), therefore she was to sacrifice the food of a beast; for so barley was in Judea. Many such pretty, rather than solid reasons, are collected out of their authors by Simeon de Muis in his Varia Sacra upon this place. The simplest reason seems to be, that a viler sort of sacrifice was most suitable to her vile condition; for which reason also there was no oil nor frankincense permitted to be offered with it; as it here follows.

*He shall pour no oil upon it, nor put frankincense thereon.*] This sacrifice was different from all others of this kind, (see Lev. ii. 15.) For though that mentioned Lev. v. 11. was to have no oil nor frankincense with it, yet it was of fine flour, and not barley. And though the sheaf mentioned Lev. xxiii. 10. was of barley, yet it was sifted, and, besides, oil and frankincense were used with it; which are here forbidden. The reasons of which are given by the Jews, according to their various fancies: and some of them are ingenious enough; as, that a good name being compared to oil, (Eccles. vii. 1.) it is here omitted, because the woman had lost her reputation. Maimonides is a little more judicious; for looking upon oil and frankincense as added unto sacrifices for the honour and dignity of them, he thinks God would have this splendour (as his word is) to be wanting to such a woman's sacrifice, because of the baseness of her behaviour, which was the occasion of it; as if she had been told (to stir her up to repentance), "because of the filthiness of thy actions, thy oblation is more imperfect than others," (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 46.) But none, I think, hath given a better account of this than St. Chrysostom (Orat. v. adv. Judæos), because the woman was loaded with sorrow, and heavy accusations, and evil suspicions, ἐμιμεῖτο τὴν συμφορὰν τῆς οἰκείας θυσίας τὸ σχῆμα, *the form of the sacrifice imitated the domestic calamity:* for every one knows that oil and frankincense were signs of joy and gladness; and therefore not used upon so sad an occasion as this was.

*For it is an offering of jealousy.*] These and the following words give the reason why oil and frankincense were to be omitted; because it was an offering for one suspected of adultery. And, in such cases, God had before ordained there should be no oil nor frankincense used, (Lev. v. 11.) delicacies being improper in offerings for sin.

*An offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance.*] For she appeared before God as a sinner; and if she were not guilty, yet she was loaded with an accusation, and a just suspicion of guilt; to which, if she had given any occasion, this sacrifice reminded her of it, and awakened her conscience to reflect upon it.

Ver. 16. *And the priest.*] It is the opinion of P. Cunæus, (lib. i. de Rep. Hebr. cap. 12.) that the priest here mentioned was to be a member of the great Sanhedrin; to whom the judgment of the matter belonged. But another very learned person thinks, with more reason, the priest, whose lot it was to attend at that time in his course, is here meant. (See Mischna, cap. 1. Sotæ, sect. 5. annot. 8. Wagenseil.)

*Shall bring her near.*] Rather *bring it* (that is, her offering) near to the altar at the door of the tabernacle.

*And set her.*] Rather *set the offering;* for she is ordered to be set before the Lord afterward, (ver. 18.)

*Before the Lord.*] At the altar, which was at the door of the tabernacle. (See Lev. i. 3.) At the east gate of the temple, saith the Mischna, which was called the *gate of Nicanor;* for there women also after child-bed were purified, and the lepers cleansed.

Ver. 17. *And the priest shall take holy water.*] From the laver: for no water was holy, but that which was made so by the laver; as the Jews say in Jalkut. Therefore Onkelos, instead of *holy water*, hath *water from the laver.*

*In an earthen vessel.*] Which had never been employed to any other use (as the Mischna saith), and contained about a pint of our measure. This I take to have been appointed, as a further expression of the vileness of her condition; for the reasons which the Jewish doctors give of it are not to be regarded. The best that I have observed is, to declare that she should be broken in pieces, like that earthen vessel, if she was guilty of that which she denied.

*And of the dust.*] Another token of her vileness; this being the serpent's food.

*That is in the floor of the tabernacle,* &c.] To make her afraid of the judgment of God. For if there were no dust in the tabernacle, they were to fetch it from some other place, (as Maimonides relates their practice, Hilcoth Sota, cap. 4.) and lay it upon the floor of the tabernacle; and then take it and put it into the water.

*And put it into the water.*] Sprinkle a little of it upon the water (that it might be more easily drunk), but so much, that it might be plainly seen. For there were three things, the Jews say, of which a less quantity was not admitted than might be seen, *viz.* this dust, and the ashes of the red heifer, (chap. xix. 17.) and the spittle in the face of him that would not marry his brother's wife, (Deut. xxv. 9.) But if the priest put the dust into the vessel first, and then poured the water upon it, he did not do amiss; as the Jews say in the ancient book Siphri. (See Wagenseil upon Mischna Sotæ, cap. 2. sect. 2. annot. 11, 12.)

It hath been observed by some, that such ways of trial were in use among the gentiles; which if they could be proved to have been as ancient as Moses's days, it would make it probable, that this was ordered by God, to divert

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the Jews from following the superstitions of other nations to make this discovery, and bring them to appear before him at his tabernacle, and there use such rites as were of his appointment: (see our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. iii. Dissert. i. cap. 2. p. 539, &c.)

Ver. 18. *And the priest shall set the woman before the Lord.*] At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation; where a great many women, who were called together on purpose, stood about her; "that they might be taught not to do after her lewdness," (as the prophet Ezekiel speaks, chap. xxiii. 48.) As many others also as would might be present; except only her maids and domestic servants; who were put out, lest they should disturb her mind too much; as Mr. Selden interprets the words of the Mischna, about this matter, (lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 15.) Which another very learned man (J. Wagenseil) interprets the quite contrary way, "lest her mind should place any hope in them," (cap. 1. sect. 6. annot. 8. on Sota.)

*And uncover the woman's head.*] He was to strip her of all her head attire (as the manner was, if we may believe Philo, in all judicial proceedings), to loose her hair, and tear her garments down to her breast; which he bound about her (as the Jews say) with an Egyptian cord. And if she had any gold or jewels, or other ornaments about her, they were all taken from her; and she was clothed with a black garment. All which were plain tokens of her lamentable condition.

*And put the offering of memorial in her hands.*] After he had put it into a frying-pan, under which he held his own hand, (Lev. ii. 7.) and at the same time held in his other hand the bitter water; which he shewed her.

*Which is the jealousy-offering.*] Offered purely upon the account of her husband's jealousy; as he told her.

*And the priest shall have in his hand the bitter water.*] So called, because they put wormwood, or some such thing into it, to give it a bitter taste; as Maimonides and the ancient rabbins fancy. But the later doctors say, nothing was mixed with this water but dust; and yet it became bitter in the mouth. So Nachman and others. But the most probable account of all others is, that this water was called *bitter*, from its direful effects upon the body of the woman, if she was guilty. To which exposition Jacob Abendana inclines: (see Wagenseil upon the Mischna Sota, cap. 3. sect. 5. annot. 1.)

*Which causeth the curse.*] Or rather, *which was given her with curses*, and dreadful imprecations: blotted out with the bitter water, (ver. 21. 23.) as R. Bechai expounds it.

Ver. 19. *And the priest shall charge her by an oath.*] Adjure her to tell truth, in the manner following.

*And say unto the woman, If no man hath lain with thee,* &c.] If thou art innocent of that whereof thou art suspected.

*Be thou free from the bitter water,* &c.] It shall have no ill effect upon thee.

Ver. 20. *But if thou hast gone aside,* &c.] Art guilty of adultery.

Ver. 21. *Then the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of cursing.*] This is no new adjuration; but only another part of that which began ver. 19. and is continued in this and the foregoing. So that these three verses contain the entire form of adjuration; which the priest was to pronounce in a language which the woman understood, as the Jewish doctors observe; otherwise, how could the woman answer *Amen?* as R. Ismael saith in Siphri; exactly according to the apostle's doctrine, 1 Corinth. xiv. 16. And the priest was to signify to her, that this proceeding was merely to satisfy her husband's jealousy, by discovering the truth. Thus this whole matter is related, by the author of Ez. Hechajim (an incomparable MS. as Wagenseil calls it, who hath it in his possession): "The priest pronounces this curse in a language which she understands; and signifies to her in the vulgar tongue, that these things are done purely because her husband is jealous of her, she having been secretly with one whose company he forbade her to keep: and then saith in a tongue familiar to her, *If no other man hath lain with thee but thy husband,* &c. *be thou free from these bitter waters,* &c. *but if thou hast been false to him,* &c. *the Lord make thee a curse,* &c. Unto which the woman was to answer, *Amen, Amen.*" By which words she not only consented to what the priest said, but made the same imprecation upon herself.

*The Lord make thee a curse.*] So that when men would imprecate any evil to another, they should say, *Let that befal thee which befel such a woman:* as Rasi expounds it.

*And an oath among thy people.*] A form of execration, as the aforesaid MS. expounds it: or, as Rasi will have it, when men called God to witness, they should say, *If I swear falsely, let God punish me as he did such a woman.* These execrations were tacitly supposed in the oaths among the pagans, as our great Selden shews at large, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 11. p. 461, &c. where he observes, out of Porphyry, that the ancient Indians had their Λίμνην δικαστηρίου, *lake of probation,* or *trial:* and in his Marmora Arundeliana, (p. 28.) there is this form of imprecation in the league between the city of Smyrna and Magnesia, Εὐορκοῦντι μοὶ εὖ εἴη. Ἐπιορκοῦντι δὲ, ἐξώλεια καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ γένει τῷ ἐξ ἐμοῦ. *Let it be well with me, if I swear truly; but if falsely, let destruction be both to myself and to my posterity.* And at this day there is a custom in the kingdom of Siam to determine dubious cases, by giving a lump of rice impregnated (as my author speaks) with curses to a man to eat. Which if he can swallow without vomiting, he carries the cause; and his friends carry him home in great triumph, &c. So Jodocus Schoutenius (who was director of the East-India Company there, 1636).

*When the Lord doth make thy thigh to rot, and thy belly to swell.*] When they see the dreadful effect of this water, in the rotting of thy thigh, after thy belly is swelled. For the swelling of the belly, it appears by the next verse, preceded the rotting of the thigh.

Such imprecations were in use in Homer's time it appears by Agamemnon's prayer; wherein he calls Jupiter, and all the rest of the gods, to bear witness of his sincerity; wishing them to send a multitude of pains and griefs upon him if he forswore himself: (Iliad. xix. ver. 264, 265.)

ἐμοὶ θεοὶ ἄλγεα δοῖεν
Πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα διδοῦσιν ὅτις σφ' ἀλίτηται ὀμόσσας.

Ver. 22. *And this water that causeth the curse.*] Or, *For this water,* &c.

*Shall go into thy bowels,* &c.] If thou art guilty, it shall produce the following effects.

*To make thy belly to swell.*] By the *belly* the Jews under-

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stand the womb, and the bowels, which swelled till they burst.

*And thy thigh to rot.*] By her *thigh* is meant the secret parts of her body, as Chaskuni observes on this place. And both Bochartus and Heinsius have given many instances of the use of the word in this sense: the former in his Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. v. cap. 15. and the latter in Aristarch. Sac. cap. 1. And thus we read, in the passion of SS. Perpetuana et Fælic. that when Perpetuana was thrown to the beasts, and lay on the ground, she drew back her coat, which was torn from her side, *ad velamentum femoris, to cover her thigh from being seen; pudoris magis memor quam doloris, having a greater sense of modesty than of pain,* (p. 32. edit. Oxon.)

The Mischna here observes, not impertinently, *with what measure men mete, it shall be measured to them again;* for in the very part that offended, she suffered for her crime. I noted before (ver. 17.) that there were such ways of trial anciently among the gentiles; but I am apt to think they were all later than the times of Moses, who did not ordain these rites to keep the Jews from following their customs, but they rather imitated what was practised among the Jews. Particularly Bochartus observes, out of Philostratus, there were waters in Cappadocia, sacred to Jupiter, which were very sweet and pleasant to those who were innocent and swore truly, but quite contrary to those who were perjured; whose eyes, hands, and feet were presently seized and infected with blotches and filthy ulcers, ὑδέροις καὶ φθόαις, which is the very disease here mentioned, if we believe Josephus, who saith the woman's belly swelled by the dropsy, till at last it burst. And Philostratus adds, that the whole body of such people grew consumptive; nor could they stir from those waters, but there they lay deploring their misery. (See Bochart. lib. i. Canaan, cap. 28. p. 589, 590.) Which agrees so perfectly with what the Jews say of this *bitter water,* that it is most likely this story of the Cappadocian water was derived from thence. For they say, not only the belly of the woman swelled, and her thigh rotted, but every member of her body felt the effects of this deadly poison, which spread to the very hairs of her head; as they tell us in Rabboth, quoted by Wagenseil upon the Mischna, which saith the same, (cap. 1. Sotæ, sect. 7.) And therefore Huetius justly thinks the fable of the Stygian Lake, and several other rites of finding out the truth of secret crimes, were invented by the Greeks from this example, (Demonst. Evan. propos. iv. cap. 11. n. 2.) Many authors have collected several sorts of trials of this kind; and lately Guil. Saldenus, in his Otia Theologica, Exercit. v. n. 24, 25. But, above all, see Huetius's Quæstiones Alnetanæ, (lib. ii. cap. 12. n. 22.) where he gives a large account how far this rite of trying women's chastity by drinking this water was spread amongst the most barbarous nations.

*And the woman shall say, Amen, Amen.*] The word *Amen* is doubled, to express her full consent, and her earnest desire that God would deal with her according to her deserving. The Mischna will have the first *Amen* refer to those words, *The Lord make thee a curse;* and the second to the next words, *And an oath among thy people:* so that she prayed God both might come upon her, if she were guilty. We may as well say, that one of these *Amens* relates to the first part of the adjuration, (ver. 19.) and the other to the second part, (ver. 21.) Or, as Abarbinel doth, that there being a double curse, one that her belly should swell, and another that her thigh should rot, she said a double *Amen;* praying both might befal her, if she were guilty. And, as the Talmudists understand it, they were an imprecation upon herself. For so they say in Schevnot; Whosoever saith *Amen* to an oath (or curse) seems to pronounce the oath, or curse, with his own mouth. See Wagenseil upon Mischna Sotæ, (cap. 2. sect. 5. annot. 3.) where he produces a great deal more out of the Scripture itself, in confutation of the opinion of our learned Fuller, who, in his Miscellanies, affirms, that *Amen* is only an asseveration, but never a form of swearing.

Ver. 23. *And the priest shall write these curses.*] Several opinions are related in the Mischna, concerning the words that were to be written; which some would have to begin at ver. 19. *If no man have lain with thee,* &c. and to continue to this verse. But others think they began at these words, ver. 21. The *Lord make thee a curse and an oath,* &c. and that the last words were omitted, *the woman shall say, Amen, Amen.* Which of these opinions is the true, neither the Gemara nor Maimonides have determined.

*In a book.*] Every scroll of parchment, wherein any thing was written, the Jews call *sepher,* a book: in which, it hath been commonly said, the name of the woman was written, together with the curse; but there is nothing either in the Scripture or in antiquity to countenance this.

*And he shall blot them out with the bitter water.*] Or rather, *into the bitter water;* that is, he was to scrape out the words he had written into the water, and so make the woman drink it: or, as the Jews explain it, wash the words he had written with the bitter water till they were quite blotted out: see Wagenseil in Mischna Sotæ, cap. 3. sect. 3. Who observes a great many curiosities which the Jews have about the parchment and the ink, upon and with which these curses were written; and that they were not valid, if they were written by a layman; or by a priest that was not of age; or if they were written before she was adjured; or if he blotted out one word before the rest were written, &c. (See there, cap. 2. sect. 4.) Hottinger forgot himself when he said, the scroll itself was thrown into the water, (Thesaur. Philolog. lib. ii. cap. 2.) for no such thing appears.

Ver. 24. *And he shall cause the woman to drink,* &c.] *viz.* After he had offered the jealousy-offering upon the altar, (ver. 26.) And if she refused to drink the water, into which the curses were scraped, they forced her to it, with this preceding admonition; *My daughter, if thou art confident of thine innocence, do not fear to drink this water; which will do thee no more hurt than dry poison laid upon the flesh of a living creature,* &c. If hereupon she confessed that she had been polluted, the water was straightway poured out; *because there was no holiness in it,* as Maimonides saith. For it is called *holy,* ver. 17. not because it was sanctified to this use, but only because it was taken out of the *laver,* which was a holy vessel: see Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Heb. cap. 15. who observes also, in the foregoing chapter, that if after a man had brought his wife to this trial, he chanced to die before this adjuration, she was freed from taking the potion, but lost her dowry.

*And the water that causeth the curse.*] Or, that is loaded with curses, which have been scraped into it.

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*Shall enter into her, and become bitter.*] Produce those direful effects beforementioned, if she be guilty.

Ver. 25. *Then the priest shall take the jealousy-offering out of the woman's hand.*] Into which he had put it, before he adjured her, (ver. 18.)

*And shall wave the offering before the Lord.*] How this waving was performed hath been shewn before, upon Leviticus. Rasi here expresses it in four words, he moved the oblation *to and fro, up and down*. Something like to which Pythagoras seems to intimate in that Symbol of his, Προσκύνει περιφερόμενος, *worship, turning round*. Which Plutarch ascribes to Numa; in whose life, he says a great many observable things, concerning *turning round* in their sacred offices: which was a rite in use among the gentiles; who, when they saluted their gods, standing with their heads uncovered, *turned about their bodies to the right hand;* as Christoph. Arnoldus observes out of Suetonius and others, in his appendix to Wagenseil's annotations upon Sota, p. 1186.

*And offer it upon the altar.*] At the south corner of it.

Ver. 26. *And the priest shall take a handful of the offering, even the memorial thereof.*] See upon the second chapter of Leviticus, ver. 2.

*And burn it upon the altar.*] The rest of it the priests were to eat, unless her husband himself was a priest; in which case, it was all thrown among the ashes. See Selden in the place abovenamed: where he also observes, that if she confessed the fact, or her husband would not have her drink, or either of them died before she drank, or a witness of the adultery appeared (which made the waters useless), the whole sacrifice was burnt, and not only a memorial thereof. All which is in the Mischna, sect. 3, 4.

*And afterward shall cause the woman to drink of the water.*] The sacrifice therefore was first offered; though the Mischna says, that if the priest gave her the water to drink first, and then presented the offering, he did not do amiss.

Ver. 27. *And when he hath made her to drink the water.*] By this it appears he might force her to drink, if she would not do it by persuasion.

*Then it shall come to pass, that if she be defiled, and have done trespass against her husband, that the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her, and become bitter,* &c.] These effects here mentioned presently followed: for she grew pale, and her eyes were ready to start out of her head, &c. so that they cried out, *Carry her forth, carry her forth, lest she defile the court of the temple,* by dying there, as the Mischna saith, cap. 3. sect. 4. The adulterer also, if we may believe the Jews, died the same day and hour: nay, his belly swelled, as hers did; and his secret parts rotted, as the author of Ez. Hechajim saith, in Wagenseil upon Sota, (cap. 5. sect. 1.) where he adds, that all this came to pass, in case her husband had never offended in the same kind: for if he had at any time defiled the marriage-bed, then this water had not these effects upon his wife, though she had been faulty. Which the Gemara also affirms.

Ver. 28. *And if the woman be not defiled, but be clean, then she shall be free.*] Receive no harm at all by drinking the water.

*And shall conceive seed.*] If she was barren before, she became fruitful after this trial, and also bare a man-child (if we may believe the Jews), and had easy labour. Her beauty also increased, her health was confirmed, and if she had any disease it was cured. They observe also, that if, after she was thus cleared, she kept company again with the same man whom her husband suspected, and by his renewed admonition had required her not to be in private with him, this potion was not repeated; but she was dismissed from being his wife, without any dowry: but if she kept company with any other person privately, after admonition to the contrary, this potion might be repeated, as often as she offended with new lovers. Thus that MS. Ez. Hechajim, so highly commended by Wagenseil, who also adds, that in case her husband put her away after her acquittal, and she married another man, who had the same ground of jealousy that her former husband had, because of her familiarity with the same person whom he had forbidden her to keep company withal, her new husband might bring her to a new trial by this water: and so might as many husbands as she should marry one after another, if she gave the like occasion of jealousy.

Ver. 29. *This is the law of jealousies.*] Whereby God declared himself to be privy to the most secret sins, and to be both the preserver of conjugal faith and chastity, and the protector of innocence: and provided that man and wife should live happily together, by keeping men from cruel and furious proceedings against their wives, when they entertained a jealousy of them (willing them to commend the case to God), and by continuing wives in their duty out of dread of this punishment; which was so terrible (as Maimonides well observes) even to innocent women, that they would have given all they had to avoid it; nay, wished rather to die than undergo such a public infamy, of having their head uncovered, their hair cut off (as he represents it), their garment torn to their breasts; and so to stand in the sanctuary before a great multitude of men and women, and the whole Sanhedrin. (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49.)

*When a wife goeth aside.*] If the man went aside from her, she had not the same action against him; because the family was not so much injured by his going aside, as by hers; which brought a spurious brood to inherit his estate.

*To another instead of her husband.*] Hence the Talmudists conclude, such an action did not lie against a woman who was only espoused; or that waited for her former husband's brother to take her to wife; if they gave suspicion of being defiled. So the Mischna, cap. 4. sect. 1.

*And is defiled.*] By that other man with whom she went aside.

Ver. 30. *Or when the spirit of jealousy cometh upon him, and he be jealous over his wife.*] It appears by the first words of this law, (ver. 13, 14.) that whether she was really defiled, or there was only a vehement suspicion of it, which bred a jealousy in him; the husband had liberty to bring her to this trial for his own satisfaction: which law was rather permissive than preceptive.

*And shall set the woman before the Lord.*] That he might shew whether there was cause for her husband's jealousy or not: (see ver. 18.)

*And the priest shall execute upon her all this law.*] Though the man was not bound to bring her to this trial, but rather the contrary, if he could otherwise get rid of his jealousy;

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yet the priest was bound to proceed against her, according to the foregoing rules; when she was set before the Lord to be tried. And he might set her before him on any day that was not a festival, and in any hour of the day; but not in the night: nor might he give the drink to two suspected women at one and the same time.

Ver. 31. *Then shall the man be guiltless from iniquity, and the woman shall bear her iniquity.*] By *iniquity* here is to be understood the punishment due to iniquity. For the wife, or her parents, if she appeared to be innocent, could have no action against the husband, upon the account of this accusation: and if she was guilty, she was justly punished for her crime; and her husband had no reason to say (as the Jews speak in Pesikta), "Woe is me, that I have killed a daughter of Israel," &c. for he is here pronounced innocent in that matter by the eternal God; who doth not exercise a tyranny (as they there go on) over his creatures, nor gives them precepts, that he may make them weary of their lives, or destroy them. No, his precepts are right; the whole law is Divine: and God doth not bring any man into judgment, but for the violation of that which was expressly commanded, and which he might have been able to fulfil.

But the particle *vau* in the beginning of this verse signifies sometimes as much as *if*, as I observed upon ver. 7. And so the Jews here commonly understand it, *if the man be guiltless from iniquity.* For thus the rule is expressed in the Gemara, upon the fifth chapter of Sota: *When the husband is free from iniquity* (*i. e.* from adultery), *then the water tries his wife: but if he be not free* (*i. e.* be himself also guilty of adultery), *then the water hath no power to try her:* that is, produces none of the effects beforementioned. And so the author of Ez. Hachajim, in Wagenseil upon Sota, (p. 595.) concludes from these very words, That the bitter water then only had power, when the man was free from the sin of which he suspected his wife: and gives this as the reason, why, in the latter end of the second temple, this way of trial ceased, and was quite taken away by the Sanhedrin; because the number of adulterers was then so great, that the water had no effect; according to those words of the prophet Hosea, (chap. iv. 14.) "I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom, nor your spouses when they commit adultery," &c. For that is another rule of theirs, *When adulterers were multiplied, the bitter waters ceased; i. e.* there was no trial by them: (see Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Heb. cap. 15. p. 408.) Yet the Jews seem to have continued in after-ages, since their temple was destroyed, some form of dreadful imprecations, in their synagogues, for the discovery of truth in doubtful cases. For St. Chrysostom says, he himself saw a very modest, good Christian woman, brought by a senseless fellow (who also had the name of a Christian) into a Jewish assembly; whom he would have compelled to take their oath, *περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων αὐτῷ πραγμάτων, concerning some things wherein he desired satisfaction:* from which the woman being rescued, by St. Chrysostom's assistance, when he examined the man about it, how he came to forsake the church, and resort to their Sanhedrin; his answer was, "That he had been told by many, *φοβερωτέρους τοὺς ἐκεῖ γινομένους ὅρκους εἶναι, that there were more horrible adjurations among them than Christians,*" (Homil. i. adv. Judæos.) Which, no doubt, arose from the direful effects of this adjuration here prescribed, if the woman was guilty of what she was suspected.

## CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] This law very properly follows the foregoing (about women suspected of adultery), as a remedy against all such sins; by abstaining from wine, and all other incitements to lust; and by devoting themselves, for some time, in a peculiar way to the service of God. And there seems to be a plain opposition between a woman professing herself a Nazarite, and forbearing wine, and the care of her hair; and a woman that loved company, and was entangled in the love of other men besides her husband.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] Who were all concerned in this law.

*When either man or woman.*] For women as well as men might make this vow, if they were at their own disposal, and not under the power of their parents, or husbands, by whose authority this vow might be disannulled, (chap. xxx. 4, 5, &c.)

*Shall separate themselves.*] The Hebrew word *japhli* signifies the doing something extraordinary, beyond the common rate of other men: and therefore Forsterus hath well translated it, when a man or woman *shall vow a singular vow.*

*To vow a vow of a Nazarite.*] The Hebrew word *Nazar*, which signifies in general to separate, in the conjugation *niphal* (as they call it) signifies to separate from others, by a profession of some special act of religion. Whence *Nazir* signifies one that, beyond the common prescription of the law, dedicates, not his goods, but himself to God in a peculiar kind of sanctimony. So Philo, who calls this *μεγάλη εὐχή, the great vow:* because he that makes it, devotes not his corn, or beasts, &c. but his own self unto God; *κτημάτων γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτός τίς ἐστιν αὑτῷ, for every man is to himself the greatest possession he hath.*

*To separate themselves unto the Lord.*] To separate themselves for some time, to a higher measure of purity than other men practised; that they might attend to the service of God. From whence this vow was called, *separation unto the Lord.* For they who observed it were holy, saith Maimonides; yea, were placed, for the present, in the dignity of the high-priest as to sanctity: being forbidden to pollute themselves for their father or mother, as it follows afterward, (More Nev. par. iii. cap. 48.) The Jewish doctors are wont to be so curious in marking every word, and scrupulously adhering to it, that it is something strange they should allow a father the liberty to separate his child to be a Nazarite, without its consent; when the text expressly speaks of those who *separate themselves.* But so the Mischna determines in Sota, (cap. 3. sect. 8.) and it allows this liberty to the father, though not to the mother; though we find Hannah vowing Samuel to be a Nazarite before he was born, 1 Sam. i. 10, 11. (See Wagenseil on that place, annot. 2, 3.)

Ver. 3. *He shall separate himself from wine.*] In this consisted one part of the special sanctity of Nazarites; that, by abstinence from wine, or any thing that was intoxicating, they might the better attend to the study of the law, or other exercises of religion.

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*And strong drink.*] As wine was made of grapes, so *shecar* was a liquor made of other fruit, as dates, &c. (see Lev. x. 9.) To which add, that other authors call the juice of dates, as well as grapes, by the name of *wine*. Nay, Pliny saith, that *præcipua vina, the choicest wines*, were made of those dates called *cariotæ*, which grew about Jericho; though they were *iniqua capiti, hurtful to the head*, from whence they had their name, (lib. xiii. Nat. Histor. cap. 4.) With great reason, therefore, such intoxicating liquors were forbidden to those who set themselves apart to attend upon God, during the time of their separation. Which justifies, in part, what Maimonides saith, that Nazarites were advanced to the dignity of priests, who might not drink any wine, or strong drink, in the time of their ministration to God in the sanctuary.

*And shall drink no vinegar of wine*, &c.] For that had the same effect with wine and strong drink, of which it was made.

*Neither shall he drink any liquor of grapes.*] *i. e.* Secondary wine; which was made by maceration of grapes in water, after the juice had been pressed out to make wine. Pliny speaks of various kinds of it, (lib. xiv. Nat. Hist. cap. 10.)

*Nor eat moist grapes, or dried.*] Which might have stirred up their appetite after wine, or heated their blood; and indisposed them for the service of God, to which they had devoted themselves.

Ver. 4. *All the days of his separation.*] Or *Nazariteship*, as it is in the margin. Which sort of vow, either was for all their life, or only for a time. Samson and John Baptist were made perpetual Nazarites, by the direction of God, from their mother's womb. But here Moses speaks of such as were made Nazarites by themselves, for a time only. Which the Jews say was at least for thirty days: but it appears by St. Paul it might be for a week only: unto which he limited the time of his ἁγνισμὸς, as it is called in Acts xxii. 26, 27. For every one might vow for what time he pleased.

*Shall he eat nothing that is made of the vine-tree.*] No paste, nor sauce, that had any of the juice or infusion of the grapes in it.

*From the kernel even to the husk.*] Which might give the smallest tincture to any thing into which they were put.

All this caution seems to be intended to instruct those, who give themselves wholly unto God's service, to be very sober and abstemious in the use of wine and strong drink; the excess of which is the bane of true piety. For "Amat Spiritus Sanctus sicca corda," as Grotius admirably observes upon Luke i. 15. *The Holy Ghost delights in dry souls.*

Ver. 5. *There shall no razor come upon his head.*] Nor was his hair to be cut with scissors, or any other instrument; but he was to let the locks of his hair grow, as it is in the conclusion of this verse. This made such persons look majestically and venerably, without any expense. For, as Agesilaus speaks in Stobæus, τὸ κομᾶν τῶν κόσμων τὸ ἀδαπανώτατον, *to let one's hair grow long, is the cheapest ornament.* Besides, neglect of the hair was proper to those who renounced, for the present, all manner of pleasure (as the Nazarites did), and betook themselves to a severer sort of life. Such persons not only let their beards and their hair grow, but wore a hairy garment, which the Hebrews called *addareth.* Such an one John Baptist wore, as Elijah did before him, whose mantle is called by this name, (1 Kings xix. 19.) and who is said himself to have been a *hairy man*, (2 Kings i. 8.) from whence Grotius concludes, that either he was a Nazarite, or the habit of a prophet and a Nazarite was the same. (See him on Matt. iii. 4.)

But Moses himself seems, in the next words, to give the plainest reason of this matter.

*Until the days be fulfilled, in the which he separateth himself unto the Lord, he shall be holy.*] It was a token he had kept himself pure from all legal defilements: for if he had not, he must have shaved his head, (ver. 9.) as they did who were cleansed from their leprosy, (Levit. xiv. 8, 9.)

*And shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow.*] This law, in which consists the second part of their Nazariteship, some fancy to have been translated from the Egyptians, into the religion of the Hebrews. Which was the opinion of S. Cyril of Alexandria, lib. xvi. de Adorat. where he saith, that Moses, knowing how hard it would be to bring the Israelites from the ill customs they had learnt in Egypt, most wisely instituted the like rites to those that were in use there, to the intent they might not perform such worship any longer to demons, but to the Lord of all. Procopius Gazæus, upon this place, hath the same notion: "Græcorum liberi, si in nymphas vel montanas vel aquatiles incidissent, comas nutriebant. Lex itaque mala dæmonum consuetudine dempta, ad Deum hoc ipsum transfert." The sense of which is, *that the Greeks let their hair grow in honour of the nymphs; and therefore the law, to abolish that wicked custom, transferred that to God which was done to demons.* To which I should readily subscribe, if there were any proof that this rite of consecrating their hair to demons was so old among the Egyptians and Greeks as the times of Moses. It is far more probable, that the original of this custom among the gentiles was from this law of the Nazarites. So Hen. Lindenbrogius very well observes upon those words of Censorinus, (de Die Natali, cap. 1.) *Crinem Deo sacrum pascebant, that they let their hair grow in honour of their gods;* particularly of Apollo, who thence was called Κουροτρόφος; of Bacchus, Minerva, and others; yea, this superstition grew so much, that they consecrated it to rivers, in which they thought there was some divinity. But *hujus moris origo* (saith that learned annotator upon him) *videtur fluxisse à Nazaræis Judæorum. The original of this custom seems to have flowed from the Jewish Nazarites.* (See more upon ver. 18.)

Ver. 6. *All the days that he separateth himself unto the Lord, he shall come at no dead body.*] This was a third part of this religion, not to touch a dead body, nor be in the house where a dead body was, nor accompany it to the grave, (see chap. xix. 11—13.) For such defilements by the dead made men unclean seven days, so that they might not approach to the house of God; and therefore, that the Nazarites might always be fit to attend upon his service, he would have them avoid this defilement.

Ver. 7. *He shall not make himself unclean for his father, or for his mother*, &c.] In this he was superior to the ordinary priests, who might be defiled for such near kindred, (Levit. xxi. 2, &c.) and was equalled to the high-priest (as I observed before, ver. 2. out of Maimonides), who might not, (Levit. xxi. 11.)



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*Because the consecration of his God is upon his head.*] His hair upon his head, which was unshorn, shewed him to be *separated* (as the word is in the Hebrew) unto God. Which hair also was consecrated to him, when the days of his *separation* were fulfilled. For in this unshorn hair seems to have consisted the principal part of Nazariteship.

Ver. 8. *All the days of his separation he is holy to the Lord.*] By a peculiar vow, and therefore was not to come near a dead body.

Ver. 9. *And if any man die very suddenly by him.*] Either by violence, or an apoplexy, or any other way. And the case was the same, if he chanced to light upon a dead body unawares.

*And he hath defiled the head of his consecration.*] The consecration of his head; that is, his hair. For though he could not help his being so suddenly surprised, yet he was defiled by being where a dead body was: and consequently the hair of his head, which had been consecrated to God, was defiled also; and therefore could not be offered to him, and burnt in his honour.

*Then he shall shave his head in the day of his cleansing.*] His Nazariteship was interrupted by this defilement, so that it could not proceed further; but, after the usual purification, was to be begun anew; by shaving off this polluted hair, and letting new hair grow instead of it. By this it appears that Moses here speaks only of such as made this vow for a limited time: for perpetual Nazarites, who were consecrated to God for all their life, were never shaven, whatsoever defilement they contracted.

*On the seventh day shall he shave it.*] For so many days uncleanness by the dead lasted, (chap. xix. 11.) and the seventh day was the day of cleansing from that uncleanness, (ver. 12.) All other legal uncleannesses polluted a Nazarite so, as to make him stand in need of such purifications as other men used in those cases: but this alone polluted him so as utterly to put him out of that state; which, as it here follows, was to be begun again.

Ver. 10. *And on the eighth day he shall bring two turtles, or two young pigeons, to the priest,* &c.] The very same sacrifice which was offered for one that had been defiled by a running issue, (Levit. xv. 14.)

Ver. 11. *And the priest shall offer the one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering.*] As in the forenamed case, (Lev. xv. 15.)

*To make an atonement for him.*] Which was to be done before the burnt-offering would be accepted.

*For that he sinned by the dead.*] He had not properly sinned; but contracted a legal uncleanness, by touching a dead body, or being where it was. Which, though it was against his will, yet was a defilement in the account of the law; and a kind of sin, because it was a breach of a ceremonial law, and therefore thus to be purged. The reason of which, and such-like precepts, Abarbinel observes, (in his preface to the book of Leviticus, chap. iv.) was only this; to make men very cautious how they contracted any defilement; as the Nazarite might do in the time of his separation, and put himself to much trouble. Which is the foundation of a famous saying among their wise men: "Diligence begets caution; and caution purity; and purity, holiness and sanctity."

*And shall hallow his head the same day.*] Consecrate his hair afresh to the Lord, after his head hath been shaved.

Ver. 12. *And he shall consecrate unto the Lord the days of his separation.*] This is a further explication of what was said just before, in the end of the foregoing verse: that from the eighth day he shall begin to compute the time of his Nazariteship, for so many days as he at first vowed unto the Lord.

*And shall bring a lamb of the first year, for a trespass-offering.*] Which was to be offered even for ignorant offences, by the law made before, (Levit. v. 15.)

*But the days that were before*] His defilement by the dead.

*Shall be lost.*] Shall not be reckoned, as the LXX. have it, but go for nothing (as we speak), though they were so many that he had almost fulfilled his vow. If, for instance, he had vowed to be a Nazarite for a whole year, and in the twelfth month happened upon a dead carcass, all the foregoing eleven months were lost, and he was to begin his year's vow again: and this, as often as such an accident happened, if it were before the time that his vow was completed. Which may seem very hard, if we do not seriously consider the intention of it; which was, to oblige them to the strictest care to preserve themselves holy and pure in all things; as they were plainly taught to be, by the watchful diligence they were bound to use, to avoid this legal defilement here mentioned. For none could absolve them from this vow, till it was fulfilled in the exactness that is here required. For, as they tell the story in the Talmud, Queen Helen having taken a vow upon her for seven years, by coming into the holy land was engaged for seven years more; and being defiled towards the latter end of them, was obliged for another seven years; which was twenty and one years in all. (See Dr. Lightfoot of the Temple, chap. 18.)

*Because his separation was defiled.*] His first separation was defiled by a dead body; which made it necessary he should begin a new one. It might happen also that he might die, before he had fulfilled the time he had vowed to be a Nazarite. In which case, Maimonides saith, any of his sons might go on where he left, and at the end of the days which his father had vowed, offer the sacrifices here appointed, and be shaved in his stead. (So the Mischna Sotæ, cap. 3. sect. 8.) But Maimonides acknowledges there is no foundation for this in Scripture; but it relies wholly upon tradition. (See Wagenseil on that place, annot. 4.)

Ver. 13. *And this is the law of the Nazarite.*] Of putting an end to his Nazariteship.

*When the days of his separation are fulfilled.*] At the end of the time he vowed to continue in this state.

*He shall be brought.*] By the priest.

*Unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] That the sacrifices here prescribed might be offered for him.

Ver. 14. *And he shall offer his offering unto the Lord.*] *i. e.* The Nazarite was to present these following offerings unto the Lord: for the priest's offering them is not mentioned till ver. 16.

*One he-lamb of the first year without blemish for a burnt-offering, and one ewe-lamb,* &c.] Here are all sorts of offerings, which he was obliged to make in the conclusion of his Nazariteship. A *burnt-offering*, as an acknowledgment of God's sovereign dominion. A *sin-offering*, imploring pardon for any omissions of which he might have been

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guilty during this vow: and a *peace-offering*, in thankfulness to God, who had given him grace both to make, and to keep, and to fulfil this vow.

Ver. 15. *And a basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and wafers of unleavened bread anointed with oil.*] Besides the forementioned sacrifices, here are three oblations more prescribed to complete his thankfulness: of which see Exod. xxix. 2.

*And their meat-offerings, and their drink-offerings.*] This seems to relate to the *burnt-offering* and *peace-offering* beforementioned, (ver. 14.) which were to have their proper *meat-offering and drink-offering;* besides the basket of *unleavened bread*, with the *cakes* and the *wafers:* see Levit. vii. 12. Numb. xv. 2, 3, &c. Where these accessory offerings are ordered to accompany the *burnt-offerings* and *peace-offerings*, though *sin-offerings* had none.

Ver. 16. *And the priest shall bring them before the Lord.*] Unto the altar of burnt-offerings; as the Nazarite had already brought them to the door of the tabernacle, (ver. 14.)

*And shall offer his sin-offering, and his burnt-offering.*] Though the *burnt-offering* be first named, (ver. 14.) as the principal sacrifice of all other, yet the *sin-offering* was first offered; by which his peace being made with God, the two other offerings which followed were acceptable to him.

Ver. 17. *And he shall offer the ram for a sacrifice of peace-offerings unto the Lord, with the basket of unleavened bread.*] And the cakes and wafers, which accompanied the *peace-offering*, that nothing might be wanting to complete the feast which was to be made upon them.

*The priest shall offer also his meat-offering, and his drink-offering.*] By this it appears, that these were distinct from the basket of unleavened bread, &c. as I observed, ver. 15.

Ver. 18. *And the Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation.*] *i. e.* The hair of his head, which was consecrated to God, shall be shaved off, that it may be presented unto him. For having now fulfilled his vow, this hair was holy; it not having been defiled as that hair was which he shaved off before, (ver. 9.)

*At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] That it might be publicly known he had ended his vow.

*And shall take the hair of the head of his separation.*] His hair which was consecrated to the Lord.

*And put it in the fire.*] Where it was burnt.

*Which is under the sacrifice of the peace-offerings.*] In the court of the women, (as they tell us in Middoth, cap. 2. sect. 5.) where there were four rooms; and that in the north-east corner was the room of the Nazarites; in which they boiled their *peace-offerings*, and, having polled their hair, put it under the pot where the sacrifice was boiling: which, as L'Empereur there observes out of Abarbinel, was offered out of joy, that their vow was fulfilled; and therefore they put their hair to be there burnt, as a testimony that their Nazariteship was at an end, and that they had no further obligation to let their hair grow, in observance of this law. And according to this account, that question is resolved which many have made: whether the Nazarite's hair was to be burnt with holy fire, (*viz.* that on the altar) or with common: for it was burnt with that which was under the pot, or caldron, in which the *peace-offerings* were boiled, which was common fire. And, indeed, it had been unseemly to burn hair upon the altar, it being God's table, where his meat was set before him; for it would not have been grateful at one of our feasts. Yet the fire under the *peace-offerings* may, in some sort, be called holy, as it was employed to boil holy meat; and in that regard, more sacred than other vulgar fire.

There are those who think no account can be given of such ordinances as these, but only this; that it was so general a custom, and so very ancient among mankind, to let their hair grow on purpose, and to plait it in locks, that they might, at a certain time, cut it off, and devote it to some of their gods; that, in all likelihood, the Israelites would have followed their superstition, if God, to prevent it, had not instituted a way of doing what the rest of the world did, without their idolatry. For the directions which God here gives about it, are manifestly opposite to the way of the gentiles. For the Nazarites are here directed to cut their hair (when the time of their separation was completed) at the door of the tabernacle, where it was also to be burnt; whereas the gentiles hung their hair, when they had cut it, upon trees; or consecrated it to rivers, (as I observed, ver. 5.) or laid it up in their temples, there to be preserved. The Hebrew Nazarites also are required to offer various sorts of sacrifices, when they cut their hair; of which we rarely read any thing among the gentiles: and all the time of their separation were to drink no wine, nor eat grapes, &c. which was not known among the heathen. From whence it is, one may think, that they are so often put in mind of the Lord, in this law of the Nazarites; who are said to be *separated unto the Lord*, (ver. 1. 5, 6.) and the *consecration of his God* is said to be upon his head, (ver. 7.) and all the days of his separation he was *holy to the Lord*, (ver. 8.) unto whom he *consecrated the days of his separation*, (ver. 12.) to put them in mind, that, though they used this rite, which was common to other nations, yet it was in honour of the Lord only, whom they acknowledged to be the author of health, and strength, and growth: for the devil also had his Nazarites, as appears from Hosea ix. 10. All this is said, and much more, with a specious show of truth, by a most ingenious and learned friend of mine, now with God, in his excellent book, De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus, &c. lib. iii. Dissert. 1. cap. 6.

But there are two things wanting to make this opinion probable. First, none can tell how the world came by such a custom of letting their hair grow for sacred uses, unless they had it from Moses; who tells us whence he derived it, *viz.* from God; who appointed this rite for such reasons, as then were plain, but now, perhaps, do not appear to us. Besides, secondly, there is not the least evidence that this custom was so old as Moses's time; which to me seems not likely, but rather that it was derived, among the gentiles, from an imperfect knowledge of what is here ordained by Moses. For the chief part of this Nazariteship consisting in letting their hair grow, and consecrating it unto God, the gentiles took it to be a piece of great devotion, Μὴ ἀποκείρειν τῶν παίδων τὰς κορυφὰς, &c. as Theodoret speaks, Quæst. xxviii. in Levit. *not to cut off their children's hair, but let it grow, and, after a certain time, dedicate it to their demons.* Many authors have written much of this custom; for which there was a certain day appointed at Athens, *viz.* the third day of the feast called Ἀπατούρια, which day was called Κουρεῶτις, because then the hair of their grown children was shorn off, and sacrificed to Diana. (See Petr. Castellanus, in his Syntagma



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de Festis Græcorum; where he quotes a passage out of Hesychius, (p. 28.) who says, that before they cut off their hair, they brought a measure of wine, which they offered to Hercules, and then all that were present drunk of it: which is some imitation of the drink-offering here mentioned by Moses, which was offered at the completion of their Nazariteship. And Grotius and Huetius have made it so plain, that the Attic laws were derived from Moses, that I cannot doubt but this custom also flowed from the same fountain.

And, if we must give an account of the reason of this institution among the Hebrews, I think that of Maimonides is better than this, against which I have excepted; *viz.* that this law about their hair was made in opposition to the opinion of the ancient idolaters, called Zabii, who held all things which were separated from the body to be impure; as the hair, the nails, and the blood. From whence all barbers among them were accounted impure persons, because they cut men's hair, and let blood: and whosoever suffered a razor to pass upon his flesh, was required to wash himself in pure fountain-water; as he shews, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 47.

Ver. 19. *And the priest shall take the sodden shoulder of the ram.*] The left shoulder, which he was to take out of the pot as it was boiling; for the right shoulder (which is called the *heave-shoulder* in the next verse) was the priest's portion, by a law made before this, (Lev. vii. 32, 33.)

*And one unleavened cake out of the basket, and one unleavened wafer.*] The basket of unleavened bread was ordered to be offered before, (ver. 17.) and now he orders one of the *cakes* and one of the *wafers* (mentioned with the bread, ver. 15.) to be put into the hands of the Nazarite; the rest being burnt, I suppose, upon the altar.

*And shall put them into the hands of the Nazarite.*] That he might give them to the priest, in token of his thankfulness to him for his pains.

*After the hair of his separation is shaved.*] And his vow, in a manner, completed; as it was immediately after these things were presented unto God.

Ver. 20. *And the priest shall wave them.*] Both the sodden shoulder and the cake and wafer.

*For a wave-offering before the Lord.*] See Lev. vii. 30, 31.

*This is holy for the priest, with the wave-breast, and heave-shoulder.*] These two were the priest's portion out of all peace-offerings, as I observed before, from Lev. vii. 34. but in this peace-offering he had, moreover, the other shoulder, as a special token of the Nazarite's gratitude for his cleansing.

*And after that the Nazarite may drink wine.*] He was restored to his former freedom, to live as other men did.

Ver. 21. *This is the law of the Nazarite, who hath vowed, and of his offering to the Lord for his separation.*] All these things he was bound to perform, before he could be freed from his vow, though he was never so poor.

*Besides that that his hand shall get.*] Besides which he might add, if he pleased, according to his ability.

*According to the vow which he vowed, so must he do after the law of his separation.*] There was a necessity that he should perform what his vow obliged him unto, according to the law of Nazariteship; though he might voluntarily offer what he thought good, over and above his oblation, now that he was executing his vow. His friends also might join with him in the expense he was at for so many sacrifices as he was enjoined to offer; or in providing voluntary offerings, beyond his oblation. Thus we read, in Acts xxi. 23, 24. that St. Paul, by the advice of St. James, and the elders at Jerusalem, was at charges with certain men that had this vow upon them, and purified himself with them: which was agreeable to the custom among the Jews, as Petitus and others have observed out of Maimonides; who says, others might help the Nazarites to fulfil their vow, and partake with them in it, by abstaining from wine, &c. for some time, as they did.

Ver. 22. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] The tabernacle having been lately erected, to which the people were all to resort, they are invited to it by the directions here given, how they should be dismissed, when they came to worship: which was in such a manner, that they might not doubt (as R. Menachem glosses) but the Divine benediction would come down upon them from his celestial habitation, when they devoutly frequented his house here on earth.

Ver. 23. *Speak unto Aaron, and unto his sons, saying.*] Whose proper office it was to bless the people; as it was to offer their sacrifices, and burn incense, (Deut. xxi. 5.)

*On this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, saying unto them.*] Standing so that they might be seen with their hands lifted up and spread; speaking with a loud voice, with their faces towards the people: (see Lev. ix. 22.)

Ver. 24. *The Lord bless thee, and keep thee.*] Give thee all good things, and preserve thee from all evil.

Ver. 25. *The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee.*] Be favourable unto thee, and pardon all thy sins.

Ver. 26. *The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.*] Be always with thee to protect and defend thee, and give thee perfect happiness.

When this benediction was said in the sanctuary (if we may believe the Jews), it was but one, and pronounced without any pause; the people keeping a profound silence: but out of the sanctuary (in their synagogues) they made three of it, the priest pausing at the end of every verse, and the people saying *Amen* to each of them. In the sanctuary also they pronounced the name Jehovah, which is here thrice repeated; but in their synagogues they used some other name instead of it. So the Mischna Sota, (cap. 7. sect. 6.)

The repetition of this name three times, in these three verses, and that with a different accent in each of them (as R. Menachem observes), hath made the Jews themselves think there is some mystery in it: which we understand, though they do not. For it may well be looked upon by us, as having respect to the three persons in the blessed Trinity; who are one God, from whom all blessings flow unto us, (2 Cor. xiii. 14.) This mystery, as Luther wisely expresses it, (upon Psal. v.) is here *occulte insinuatum, secretly insinuated,* though not plainly revealed. And it is not hard to shew, if this were a place for it, how properly God the Father may be said to *bless and keep us;* and God the Son to *be gracious unto us;* and God the Holy Ghost to *give us peace.*

Ver. 27. *And they shall put my name upon the children of Israel.*] To put God's *name upon them,* was to commend them to his almighty goodness; or, to bless them, by call-

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ing upon the Lord, and beseeching him to bestow all that they desired upon them.

*And I will bless them.*] The Jews from hence observe, that God's blessing, in some sort, depends upon the blessing of the priest: which they thought so necessary, that such priests as were admitted to no other service might perform this; for fear the people should at any time want it. So Chaskuni, (upon Deut. xxi. 5.) and Jalkut, (as Wagenseil observes upon the Gemara Sotæ, cap. 7. sect. 26.) whose words are these, "The blessing pronounced by a priest, who hath some blemish in his body, ought to be accounted legitimate."

Jonathan here paraphrases these words in this manner, *I will bless them in my Word*, or *by my Word:* which is the apostolical doctrine, that *God the Father hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in*, or by *Christ*, (Ephes. i. 3.) who, with the Holy Ghost, is most high in the glory of God the Father. And it is observable, that the Jews think it utterly unlawful to add a fourth benediction to these three, though they find one in Deut. i. 2. "The Lord God of your fathers make you a thousand times so many more than you are; and bless you as he hath promised you."

## CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *AND it came to pass on the day that Moses had fully set up the tabernacle.*] Which he did upon the first day of the first month of the second year, after they came out of Egypt, (Exod. xl. 17, 18.)

*And had anointed it, and sanctified it*, &c.] See Lev. viii. 10, 11.; where it is said, he anointed also (as it here likewise follows) all belonging to it: which being seven days in doing, as appears from the thirty-fifth verse of that chapter, it is evident that the word *day* doth not here precisely denote the very day on which the tabernacle was erected; but more largely, at or about that time (as it must necessarily signify, ver. 84. of this chapter), after he had set up the tabernacle; and not only sanctified and anointed it, but received orders about sacrifices, and anointed the priests (with the rest mentioned in the book of Leviticus), and also had numbered the people; ordered their encampment, and the encampment of the Levites; and given them their charge about the tabernacle. In short, when Moses had done all the things mentioned hitherto in this book, then followed this dedication of the altar. And whosoever will compare this chapter with the second, may easily be convinced that this offering of the princes was not made till the camp was formed, and the tribes ranged under their several standards: for the princes' offer held in the same order and method that they are disposed there.

Ver. 2. *That the princes of Israel, heads of the house of their fathers.*] Mentioned chap. i. 5. 16.

*And were over them that were numbered.*] This evidently shews that this offering of the princes was after the numbering of the people.

*Offered.*] In the order that is set down in this chapter.

Ver. 3. *And they brought their offering.*] The LXX. translate the Hebrew word *korbanam*, τὸ δῶρον αὐτῶν, *their gift*, or *their present*, which they made to God; which consisted of several things, for divers uses.

*Before the Lord.*] *i. e.* At the door of the tabernacle; as it is explained in the end of the verse.

*Six covered waggons, and twelve oxen.*] In the first place they made a present for the service of the tabernacle itself; that such parts of it as were most cumbersome might be more conveniently carried; and that they might be free from dust, rain, or hail. The waggons were *covered;* being not ordinary carriages, but such as were used by great persons. So the LXX. understood it, who translate the Hebrew word *tzabbim*, by λαμπήνη, in Isa. lxvi. 20. and here ἁμάξας λαμπηνίκας. Now as Pollux reckons λαμπήνη among the waggons and chariots then used, so Hesychius tells us (as learned men have observed) it signifies such waggons as illustrious men and women used; and that they were covered above.

*A waggon for two of the princes.*] This shews plainly enough, that they were sumptuous, and had, perhaps, rich coverings; in that two of the great men joined in the present of one waggon.

*And for each one an ox.*] That there might be a pair of oxen to draw each waggon. And it is probable, those oxen were yoked together, which were offered by those two princes, who joined in offering one waggon.

*And they brought them before the tabernacle.*] Set them before the entrance of it.

Ver. 4. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] It seems Moses did not accept these presents, till he had orders from the Lord, in the next words.

Ver. 5. *Take it of them.*] Receive their presents, as acceptable to me.

*That they may be to do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] He directs their use: which was to carry the tabernacle, when they removed from one place to another.

*And thou shalt give them to the Levites.*] In order to which, he directs him to bestow them upon the Levites, who had the charge of that carriage.

*To every man according to his service.*] In such proportions as the things they had to carry required.

Ver. 6. *And Moses took the waggons and oxen, and gave them to the Levites.*] In such proportions as follow in the next two verses.

Ver. 7. *Two waggons and four oxen to the sons of Gershon, according to their service.*] As they were fewest in number that could do service, so they had less burdensome things to carry than the sons of Merari, (chap. iv. 25, 40.) and therefore had fewer carriages allowed them.

Ver. 8. *And four waggons and eight oxen he gave unto the sons of Merari, according to their service.*] They were the most numerous, and had the greatest burden; and therefore had allowance of more carriages and oxen, (chap. iv. 31, 32. 48.)

*Under the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.*] Who had the inspection and care both of the Gershonites and Merarites, (chap. iv. 28. 33.)

Ver. 9. *But unto the sons of Kohath he gave none.*] For the reason that follows.

*Because the service of the sanctuary belonging unto them was, that they should bear upon their shoulders.*] The LXX. translate it more exactly, *because they had the service of the holy thing*, (τοῦ ἁγίου, as the ark is called, chap. iv. 4.) *they shall carry it on their shoulders:* which was for the greater honour and dignity of the ark, and of the law contained in it; as Maimonides, R. Levi ben Gersom, and others, ob-

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serve: and that the form and structure of the ark might not be discomposed, as Maimonides adds, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 45.) nor the ephod and the breast-plate ruffled; as they might have been by the shaking of a waggon. Yet they all observe, this was not so peculiar to the sons of Kohath, but that the priests, the sons of Aaron, upon some special occasions, carried the ark; particularly when they went over Jordan, (Josh. iii. 3.) and at the siege of Jericho; at both which times a great miracle was to be wrought; and when Zadok and Abiathar carried it back to Jerusalem, 2 Sam. xv. 29. (though that, I observed before, may be otherwise interpreted, and there seems no reason why they should carry it back, when the Levites brought it, ver. 24.) and when Solomon's temple was built, (1 Kings viii. 6.) For the Levites might not go into the holy place, and therefore it was then carried by the priests.

Ver. 10. *And the priests offered.*] They brought the offerings, which they desired might be presented unto God.

*For the dedicating of the altar.*] The Hebrew word *chanac*, which, in one place of the Pentateuch, signifies simply to begin to use, or enjoy a house, (Deut. xx. 6.) here, and in several other places, signifies the first application and addiction of any thing to sacred uses, or to the Divine service; to which it had been designed and consecrated. And this was done with some certain solemn words and actions, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 1. and cap. 15. n. 3. And so, among the Latins, the word *inchoare*, when applied to sacred things, signifies, to perfect or consummate; as Servius observes upon Æneid. vi. And both civil and sacred initiations were accompanied with great joy and gladness. But this is not to be understood, as if the dedication of the altar was the setting of it apart, and sanctifying it for the service of God, (which had been done before, and seven days spent therein, Exod. xxix. 27. Levit. viii. 11.) but, as the word properly signifies, the beginning to use it, after it had been so sanctified.

*In the day that it was anointed.*] At the time that it was set apart; and all other things ordered for the safeguard of the tabernacle. (See ver. 1.)

*Even the princes offered their offering.*] Presented their gifts (as the LXX. translate it), which they desired God would accept upon this great occasion.

*Before the altar.*] At the door of the tabernacle, near unto which the altar stood, (Exod. xl. 6.) for he speaks of the altar of burnt-offerings.

Ver. 11. *And the Lord said unto Moses, They shall offer their offering.*] Here again Rasi observes, that Moses would not receive their offering till he knew the mind of God; who directed in what manner and order their gifts should be offered to him.

*Each prince on his day, for the dedication of the altar.*] This made the dedication a very long solemnity, which continued twelve days. When these twelve days began, it is not easy to determine; but it seems to me a very reasonable computation, which Fortunatus Scacchus hath made of this whole business, Myrothec. Sacr. Elæochrysm. lib. ii. cap. 74, where he supposes, that the tabernacle being erected the first day of the first month of the second year, after they came out of Egypt, seven days were spent in the consecration of it and of the altar, &c. And on the eighth day Moses began to consecrate Aaron, and his sons, which lasted seven days longer. Then the fifteenth day of that month was the first day of unleavened bread, which God commanded (as we read here, chap. ix.) to be observed in the first month, and lasted till the two-and-twentieth. The rest of the month we may well suppose was spent in giving, receiving, and delivering the laws mentioned in the book of Leviticus. After which, on the first day of the second month, he began to number the people, according to the command in the beginning of this book, which may be supposed to have lasted three days. And then on the fourth the Levites were numbered: on the next day we may suppose they were offered to God, and given unto the priests: on the sixth day they were expiated and consecrated (as we read in the next chapter); and on the seventh day their several charges were parted among them, (of which we read chap. iv.) After which the princes, he supposes, began to offer upon the eighth day of the second month, for the dedication of the altar, which lasted till the nineteenth day inclusively: and on the twentieth day of this month they removed (as we read chap. x. 11, 12.) from Sinai to the wilderness of Paran.

Ver. 12. *And he that offered his offering the first day.*] By God's order, no doubt.

*Was Nahshon the son of Amminadab, of the tribe of Judah.*] He held the principal place among the Israelites, being the *nasi*, the *prince* or *captain* (as we translate it, Numb. ii. 3.) of the children of Judah, who had the first standard. And yet he alone, of all the twelve great men here mentioned, is not called *nasi*, prince of Judah, as all the rest are called princes of their tribes, (ver. 18. 24. 30, &c.) but simply *Nahshon of the tribe of Judah.* The Jews give several reasons of it: but perhaps it was, because he offered first, which was honour enough; and there needed no more to be said of him.

Ver. 13. *And his offering was one silver charger, the weight whereof was a hundred and thirty shekels, and one silver bowl, &c.*] It appears by the metal that this *charger* and *bowl* were of, that they were for the use of the altar of *burnt-offerings* in the outward court, for all the vessels of the sanctuary were of gold. And I take this *charger* (or broad dish, or platter) to have been offered, for receiving the flesh which was offered at the altar, or the fine flour for the *meat-offerings.* And the *bowl* received the blood, or was used for pouring out wine.

*Both of them were full of fine flour mingled with oil, for a meat-offering.*] Which was to attend upon the *burnt-offering* and the *peace-offering*, mentioned ver. 15. 17. See chap. iv. 7. where I observed, it was not difficult to procure this fine flour in the wilderness.

Ver. 14. *One spoon of ten shekels of gold, full of incense.*] Both the metal of which it was made, and that which was in it, shew this *spoon* was for the use of the golden altar in the sanctuary: which may incline one to think, that both altars were now dedicated; that is, first began to be used for the service of the whole congregation. (See ver. 88.)

Ver. 15. *One young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year.*] There are so many sacrifices mentioned here and in the two following verses (no less than twenty-one in all), that, together with the silver and gold plate, they look like too great a present to be made out of one man's private estate: and therefore some have thought, that the rest of the great men of the tribe of Judah joined with Nahshon

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in their contributions towards it; and that it was offered in his own and their names.

*For a burnt-offering.*] This is first mentioned, as being the most ancient sort of sacrifice, long before we read of any other; and being an acknowledgment of God's sovereign dominion over all.

Ver. 16. *One kid of the goats for a sin-offering.*] This in all likelihood was first offered, though the other be first mentioned. For in the next chapter we find the *burnt-offering* enjoined in the first place; but the *sin-offering* offered before it, (chap. viii. 8. 12.) The like I observed before, (chap. vi. 16. see there.)

Ver. 17. *And for a sacrifice of peace-offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five lambs of the first year.*] These sacrifices were more numerous than the *burnt-offering* or the *sin-offering;* because the priests, and the princes, and as many of the people as they invited, had their share of them, and feasted before the Lord upon them, with great rejoicing: which custom, as Mr. Selden observes, flowed from hence to the gentiles, who dedicated their altars, and temples, and statues, &c. with much ceremony; and the ancient Greeks, πολυτελεστέροις ἱερείοις, *with more sumptuous sacrifices.* See lib. iii. de Synedriis, cap. 14. num. 3. where he also shews, how they were dedicated among the Romans with plays, and feasting, and public largesses; and at last their feasts became anniversary, as the *feast of dedication* among the Jews was, after the times of Antiochus, (num. 6, 7.) In which feast there was Ανχνοκαΐα, *illuminations* (as we now speak), by setting up of candles, or lamps, in token of joy, (cap. 13. num. 9.)

*This was the offering of Nahshon, the son of Amminadab.*] And was the pattern which all the rest followed.

Ver. 18. *On the second day.*] Their offerings were thus distributed, to be offered on several days, that confusion might be avoided; and that every tribe might distinctly express their devotion to God, and be graciously accepted by him; and the solemnity be made the more remarkable, by continuing it so long as twelve days. For which reason the *feast of dedication,* after Mattathias had purged the temple and the altar, after the profanation of them by Antiochus, was kept eight days by the Jews in following times; and this *Parascha* (as they call it) of the law, from chap. vi. 22. to chap. viii. 4. of this book, was wont to be read at that feast; as the same Mr. Selden observes, (cap. 13. n. 7.) As among the Romans, he observes, (cap. 14. n. 7.) there was a feast of like nature kept six days.

*Nethaneel the son of Zuar, prince of Issachar, did offer.*] This tribe, and Zebulun, being under the standard of Judah, are the next that offer. And so they proceed in the same order; Reuben, and those under his standard offering next; because they encamped next to them, (ver. 30. 36. 42, &c.)

Ver. 19. *He offered for his offering one silver charger, the weight whereof was a hundred and thirty shekels,* &c.] It may be observed, once for all, that there is no difference in the offerings of these princes; but all offered plate of equal weight, and an equal number of sacrifices, without the least variation: either by common agreement, or by the Divine appointment; that the vanity of vying one with another might be prevented; and none might brag of their outdoing their brethren; and all might be confident that they were equally interested in the altar, and accepted by the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 24. *On the third day Eliab the son of Helon,* &c.] Here it may be observed, that Moses thought fit to set down distinctly, and at length, the offerings of the princes of every tribe (as he doth here, and in the following part of this chapter), though they were the very same, without any difference; that an honourable mention being made of every one apart, none might think themselves in the least neglected.

Ver. 30. *On the fourth day Elizur,* &c.] There is nothing new to be noted of him, or any of the rest; because the same thing is repeated, for the reason forementioned.

Ver. 48. *On the seventh day Elishama,* &c. *offered.*] This solemnity was not interrupted by the sabbath; but the offerings continued then, as upon other days.

Ver. 84. *This was the dedication of the altar.*] By these oblations and sacrifices; which were simple and plain, though costly and magnificent. With which the gentiles were not content, but used sometimes barbarous rites in their dedications; as appears by their *taurobolia* and *criobolia* in honour of the mother of the gods, &c. (See Selden in the forenamed book, cap. 14. n. 8, 9.)

*In the day when it was anointed.*] The dedication lasting *twelve* days, it is apparent the word *day,* in this place, necessarily signifies the time (were it more or less), wherein a thing was done; as I observed ver. 1. and see ver. 88.

*By the princes of Israel.*] From whose examples princes and great men should learn (as Conradus Pellicanus well applies all this), "to be devoutly religious; and to possess the fear and reverence of the Lord God in their breasts: to be strong in faith; far from covetousness; unanimous in their endeavours to do honour to God; to give a good example of faith and good works to others; to seek the profit of their subjects; assist the servants of God; lend their helping hand to the proficiency of true piety; provide the ministers of the church with all things necessary, that religion be not neglected and contemned by their poverty; for the sake of God whom they serve, to do them honour by word and deed; and follow their godly admonitions, &c. This is a profitable allegory (saith he) of this history: and we need not seek for one more ingenious. As for those who highly value the allegorical sense of all these things, *habent alios qui gustui suo consulent et curiositati; they may find other commentators to please their taste, and satisfy their curiosity.*"

*Twelve chargers of silver, twelve silver boards,* &c.] In these and the following words the whole sum of the oblations and sacrifices is set down by Moses; that every reader, in all future times, might see (without the trouble of casting up the account) how devout and generous their ancestors were.

Ver. 87. *All the oxen for the burnt-offering were twelve bullocks,* &c.] Whether there were any prayers made for a gracious acceptance of the sacrifices, which should be hereafter made on this altar, we are not told. But the sacrifices themselves were in the nature of supplications; and it is likely, they that offered them made their humble petitions with them. And so the gentiles always did at the dedication of their temples or altars: an instance of which is observed out of Gruter, by Fort. Scacchus and by Selden, in these words: "Hanc tibi aram Jupiter Opt. Max. dico dedicoque uti sis volens propitius mihi collegisque meis," &c. Which is a dedication of an altar to Jupiter, with a

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prayer that he would be gracious to him that dedicated it, and to his friends and neighbours. The like dedication there is of a temple to Priapus, near Padua, with this prayer, that he would constantly guard their fields, &c. (Myroth. Sacr. Elæochrys. 2. cap. 28. lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 14. p. 290. 309.)

*With their meat-offering.*] Which was brought in the *twelve* chargers and bowls, as a necessary appendix to the *burnt-offerings* and the *peace-offerings;* as is fully explained chap. xv. 8, 9.

Ver. 88. *This was the dedication of the altar.*] Which is repeated here again, to shew why it was called the *dedication;* because this was the first solemn sacrifice which was offered for the tribes, or particular persons among them; and therefore was the more sumptuous.

*After that it was anointed.*] Here the word *day* is omitted, (which is used ver. 1. and ver. 84.) Moses intending only to let posterity know that this dedication followed not long after the anointing of the tabernacle and the altar; whereby it was sanctified to God's service.

Ver. 89. *And when Moses was gone into the tabernacle of the congregation to speak with Him.*] That is, with God. This seems to be here mentioned, because he had lately had a special occasion to go and inquire particularly of God, about a matter of great concernment, as will appear from chap. ix. 8, 9. And it is likely he had gone in twice upon this occasion, to consult him about the offering of the princes, (ver. 4, 5. 10, 11.) and now, it is possible, went in again, to know if the Lord would give him any further directions.

*Then he heard the voice of one speaking unto him from off the mercy-seat,* &c.] There God promised to meet him, and to commune with him, &c. (Exod. xxv. 22.) which supposes he would be always present there. And so he was; for the cloud of glory filled the house after it was set up, (Exod. xl. 33, 34,) from whence God spake to him, (Lev. i. 1.) and told him he would *appear (i. e.* reside constantly) *in* the cloud upon the mercy-seat, (Lev. xvi. 2.) Now here he relates how God appeared and communed with him from thence; which was by a *voice* that he heard of one speaking to him, as he stood in the outward part of the sanctuary. So the Jews understand it; particularly R. Solomon, who thinks that Moses only entered into the sanctuary, and, standing in the very entrance of it, heard the voice speaking to him *from between the two cherubims:* which was very clear and strong; but went no farther than into the sanctuary, where Moses alone at that time was. So they observe in Siphri, as Buxtorf notes in his Histor. Arcæ Fæderis, cap. 15.

*And he spake unto him.*] With an audible voice; and so distinctly, that he perceived and understood every word. Which Abarbinel thinks God vouchsafed for this reason; that, as he visibly represented to him in the mount the pattern of the tabernacle, and of every thing belonging to it, whereby the form and figure of every particular was imprinted on his mind, and he was the better able to give directions how to make them exactly: so he being to write in his law all that God required them to do, he delivered every thing to him in an audible voice; that he might set down in these books the very words and phrases which he heard with his ears from the mouth of God, as plainly as if he had described them from some ancient volume.

To which I cannot but add, that this audible articulate voice from God, which was perceived by human ears, represented God as if he was incorporate; and may well be looked upon as an earnest of that great mystery, *God manifested in the flesh;* who in the fulness of time became a man, and spake to all the Jews familiarly in their own language.

## CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] When this was spoken is not certain. If Moses went into the tabernacle immediately after the princes had offered (ver. 89. of the foregoing chapter), it may be thought he then spake these things to him. But both this, and what follows concerning the Levites, seem rather to have been delivered after the order for giving them to the priests, and settling their several charges, (chap. iii. and iv.) But some other things intervening, which depended upon what had been ordered concerning their camp, and that of the Israelites, (see ver. 4.) Moses omits this, till he had set down them, and some other matters, which he had received from God. (See chap. vii. 11.)

Ver. 2. *Speak unto Aaron, and say unto him, When thou lightest the lamps.*] At the same time the public service of God began at the altar of burnt-offerings (of which he speaks in the foregoing chapter), the setting on the shew-bread, offering incense, and lighting the lamps, were begun in the sanctuary. The last of these is only here mentioned: but it supposes the other.

*The seven lamps shall give light over against the candlestick.*] Upon the table which was over against the candlestick; as the Vulgar Latin very well explains it: which is rather a paraphrase upon these words than a translation of them, in this manner: *When thou lightest the seven lamps, let the candlestick be set up on the south side,* (for so it was ordered, Exod. xxvi. 35.) and so Moses set it, (chap. xl. 24.) *and let the lamps look towards the north, over against the table of shew-bread,* see Exod. xxv. 37. where there is the like obscure expression, but to this sense. And thus this verse may be translated exactly out of the Hebrew, *When thou settest up the lamps, the seven lamps shall shine before the face of the candlestick, i. e.* enlighten all the room that is opposite to it; for there were no windows in the sanctuary, and therefore these lamps were lighted.

Ver. 3. *And Aaron did so: he lighted the lamps thereof,* &c.] For God's table being placed over against the lamps, where he was represented as feasting with his people (which nobody doth in the dark), it was but fit that there should be continual light in that place. And this, as I take it, is the first time that the lamps were lighted, when the altar was dedicated, and the public service of God began, which continued ever after.

Ver. 4. *And this work of the candlestick was of beaten gold,* &c.] Upon this occasion he briefly repeats what is more largely said concerning the structure of this candlestick, Exod. xxv. 31, &c. and xxxvii. 17, &c.

Ver. 5. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] That which follows plainly belongs to what was said, chap. iii. 7.

Ver. 6. *Take the Levites from among the children of Israel.*] In that place (chap. iii. 7.) he bade Moses give

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them to Aaron and his sons, out of the children of Israel; and now he executes it.

*And cleanse them.*] He had given them their charge, (chap. iv.) and now he prepares them for the performance of it: for they could not be fit to attend in the tabernacle till they were purified, and, in some sort, consecrated to that service.

Ver. 7. *And thus shalt thou do unto them, to cleanse them.*] Here he directs how they were to be purified; and then (ver. 9, 10, &c.) how they were to be consecrated or dedicated to God.

*Sprinkle the water of purifying upon them.*] The manner of making this water is not described till chap. xix. 9. but, in all likelihood, had been ordered and made before, because the Levites were sprinkled with it; as those also were who had been defiled by the dead, (chap. xix. 13.)

*And let them shave all their flesh.*] The greatest purity was required in them; for they are here ordered to be cleansed, according to the cleansing of a *leper*, (Levit. xiv. 8, 9.) and of a Nazarite, when he was defiled by the dead, (Numb. vi. 9.) R. Levi ben Gersom thinks there was this moral signification in this shaving; that they were hereby admonished, "To cast away all worldly cares, as much as might be, and wholly give themselves to their sacred ministry."

*And wash their clothes.*] That their bodies being cleansed might not be defiled by foul apparel.

Ver. 8. *Then let them take a young bullock.*] For a burnt-offering, as is manifest from ver. 12.

*With his meat-offering.*] Which always attended upon burnt-offerings, (chap. xv. 9.)

*And another young bullock shalt thou take for a sin-offering.*] This being offered for the whole body of the Levites, is the same sacrifice that is ordered when the whole congregation of Israel sinned through ignorance, (Lev. iv. 13, 14.)

Ver. 9. *And thou shalt bring the Levites before the tabernacle of the congregation.*] To the door of it, where the altar of burnt-offerings stood, (Exod. xl. 6.)

*And thou shalt gather the whole assembly of the children of Israel together.*] The Hebrew words, *col adath*, which we translate the *whole assembly*, frequently signifies *all the elders of Israel;* as in chap. xv. 4. xxv. 7. and xxxv. 12. And it cannot well have any other sense in this place, as appears from the next verse.

Ver. 10. *And thou shalt bring the Levites before the Lord.*] Present them to him at the altar.

*And the children of Israel.*] The elders of the people mentioned in the foregoing verse. For all the children of Israel could not possibly do what is here enjoined; but some of them in the name of the rest; and none so proper as their rulers and governors, who were their representatives.

*Shall put their hands upon the Levites.*] As men used to do upon their sacrifices; which signified the devoting of that beast to God, by him who laid his hand on it at the altar, for such purposes as he brought it. And this was done by private men in their burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings, as well as in their sin-offerings; (see Levit. i. 4. chap. iii. 2. and viii. 13.) but the Jews observe, that the whole congregation laid their hands only upon the sin-offering that was offered for them, (Lev. iv. 15.) Therefore the Levites are here to be considered under that notion; as is manifest from ver. 19. where God is said to have given them to Aaron, &c. *to make an atonement for the children of Israel.* For the Levites being given to God instead of the first-born, by the sanctification of which first-born to God, (as it is called, Exod. xiii. 1.) the whole family was sanctified, and their sin, after a sort, expiated; the offering of the Levites after this manner to God, was to have the same effect that the offering of the first-born had; *viz.* the sanctification and atonement of the children of Israel.

Ver. 11. *And Aaron shall offer the Levites before the Lord, for an offering of the children of Israel.*] The Hebrew words are more significant; *Aaron shall wave the Levites before the Lord, for a wave-offering*, &c. I have often observed before, that this waving, or agitation to and fro before the altar, (of which, see Exod. xxix. 24.) was a solemn consecration of a thing to God, as a sacrifice: and therefore the Levites were presented unto him, under the same consideration as the first-born were. But it was impossible for Aaron to wave them, as he did some parts of a sacrifice; and therefore, it is probable that he lifting up his hands, and turning about to all sides (as he did when he offered a wave-offering), they, at his command, imitated the same motion; and so were offered up to God, and became wholly his. (See ver. 21.)

*That they may execute the service of the Lord.*] Or, as it is more significantly in the margin, *that they may be to execute*, &c. Which expresses the intention of this *waving them before the Lord*, that, being wholly given up to him, they might become meet to execute that service to which he appointed them at his house.

Ver. 12. *And the Levites shall lay their hands upon the heads of the bullocks.*] It being evident, from ver. 19. that the Levites were considered as an expiatory sacrifice; and yet, not being to be devoted to death (no more than the first-born were), these two sacrifices, one for sin, the other a burnt-offering, were substituted in their stead. Upon which, therefore, they were to lay their hands, that the sin, which the children of Israel laid upon them, (ver. 10.) might be transferred to these beasts, by laying their hands upon them, to be actually sacrificed unto God, by shedding their blood.

*The one for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering, unto the Lord.*] The burnt-offering was mentioned first, ver. 8. being the most ancient of all offerings, from the beginning of the world: but the sin-offering is offered first, to make the other acceptable. And so it was when Aaron was consecrated, (Lev. viii. 14, 18.) and when he offered for himself, (Lev. ix. 8. 12.) and for the people, (ver. 15, 16.) and (to name no more) in the cleansing of a leper, (chap. xiv. 19.)

*To make an atonement for the Levites.*] The sin-offering properly made the atonement; and the burnt-offering declared its acceptance.

Ver. 13. *And thou shalt set the Levites before Aaron and his sons.*] As they were brought before the Lord, because they were to be given unto him, (ver. 9.) so now they were set before Aaron and his sons, because they were given by God to them, (ver. 19.)

*And offer them for an offering unto the Lord.*] Or, as it is in the Hebrew, *and wave them for a wave-offering unto the Lord.* Some imagine, that as Aaron *waved* them before, (ver. 11.) so now they were in like manner *waved* by Moses. But it seems to me more probable, that the meaning is, they being waved, &c. should be *set before Aaron and his sons*, and presented to them as God's gift, according to his



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order, (chap. iii. 9.) And so these words ought to be translated, *after thou hast waved them for a wave-offering;* that is, after Aaron, by his order, had waved them: and thus the like words must be understood, ver. 15. (See there.)

Ver. 14. *Thus shalt thou separate the Levites from among the children of Israel.*] By the forementioned purification, (ver. 7.) and oblation, (ver. 10, 11.)

*And the Levites shall be mine.*] They became his, by this solemn oblation of them to him, (ver. 11.)

Ver. 15. *And after that shall the Levites go in.*] To the court of the tabernacle, where they were to attend upon the priests, and assist them in their ministry, and in taking down the tabernacle when it was to remove.

*To do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] In the court of the priests, where the altar of burnt-offering stood: for into the sanctuary itself none but the priests entered; and there was no ministry there in which the Levites were to assist.

*And thou shalt cleanse them, and offer them for an offering.*] Or rather, *after thou hast cleansed them, and offered,* &c. according as was directed, ver. 7. 11.

Ver. 16. *For they are wholly given unto me,* &c.] God commanded them before to be taken from among the children of Israel, (chap. iii. 45.) and now they are given to him. The word is repeated twice in the Hebrew, *given, given* (which we translate *wholly given*), because the children of Israel had devoted them to him, by laying their hands on them, (ver. 10.) and Aaron had waved them as a wave-offering to the Lord, (ver. 11.)

*Instead of such as open every womb,* &c.] See chap. iii. 12, 13.

Ver. 17. *For all the first-born of the children of Israel are mine, both man and beast,* &c.] Exod. xiii. 2.

Ver. 18. *And I have taken the Levites for all the first-born of the children of Israel.*] By the exchange mentioned chap. iii. 2. 13. 45.

Ver. 19. *And I have given the Levites as a gift to Aaron, and to his sons,* &c.] In the Hebrew the words are more emphatical, *I have given the Levites given,* &c. that is, the Levites, which are given unto me, (ver. 16.) I have given unto Aaron and his sons, (chap. iii. 9.)

*To do the service of the children of Israel.*] See chap. iii. 7. The Vulgar Latin translates it, *to serve me for the children of Israel; i. e.* to do them service, by assisting the priests in offering sacrifice for the people.

*In the tabernacle of the congregation.*] See ver. 15.

*And to make an atonement for the children of Israel.*] Not by offering sacrifice, for that was the work of the priests alone; but by being offered themselves, in the nature of an expiatory sacrifice unto God, as I observed before, (ver. 10. 12.) For though they were not slain at the altar, as sacrifices were, yet they might expiate, as the scape-goat did; which was sent away alive into the wilderness, after it had been presented unto the Lord, as these Levites were, (Levit. xvi. 7. 10.)

*That there be no plague among the children of Israel.*] As there would have been, if any man had presumed to officiate in the house of God, but such as were, in this manner, taken by himself to minister there.

*When the children of Israel come nigh unto the sanctuary.*] To worship God, and to bring their sacrifices to be offered at his altar.

Ver. 20. *And Moses and all the congregation of Israel.*] *i. e.* The elders of the people, (ver. 9, 10.)

*Did to the Levites according unto all that the Lord commanded Moses concerning the Levites,* &c.] Separated them to God from the rest of the Israelites, as he had directed, (ver. 14.)

Ver. 21. *And the Levites were purified, and they washed their clothes.*] According to the order given, ver. 7.

*And Aaron offered them an offering before the Lord.*] Or rather, *waved them a wave-offering,* &c. as I observed ver. 11. To which may be added, that it is likely some of the Levites were thus waved in the name of all the rest; for there being two-and-twenty thousand of them, (chap. iii. 39.) one cannot well conceive how they should be every one thus offered.

*And Aaron made an atonement for them to cleanse them.*] See ver. 12.

Ver. 22. *And after that the Levites went in to do their service in the tabernacle of the congregation.*] According to the directions given ver. 15.

*Before Aaron and before his sons.*] In their presence, and by their direction.

Ver. 23. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] After the foregoing commands, he gave him some further instructions.

Ver. 24. *This is it that belongeth unto the Levites.*] Add this to what hath been said about them.

*From twenty and five years old and upward they shall go in.*] Then they might begin to take the custody of the tabernacle upon them, and to be door-keepers, to keep out strangers and such as were unclean; but not to load the waggons, and do such-like work of burden, till they were *thirty* years of age. (See chap. iv. 3.)

*To wait upon the service of the tabernacle,* &c.] In the Hebrew the words are *to war the warfare of the tabernacle;* which is a phrase often used before, chap. iv. 3. 23, &c. and there applied to those that carried the tabernacle: which they might not do till *thirty* years of age, but might go in to learn at *five-and-twenty,* as some reconcile these two. But Abarbinel notes, that there is nothing said of their learning, but of their service, or ministry; and therefore at *twenty-five* years old they began that part of the service which consisted in the custody of the tabernacle.

Ver. 25. *And from the age of fifty years they shall cease waiting upon the service thereof.*] In the Hebrew, *shall return from the warfare of their service, i. e.* be discharged from their function, and no longer burdened with any laborious work, as that of carrying the tabernacle was.

*And shall serve no more.*] In such manner of work.

Ver. 26. *But shall minister with their brethren.*] This ministry is explained in the following words, *to keep the charge;* that is, to take care of the tabernacle, unto which they were to be a guard.

*In the tabernacle of the congregation.*] See chap. iv. 3.

*And shall do no service.*] In the Hebrew, *serve no service;* that is, do no laborious work (as was said before), their age beginning to require ease and rest; and therefore no ministry was required of them, but what they might well perform without pains and labour.

*Thus shalt thou do unto the Levites touching their charge.*] Appoint them their ministries, according to these rules.

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which were observed after the ark of God was settled, and there was no occasion to remove it any more; when David, therefore, instead of carrying the ark and the tabernacle (for which there was then no further occasion), appointed them to be singers in the temple, and porters, &c. for which they were fit at twenty years of age; but continued their employment no longer than till fifty (as the Jews tell us), when their voice began to decay. Whence that observation of Abarbinel upon this very chapter: "Age makes Levites unfit for service, not blemishes in their bodies; but priests are unfit by blemishes in their bodies, not by age:" for priests continued their service as long as they lived; and though they did not begin it till twenty years of age, yet no law of God forbade them to begin sooner.

## CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai.*] Or, *the Lord had spoken;* for he relates now what was done a month ago; but not recorded till now, for a special reason: which was, that God having commanded them, in the month before this, to keep the Passover, some persons were unprepared for it; and thereupon a question arose, what course they should take? for they were much troubled they could not do as their brethren did: which produced a new command from God, that they should keep the Passover in this second month of the first year after they came out of Egypt. This Moses being to give an account of, as a matter of great importance, he doth it in the proper place for it, when he was relating what things were done in this month, (chap. i. 1.) and deferred the mention of keeping the Passover in the first month, till he could speak of them both together.

*In the first month of the second year, after they were come out of the land of Egypt.*] In which month they were commanded to keep the Passover, in memory of their wonderful deliverance from the land of Egypt.

Ver. 2. *Let the children of Israel also keep the Passover at his appointed season.*] Aaron having been lately consecrated, and having offered all sorts of sacrifices for himself and for the people; and God having declared his acceptance by fire from heaven, (Lev. viii. and ix.) God commanded the people should keep the Passover; which he had lately admonished them was one of the feasts of the Lord, (Lev. xxiii. 5.) But the first order for the observation of it, being that they should *keep this service when they came to the promised land,* (Exod. xii. 25.) they might thence conclude, there lay no obligation upon them to keep it here in the wilderness: and therefore, by a special precept, they are required to keep it (when the year was come about to the time of its first observation), that the memory of so singular a benefit might not presently slip out of their mind: (see Exod. xiii. 5.)

Ver. 3. *In the fourteenth day of this month at even, ye shall keep it in his appointed season.*] So it was ordained, Exod. xii. 6. Lev. xxiii. 5.

*According to all the rites of it.*] With unleavened bread, and bitter herbs, and the other rites mentioned Exod. xii. 9, 10.

*And according to all the ceremonies thereof.*] If there be any difference between *ceremonies* and *rites,* I should think this belongs to their eating it in haste, with their loins girt, shoes on their feet, and staves in their hands, (Exod. xii. 11.) Unto which they were not bound, when they came into the land of Canaan, when they were no longer travellers; but, it is likely, were observed here in the wilderness, when they were in an unsettled condition.

Ver. 4. *And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, that they should keep the Passover.*] According to all the rites and ceremonies belonging to it.

Ver. 5. *And they kept the Passover on the fourteenth day of the first month at even.*] It was not hard to procure so much flour, as would serve to make unleavened bread for that even, from some of their neighbours about the wilderness. (See chap. iv. 7.)

*In the wilderness of Sinai.*] Where they rested almost a whole year; but after they removed from thence were so uncertain in their motions from place to place, that they did not circumcise their children, who consequently could not eat of the Passover: and therefore we never read of its being kept after this during their forty years' stay in the wilderness; nor would they have been obliged, as I said, to keep it now, without this special command. Yet their doctors say, that this is written by Moses, as a reproach to the Israelites, that *they observed no Passover in the wilderness, but this one alone.* Yet there are Christian writers, who deliver it as the opinion of the Hebrews themselves, that they kept another Passover, a little before they ended their wanderings in the wilderness, *viz.* in the first month of the year wherein Miriam died. (See Selden de Synedr. lib. ii. cap. 2. n. 1.)

*According to all that the Lord commanded Moses, so did the children of Israel.*] They kept the Passover on the fourteenth day at even; but perhaps did not keep the feast of unleavened bread for *seven* days following. For here is no mention of that; and it had not been easy to provide so much bread, the want of which was supplied by manna.

Ver. 6. *And there were certain men who were defiled by the dead body of a man.*] And by a late law, (for there is nothing about this in the original law of the Passover, Exod. xii.) no unclean person might eat of holy things, (Lev. vii. 20.)

*That they could not keep the Passover on that day.*] On the *fourteenth* day of the first month, at even, when the rest kept the Passover who were not defiled.

*And they came before Moses and before Aaron on that day.*] On the very day that the Passover was kept.

Ver. 7. *And these men said unto him.*] Though they came before them both, whom they found sitting together; yet they applied themselves to Moses only, as the supreme judge in such singular cases: for the judges, which were constituted by the advice of Jethro, could not resolve this hard question; and therefore they resorted to Moses, unto whose judgment all difficult causes were reserved, (Exod. xviii. 22. 26. see Selden, lib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 1. n. 3.)

*We are defiled by the dead body of a man.*] And therefore some may think, should have been excluded out of the camp, (according to what was ordained, chap. v. 2.) and consequently kept from coming with such questions, or about any other business to Moses. But it must be considered, that when this happened, the law now mentioned



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was not given: for this was in the first month of the second year; and that law was not given till the second month, when the camps were formed.

*Wherefore are we kept back.*] It was against their will that they were defiled by the dead body of a man (which perhaps they were bound to bury), and therefore they expostulate with Moses about their being denied the liberty which others had; pleading, in effect, it was not their fault that they were defiled by the dead, but rather their unhappiness; and therefore, why might they not challenge a right in this sacrifice, as well as others, seeing they had not forfeited it by any other voluntary guilt?

*That we may not offer an offering of the Lord.*] The Passover is called the *korban of the Lord*, because it was to be killed, and its blood sprinkled (which shews it to be properly a sacrifice), and then eaten by God's commandment, in a grateful remembrance of an exceeding great benefit; which shews it to be an eucharistical sacrifice. For though the first sacrifice in Egypt was to procure deliverance to them, and to avert the evil which fell on the Egyptians by the destroying angel; yet, ever after it was a thanksgiving for deliverance then wrought, by God's special favour to them: of which there was a compendious commemoration made in their paschal rites, (Exod. xii. 26, 27.)

*In his appointed season among the children of Israel.*] For if they did not perform all this service now, they knew it was not lawful to be done at any other time.

Ver. 8. *And Moses said unto them, Stand still.*] Or, wait here awhile. In which words Moses himself acknowledges the difficulty of the case; which he could not resolve, till he had first consulted the Divine Majesty about it. Which may teach judges not to be ashamed to confess their ignorance, and take advice on matters dubious; as the Jerusalem Targum here observes. But I see no such good ground for the other part of his observation on this verse; that there being four difficult causes brought before Moses, in two of them he made haste to determine; but in the other two he was slow. Those of the first sort were this, and that of the daughters of Zelophehad; (chap. xx.) these he judged presently, because they were pecuniary matters; but the other two, (*viz.* about him that blasphemed, Lev. xxiv. and him that gathered sticks on the sabbath-day, Numb. xv.) being capital causes, he took longer time to judge; for he put them in ward till the mind of the Lord was known: to teach those that succeeded him in the office of judges, "to make quick dispatch in money matters, but to proceed slowly in capital causes." But, as this was no pecuniary cause, so it doth not appear but he took as much time to understand the mind of God in it, as in the other two about blasphemy and sabbath-breaking: for he went in to consult with him, as he did also in the case of Zelophehad's daughters, whose cause he brought before the Lord, (chap. xxvii. 5.)

*I will hear what the Lord will command concerning you.*] These words seem to signify, that Moses might go into the holy place when he pleased to inquire of God; where God spake with him in an audible voice, (chap. vii. 89.) whensoever he desired satisfaction about any doubt. So Abarbinel, who in this forsakes the Talmudists: for they fancy, that because God called to Moses, and then spake to him out of the tabernacle, (Levit. i. 1.) he could never go into the holy place, but when he was called. Which was true only at that time, when the glory of the Lord had newly filled the tabernacle; so that he durst not come into it, till he was invited: but was not a general rule to be observed in all his colloquies with the Divine Majesty (that he should wait till he had a singular call to come to him); for it is plain by this place, that he went in to speak with him, whensoever he had occasion.

Ver. 9. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] He brought this case before the Lord, as his manner was in such doubts, and the Lord gave him the following answer; which was to be a rule, not only to these present inquirers, but to all posterity.

Ver. 10. *If any man of you, or of your posterity, shall be unclean.*] From hence the Jews observe, that this is a law concerning particular persons only; not concerning all the people, or the major part of them. For, as the Mischna saith in the title Pesachim, (cap. 7.) if all the people, or the greater part, or the priests, had contracted any defilement, they ought notwithstanding to keep the Passover, even in that defilement. But if the lesser part only were defiled, then they that were clean ought to keep it in the first month, and they that were defiled in the second. This they ground upon the very first words of this law, (ver. 6.) *there were certain men;* and upon these, *if any man of you*, &c. From whence, saith Maimonides, this doctrine follows, out of ancient tradition, that "there were some private persons, who were adjourned to the second Passover; but if the generality should be defiled by the dead, they were not to be so adjourned, but to sacrifice in that uncleanness." A great deal more to the same purpose may be seen in the forenamed Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 1. n. 3.

*By reason of a dead body.*] This case is mentioned instead of all other of like nature. For there was the same reason for those who were unclean by a leprosy; for women in child-bed, or that were menstruous, or those that had a running issue, or had touched a dead carcass. And this some of them ground upon ver. 13. where, speaking of those who should keep the Passover, it is said in general, *the man that is clean*, &c. therefore, he that was any way unclean might not keep it.

*Or be in a journey afar off.*] Out of his own country, (for it could not be kept any where but in Judea, Deut. xvi. 2.) or at such a distance that he could not reach the tabernacle upon the day appointed. In the Mischna, indeed, this *dereck rechokah*, as it is in the Hebrew (*a long way off*), is defined to be *fifteen* miles from Jerusalem, or the place where the tabernacle was. Whence Maimonides saith, "If any man on the *fourteenth* day of the month Nisan, at sunrising was *fifteen* miles or more from Jerusalem, this was a *remote way;* but if he was not so far from it, he was not comprehended in this *remote way;* for he might be at Jerusalem time enough in the afternoon to keep the Passover that evening; though he went but a slow pace, and that on foot. But I do not take this to be a reasonable explication. Philo hath determined the distance a great deal better, according to the interpretation I mentioned at first, lib. iii. de Vita Mosis, where he saith, the second Passover was permitted, τοῖς μακρᾶς χάριν ἀποδημίας κωλυομένοις, &c. *To such who were hindered by their travels into countries a great way off, from sacrificing with the rest of*

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*their nation. For it was not their fault that they were deprived of this honour; especially considering that so small a country as Judea could not contain such a populous nation, but sent out colonies into many places.* As for those who were only *fifteen* miles from Jerusalem, they might easily have come to the feast, if not on the *fourteenth* day, yet the day before; and if this distance had been a good reason to excuse their absence, most of the nation might have stayed away without any danger.

*Yet he shall keep the Passover unto the Lord.*] When that uncleanness is gone, and he is returned to his own country again.

Ver. 11. *The fourteenth day of the second month at even they shall keep it.*] They had a whole month's time given them, to dispose themselves and their affairs, so that they might be able to keep it.

*And eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs.*] Those Jews who are called Karaites, as Mr. Selden observes in the place beforenamed, (n. 7.) expressly say, that they were not bound in the second month Passover unto more than this; to eat the lamb with unleavened bread and bitter herbs: but they were not obliged to keep the feast of unleavened bread seven days, because they might do that in the Passover of the first month: for the unclean are only prohibited to eat the Passover, but not to keep the feast of unleavened bread.

If the same persons that could not keep it in the first month, happened again to be unclean in the second, they could not keep it in the third, or the fourth months: for this had been to confound one feast with another; and there is no order for it.

Ver. 12. *They shall leave none of it till the morning, nor break any bone of it.*] This belongs to the eating of the paschal lamb, (Exod. xii. 10. 46.)

*According to all the ordinances of the Passover they shall keep it.*] See ver. 3. This is to be understood of all the rites that were proper to the offering, and to the eating of the paschal lamb; but not to the keeping of the seven days of unleavened bread.

Ver. 13. *But the man that is clean, and is not in a journey, and forbeareth to keep the Passover.*] In the first month, which was the time appointed for it.

*Even the same shall be cut off from his people.*] By the hand of the judges, or of God.

*Because he brought not the offering of the Lord in his appointed season.*] See ver. 7.

*That man shall bear his sin.*] The punishment of it.

Ver. 14. *And if a stranger shall sojourn among you.*] He speaks of a proselyte, who had not entirely embraced their religion; but was no idolater.

*And will keep the Passover unto the Lord.*] Hath a desire to join with you in the solemnity.

*According to the ordinance of the Passover, and according to the manner thereof, so shall he do.*] He was to be circumcised, and his whole family; or otherwise he could not be permitted to keep it. (See Exod. xii. 44.) If he was made an entire proselyte after the Passover in the first month, and before that in the second, it was a question whether he might keep it then or not.

*Ye shall have one ordinance, both for the stranger, and for him that was born in the land.*] See Exod. xii. 49.

Ver. 15. *And on the day that the tabernacle was reared up.*] This is here mentioned again by Moses, because he is going to speak of their removal from Sinai; which was by the direction and guidance of this cloud, which settled upon the tabernacle when it was first erected, (Exod. xl. 34.)

*The cloud covered the tabernacle, namely, the tent of the testimony.*] The words may be exactly rendered out of the Hebrew, *the cloud covered the* (*mischan*, or) *dwelling-place of God, upon* (or *over*) *the tent of the testimony:* that is, over that part of the tabernacle where the ark was, the cloud appeared visible to all, *viz.* over the most holy place; where the Lord appeared in a glorious cloud upon the mercy-seat, (Lev. xvi. 2.)

*And at even.*] When it grew dark.

*There was upon the tabernacle.*] Upon that part of it now mentioned.

*As it were the appearance of fire.*] The same cloud which was outwardly dark was bright within, and turned that light side towards them in the night; when the cloudy part could not be seen nor be useful to them.

*Till the morning.*] Till it was day, when the cloud was more serviceable to them than the light.

Ver. 16. *So it was alway.*] All the time of their continuance in the wilderness. (See Exod. xiii. 21.)

*The cloud covered it by day.*] The word *by day* is not in the original: it being the manner of the Hebrew language to omit a word sometime in one part of a sentence, which the other part necessarily supplies: as in Psal. lxxxiv. 11. *One day in thy courts is better than a thousand; i. e.* in any other place. And Psal. xci. 7. *A thousand shall fall at thy side* (*i. e.* on thy left hand), *and ten thousand at thy right hand.*

*And the appearance of fire by night.*] As the dark side of the cloud appeared by day over the holy place, when they had need of no other light but that of the sun; so the bright part appeared every night, and that like fire; when the cloud, by reason of darkness, could not be seen, nor be serviceable to them for their direction. (See Exod. xl. 38.)

Ver. 17. *And when the cloud was taken up.*] Or went up from off the tabernacle, which it before covered, and appeared higher in the air. From hence to the end of the chapter, Moses gives an account of their removal from Mount Sinai, and the reason of their staying a longer or shorter time in those places to which they removed, all the time of their travels in the wilderness.

*Then after that the children of Israel journeyed.*] They took down the tabernacle, when the cloud was gone up from it, (as had been directed, chap. iv. 5, &c.) and followed the cloud, which went before them, and led them to the place where they were to rest, (Exod. xiii. 21.)

*And in the place where the cloud abode.*] Where it stopped its motion, and stood still.

*There the children of Israel pitched their tents.*] Set up the tabernacle, and encamped round about it.

Ver. 18. *At the commandment of the Lord the children of Israel journeyed.*] The motion of the cloud was an indication of the Divine pleasure, that they should move also, and go towards another station: which they did, and went on as long as the cloud moved.

*And at the commandment of the Lord they pitched.*] For when the cloud stood still, that was a Divine direction to

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them to stand still also, and there to fix their station where the cloud stood; which, as soon as the tabernacle was set up again, came down and settled upon it, in its wonted place, over the tent of the testimony, (ver. 15.)

*As long as the cloud abode upon the tabernacle they rested in the tents.*] And as long as the cloud rested immoveable, in that new place to which it had conducted them, they likewise rested in tents round about it.

Ver. 19. *And when the cloud tarried long upon the tabernacle many days.*] As it sometimes did: for Maimonides reckons that they stayed eighteen years in one place.

*Then the children of Israel kept the charge of the Lord.*] This phrase is used here something differently from the sense it hath chap. iii. 25. 28, &c. signifying their obedience to God in fixing their abode there where the cloud rested till it moved again, though it rested never so long.

*And journeyed not.*] This is the explication of the foregoing words, *they kept the charge of the Lord;* not daring to stir without the conduct of God, though sometimes they stayed so long in a place, that, no doubt, it was very irksome to those who were very desirous, if not impatient, to be in the land of promise. This is an instance of some regard they had to the Divine Majesty; though they did not fear and reverence him so much as they ought to have done; which appeared by their frequent mutinies and disobedience, mentioned in the following story.

Ver. 20. *And so it was, when the cloud was a few days upon the tabernacle, according to the commandment,* &c.] If they had a desire to rest awhile longer in some station which was very convenient for them; yet, upon the motion of the cloud, they took down their tents and moved also.

Ver. 21. *And so it was, when the cloud abode from even unto the morning, and the cloud was taken up in the morning, then they journeyed.*] That is, if it did not stay a whole day in a place, but settling, in the even upon the tabernacle, it was taken up again the next morning; yet they followed its motion. This is a great instance of their obedience in this particular: for, having rested but one night, they might be weary, and very unwilling to take down their tents and the tabernacle, and travel again the next morning.

*Whether it was by day or by night that the cloud was taken up, they journeyed.*] This is a further instance of their being perfectly guided by God in this matter; that, though they were at rest in their beds, yet, if notice was given of the motion of the cloud, they rose up and went after it. For they were sensible their safety depended upon the protection and guidance of this cloud.

Ver. 22. *Or whether it were two days, or a month, or a year, that the cloud tarried upon the tabernacle,* &c.] These words may seem superfluous (saith Maimonides, par. iii. More Nevochim, cap. 50.) unto those who do not consider the intention of Moses in this relation; which was, to confute the conceit of profane people, who imagined the reason of the Israelites staying so long in the wilderness was, because they lost their way. For the Arabians, he saith, in his days, still called the wilderness, in which they travelled, the *wandering desert;* fancying the Israelites here bewildered (as we speak), and could not find their way out; but wandered like men in the dark, backward and forward; not knowing which way to turn themselves: therefore the Scripture punctually shews, that all their removals (which were irregular), and the time they rested in any place (which was very unequal, being sometimes for eighteen years, some only for one day, or one night), were all ordered by a special direction of God. For which cause all the circumstances of their motion are recited so particularly by Moses. Which shews, also, that the way from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea (on the borders of the land of Canaan) was a plain, known, and beaten road, of about eleven days' journey; which it was not easy for them to miss. And therefore the cause of their going about, and of their staying forty years in the wilderness, is that which Moses relates.

Ver. 23. *At the commandment of the Lord they rested in the tents,* &c.] This is the usual recapitulation of what goes before; (see chap. ii. 34. iv. 49. vi. 21.) and here was the more necessary, because it gives an account of a most material thing, their long stay in the desert, through which God thought fit to lead them, (Exod. xiii. 17, 18.)

*They kept the charge of the Lord.*] Moved or rested according to the direction which God gave them.

*At the commandment of the Lord.*] See ver. 18.

*By the hand of Moses.*] By his ministry, who told them they were to be guided in their motions by the cloud. And therefore they expected no other commandment but that; the Lord being in that cloud, and telling them by its motion or rest what they should do. And when it did move, no question, it was so leisurely, as that they, their children, and cattle might follow it with ease, and be able to take their necessary refreshment.

It is observable, that in all these verses 18. 20. 23. where it is said they journeyed or rested *al pi (at the mouth)*, which we well translate *at the commandment of the Lord*, Onkelos renders it *at the mouth (or commandment) of the Word of the Lord:* which Word he takes to have given to Moses all the commandments he received; for so he translates those words, Exod. xxv. 22. "And there will I meet thee by these; and I will prepare (or appoint) my Word to thee there:" to deliver, that is, the Divine oracles and answers to him.

## CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] This commandment concerning the trumpets, it is very likely, was given before, but not mentioned till now, when there was an occasion for one principal use of them, *viz.* the removal of their camp, (ver. 11.)

Ver. 2. *Make thee two trumpets.*] There were several sorts of trumpets, of different form, among the ancients, as Eustathius shews upon Homer's Iliad Σ. p. 1138. where he mentions six: the second of which was στροογγύλη, *turned up round* like a ram's horn; which, he saith, the Egyptians used (it being found out by Osiris) when they called the people to their sacrifices; Χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῇ πρὸς θυσίαν καλοῦντες τοὺς ὄχλους δι' αὐτῆς. It was called in their language Χνουή. Now in this Moses opposed the Egyptians (which they would do well to take notice of, who make their customs to be of the greatest antiquity); for those which he here ordered to be made were long, such as we use at present. So Josephus tells us, in whom there is a large description of them, lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 11. where he saith they were a cubit long, and narrow, like a pipe; but wider, as ours are, at the bottom.

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Though only two be now ordered for present use, it did not hinder their making more hereafter; when both priests and people also were multiplied: see 2 Chron. v. 12. where, in Solomon's time, there were a hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets. And Josephus mentions a vast number more, (lib. viii. Antiq. cap. 2.)

*Of silver.*] These being sacred trumpets, as Josephus frequently calls them, it was fit they should be made of this pure metal; which gave them also a shriller sound.

*Of one whole piece shalt thou make them.*] As he did the candlestick, (Exod. xxv. 31.) which made them the more firm, and apter to give a certain and distinct sound.

*That thou mayest use them for the calling of the assembly, and for the journeying of the camps.*] These are the two great uses for which they were designed: unto which some think a third is added, (ver. 9. see there.) It is certain, that in ver. 10. another use of them is assigned.

Ver. 3. *And when they.*] *i. e.* The priests, (ver. 8.)

*Shall blow.*] With an equal and continued sound.

*With them.*] With both the trumpets, as appears from ver. 4.

*All the assembly shall assemble themselves to thee.*] By this kind of sound, with both the trumpets, the people understood that the whole congregation was called to meet together.

*At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Which seems to have been the usual place where they assembled; and made their meeting the more solemn, because it was before the Lord.

Ver. 4. *And if they blow but with one trumpet, then the princes which are heads,* &c.] If only one trumpet made the sound beforementioned, it was intended to summon only the princes of Israel to attend Moses.

*Shall gather themselves to thee.*] At the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, as was said before.

Ver. 5. *When ye blow an alarm.*] When they did not simply blow with a long, even, and plain blast; but with an interrupted, and a broken or trembling sound: which had, as the Jews say, a plain note before, and after that a quavering. We generally explain it by a *tara-tan-tara:* but that word (as Dr. Lightfoot observes) signifies a blast, which put the quavering sound before and after, and the plain note in the midst; which is contrary to the Jewish description of it. (See Temple Service, chap. 7. sect. 2.) Hottinger makes no other distinction between the foregoing sound, (ver. 3.) called *tekiah,* and this called *teruah;* but that the former was equal, and this was quick and concise, (Analect. Dissert. iii. p. 152.)

*Then the camps that lie on the east parts shall go forward.*] *viz.* If this alarm was blown only once, (as appears from ver. 6.) then the hosts that were under the standard of Judah began to march: (see chap. ii. 3.)

Ver. 6. *When ye blow an alarm the second time,* &c.] Having ceased for awhile, if the alarm was blown again, then those tribes which were under the standard of Reuben (chap. ii. ver. 10, 11, &c.) began to move, who lay on the south side.

*They shall blow an alarm for their journeys.*] That is, they shall blow a *third* and *fourth* alarm, for the moving of the other two standards. So the LXX. rightly explain it, in so many words at length; *Ye shall blow an alarm the third time, and the camps that lie towards the sea* (*i. e.* on the west side) *shall take their journey; and ye shall blow the fourth alarm, and they that lie towards the north,* &c. In what order the camp of the Levites moved, is related afterward, ver. 17. 21.

Ver. 7. *And when the congregation is to be gathered together, you shall blow, but you shall not sound an alarm.*] Here is a manifest distinction between plain *blowing* and *sounding an alarm;* which were for different purposes, and accordingly to be used, (ver. 3. 5.)

Ver. 8. *And the sons of Aaron the priests shall blow with the trumpets.*] None else were permitted to use them, either for calling the assembly together, or for their march, or at their feasts: because God would have the greater regard paid to the sound which was made by his ministers; as if he himself called upon them to attend his summons.

*And they shall be to you for an ordinance for ever throughout your generations.*] These trumpets shall be used by you, not only while you stay in the wilderness, but in future ages, as long as you are a nation.

Ver. 9. *And if you go to war in your land against the enemy that oppresseth you,* &c.] This is thought to be a *third* use of the trumpets; when they were going to give battle to their enemies. Which may be confirmed from chap. xxxi. 6. and from 2 Chron. xiii. 12. But this doth not exclude another meaning; which is, that they called the people together to fast and pray to God before they went out to battle. For it is certain that a fast was proclaimed by blowing of the trumpet, (Joel ii. 15, &c.) Which justifies what Maimonides saith in Taanioth, cap. 1. that they blow with the trumpet, not only when they were in danger from their enemies; but in all other distresses, by famine, or pestilence, &c. For he makes this blowing with the trumpets in this place, to be the same with that precept, Psal. l. 14. "Call upon me in the day of trouble," (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 36.) The only objection that I can find against this exposition (which is very ancient) is, that Moses speaks here of *blowing an alarm* with the trumpets; which was not used (ver. 7.) for calling the assembly together, but for the motion of the camps, (ver. 5.) Yet one cannot conceive how they should be gathered together to make an army to fight with their enemies, but by some sort of sound with the trumpet, (see Judg. iii. 27. vi. 34.) and being met, it is highly probable they called upon God by prayer and fasting for good success; as the latter part of this verse intimates. Besides, these silver trumpets seem to have been used only at the sanctuary; and other trumpets were used when they went to war. For at the siege of Jericho, the priests blew with horns, not with these silver trumpets. Therefore, they may well be thought here to have called them to the sanctuary to pray to God before they went to war; and that by blowing an alarm, whereby they understood the meaning of the summons. And if we may believe the Jews, they used, when the temple was built, to *blow an alarm* every morning at the opening of the gates of it; particularly at the opening of the east gate, called the gate of Nicanor (as Dr. Lightfoot observes in the place abovenamed); for which, though there was no express command, yet it was grounded on this reason, that the Levites, who were God's host, as they are often called in this book, (chap. iv. 3, &c. viii. 24.) might be awakened to come and attend their service in the house of God.

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*And ye shall be remembered before the Lord your God.*] He will be merciful to you, and grant your request; as the next words explain it.

*And ye shall be saved from your enemies.*] Which is to be understood with this condition, *that they turned to him with unfeigned repentance;* which was the proper intention of their prayer and fasting.

Ver. 10. *Also in the days of your gladness.*] Here is the fourth use of these trumpets, which were blown when they rejoiced for the good success, suppose, of their arms, or any other great deliverance; like that mentioned Esther ix. 19. when they feasted upon the peace-offerings, which were then offered. And thus it was when Solomon built the temple, (2 Chron. v. 12. vii. 6.) and at the laying the foundation of the second temple after the captivity, (Ezra iii. 10.) and at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem, (Nehem. xii. 27. 35.)

*And in your solemn days.*] Mentioned in Levit. xxiii. which were proclaimed by sound of trumpet; (see there, ver. 2.) and there were great feasts upon many of them, at which the Levites, the poor, and the widows were entertained, (Deut. xvi. 11. Nehem. viii. 10. 12.) But they were not all *feasts* which are there mentioned; for one of those *solemn days* was a *fast, viz.* the great day of atonement. And therefore the Hebrew word *mode* should rather be translated *days of assemblies,* as our Mr. Thorndike observes; who (in his book concerning the Service of God at religious Assemblies) notes, that Moses here distinguishes three sorts of solemnities. First, *The days of your gladness;* which signifies solemnities to be celebrated with cheerfulness of heart, *i. e.* feasts. Then, *The solemn days of assemblies* (as he translates it); containing, besides those, assemblies for humiliation, as the day of atonement. And lastly, *The beginnings of your months;* to which there was a peculiar service appointed, (chap. xxviii. 11.)

*And in the beginning of your months.*] On the new moons, which the Jews observed, not like those other festivities and days of assemblies, upon which they abstained from all servile work; but with special sacrifices, which God appointed to be offered to him upon them, (Numb. xxviii. 11. 14.) and with the solemnity of blowing with trumpets, (Psal. lxxxi. 3.) And they were the more careful to observe the new moons, because their great festivals depended upon them; though they are not reckoned among their festivals or solemn assemblies, (Levit. xxiii.) but only the first day of the seventh month was a memorial of blowing of trumpets, (ver. 24.) which gave occasion, perhaps, for observing all the new moons in the year. And there being no express command for observing the first day of the month, but only for peculiar sacrifices upon it, and blowing of trumpets, some argue from thence, that, in the most ancient times, before the law of Moses, new moons were observed with festival joy (it being plain that they were so in the days of Hesiod); of which, though we can have no certainty, yet it is very probable, that the idolatry of worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, being then in the world, they were wont, at the appearance of every moon, to express much joy, and offer sacrifices to it. From which God intended to preserve his people, by appointing special sacrifices (with blowing of trumpets) to be offered unto himself at that time. And it is manifest the Jews were so observant of the new moons, that they seem to have regarded them next to their sabbath, as times of religious worship of the Divine Majesty, (2 Kings iv. 23. Isa. lxvi. 23. Amos viii. 5.)

And thus I find, that, among the Athenians (whose laws are observed by many to have been derived from Moses), the first day of the month was ἱεροτάτη ἡμέρα, as Plutarch speaks, *a most holy day;* and yet it was not a festival: nor was it consecrated to any particular god, but unto all. And there was a law, ταῖς Νουμηνίαις θύειν, *that they offer sacrifices upon the first day of the month;* when they went up to the *acropolis* (as Demosthenes tells us) to pray for the public welfare of the city, and for their own private happiness: (see Sam. Petitus in his Comment. in Leges Atticas, lib. i. tit. 1. p. 85.)

*Over the burnt-offerings.*] Especially the morning sacrifice; at the offering of which the trumpets began to sound, (2 Chron. xxix. 27.)

*And over the sacrifice of your peace-offerings.*] Which, being sacrifices of thanksgiving, it was very proper to have them attended with the sound of the trumpets.

*That they may be to you for a memorial before your God.*] *i. e.* That he may graciously accept your offerings, and bless you (as the phrase signifies in the foregoing verse), when he sees his service to be your delight and joy.

*I am the Lord your God.*] By whose sovereign authority these commands were given; and in the observance of which they might be assured of his blessing.

Ver. 11. *And it came to pass, on the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year.*] After their coming out of Egypt, as appears from chap. i. 1.

*That the cloud was taken up.*] In token that they were to begin to move, as the cloud did, (chap. ix. 17.)

*From off the tabernacle of the testimony.*] *i. e.* The most holy place, over which it resided, (chap. ix. 15.)

Ver. 12. *And the children of Israel took their journeys.*] After the cloud was taken up, it stood still for some time, till they had taken down the tabernacle, and packed up their own tents and household-stuff. Or else, while those under the first standard moved, they took down the tabernacle: but still the three tribes which first moved, upon the going up of the cloud, must have some time allowed to take up their own tents, &c.

*Out of the wilderness of Sinai.*] Where they had stayed near a year.

*And the cloud rested.*] After *three* days' motion, (ver. 33.)

*In the wilderness of Paran.*] Where they had several stations, besides this; which was the midway between the Red Sea and the land of Canaan; and, from the graves of those that lusted, was called Kibroth-hattaavah, (chap. xi. 33. xxxiii. 16.) where they stayed a month; and from thence went to Hazeroth: and were still in the wilderness of Paran, (chap. xii. 16.)

Ver. 13. *And they first took their journey.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *they journeyed at the first; i. e.* at their first removal; which was this.

*According to the commandment of the Lord by the hand of Moses.*] Not whither they pleased themselves, but according as God had before directed, when the cloud was taken up; and in such order as he appointed: (see chap. ix. 18.) and there seems to have been a special direction, by an express command, for this first removal, (Deut. i. 6, 7.)

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Ver. 14. *In the first place went the standard of the children of Judah,* &c.] By this it appears, that the foregoing words, concerning their removal *according to the commandment of the Lord,* relate to the order of their march, as well as to the way they went. See, concerning those that marched under his standard, and their commanders (which are here mentioned, and in the two next verses), chap. ii. 1. 3. 5. 7.

Ver. 17. *And the tabernacle was taken down.*] By the Levites, (chap. i. 51.) who went about this work as soon as the cloud went up from the tabernacle; while the three tribes under the standard of Judah were setting themselves to move.

*And the sons of Gershon and the sons of Merari set forward.*] They immediately followed the three tribes, which encamped on the east of it, under the standard of Judah.

*Bearing the tabernacle.*] Such parts of it, as were committed to each of their charge, (see chap. iv. 24, &c. 31, &c.)

Ver. 18. *And the standard of the camp of Reuben set forward, according to their armies,* &c.] Of this and the two following verses, see chap. ii. 10. 12. 14.

Ver. 21. *And the Kohathites set forward, bearing the sanctuary.*] That is, the ark, the holy table, the candlestick, &c. and other things belonging to the sanctuary, (chap. iv. 15, 16, &c.) which the Kohathites carried in the middle of the four camps, for their greater security.

*And the other.*] *i. e.* The Gershonites and the Merarites beforementioned, (ver. 17.)

*Did set up the tabernacle against they came.*] When the cloud rested, the two foregoing camps under the standards of Judah and Reuben rested also; and settled themselves in their tents: which while they were doing, the Gershonites and Merarites (who marched between them) set up the tabernacle, that it might be ready to receive the ark, and the other holy things, which followed immediately, under the care of the Kohathites. This shews the excellent order wherein they always moved; not only without any tumult or confusion, but with such a discipline, as signified they were under the conduct of a most skilful leader.

Ver. 22. *And the standard of the children of Ephraim set forward according to their armies.*] After the Kohathites followed three other tribes, who were under this standard: see chap. ii. 18. 20. 22. 24. where all that was needful hath been said of the two following verses.

Ver. 25. *And the standard of the children of Dan set forward,* &c.] See concerning him, and those mentioned in the two next verses, chap. ii. 25. 27. 29.

*Which was the rere-ward of all the camps throughout their hosts.*] The Hebrew word *measseph* (which we translate *was the rere-ward),* comes from a word, which every where signifies to gather together, or collect. And therefore is here to be so understood; and the whole sentence thus rendered: *Then set forward the standard of the camp of Dan, gathering to it all the camps, throughout their hosts:* or, *according to their armies,* as we here translate the last part of these words, (ver. 14. 18. 22.) So Forsterus translates it; the meaning being, that all the rest of the people, who were not a part of the four beforementioned camps, all under twenty years old (who were *not able to go forth to war*), together with the mixed multitude that came with them out of Egypt, (Exod. xii. 38.) and all the unclean persons, who were shut out of the camp, (chap. v. 2.) came after this hindermost standard of the children of Dan.

Ver. 28. *Thus were the journeyings of the children of Israel,* &c.] In this order they marched, when they removed from one station to another.

Ver. 29. *And Moses said unto Hobab.*] His wife's brother, as Theodoret understands it.

*The son of Raguel the Midianite.*] The son of Jethro, priest of Midian; for Raguel and he are thought by many to be the same person; (Exod. ii. 18. iii. 1.) or one was the father, and the other the son, and Hobab was the grandson of Raguel.

*Moses' father-in-law.*] These words may either refer to Raguel, who is supposed to be Jethro; and then it is rightly translated *father-in-law:* or they may as well refer to Hobab, and be translated *brother-in-law;* for so the Hebrew word *choten* sometimes signifies, a very near kinsman. It cannot, without great straining, be otherwise expounded in Judges i. 16. and iv. 11. After Jethro, therefore, was gone back to his own country, (Exod. xviii. 27.) Hobab, his son, stayed still with his sister Zipporah, and accompanied Moses all the time he stayed near Sinai, which was not far from Midian, whither he thought to return, now the Israelites were marching away from that neighbourhood; but Moses was desirous to have his company further, even to the land of promise.

*We are journeying unto the place of which the Lord said, I will give it you.*] *i. e.* To the land of Canaan; for thither God intended to have brought them, shortly after this removal; as appears from Deut. i. 6, 7.

*Come thou with us, and we will do thee good.*] See ver. 32.

*For the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel.*] Promised to bestow a noble country upon us for our inheritance.

Ver. 30. *And he said, I will not go.*] This was his present resolution, till Moses had further persuaded him.

*But I will depart to my own land.*] Which he was loath to leave, merely in hope of what the Israelites had not yet in possession.

*And to my kindred.*] With whom all men love to live and die.

Ver. 31. *And he said.*] *i. e.* Moses replied.

*Leave us not I pray thee.*] Do not persist in that resolution, but be persuaded to go along with us.

*Forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness.*] He being a borderer upon this wilderness, was well acquainted with every part of it, and the better able to advise them how to secure their camp (for the cloud only served to direct them where it should be pitched), and defend themselves from the people, on all sides, that might be injurious to them; which made Moses so earnest with him to stay with them, while they had such need of his assistance.

*And thou mayest be to us instead of eyes.*] To give them advice and counsel in any difficulty they might meet withal in the places where they stayed; or to direct them how to provide themselves with such things as they wanted: for he, having lived long thereabouts, could not but understand the neighbouring countries. The LXX. understand this passage, as if he desired him to continue to be what he had been hitherto in the wilderness (*viz.* a good adviser, like his father Jethro), assuring him, they would look upon him as an *elder;* that is, have him in great honour.



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Ver. 32. *And it shall be, if thou go with us.*] Not only stay with us, while we are here in the wilderness, but go along with us into Canaan.

*Yea, it shall be.*] Depend upon it.

*That what goodness the Lord shall do unto us, the same will we do unto thee.*] Give thee some part of the possession which God shall bestow upon us. Accordingly it appears, that, as Moses prevailed with him to accompany them, so he and his posterity were settled among the Israelites, Judges i. 16. and iv. 11. (where either he or his father is called the Kenite), who lived in tents, not in houses, after the manner of their forefathers in Midian.

Ver. 33. *And they departed from the mount of the Lord.*] *viz.* Horeb, in the wilderness of Sinai, where they had stayed a long time, (Deut. i. 6.)

*Three days' journey.*] They travelled three days before the cloud settled again upon the tabernacle; though it stood still sometimes (but did not descend) to give them time for necessary refreshment, and for sleep. (See chap. xi. 1.)

*And the ark of the covenant of the Lord went before them in the three days' journey.*] It is said, ver. 21. that the sanctuary was carried between the two first standards, and the two last; *i. e.* in the midst of the camp, as we expressly read, chap. ii. 17. which Abarbinel thinks is to be understood of all their journeys, but only this: That was the constant order of their march; first went the standard of Judah; next that of Reuben: after this, the tabernacle of the congregation; then followed the standard of Ephraim; and last of all, that of Dan. But now, in their first removal, God did them the honour to appoint the ark to go before them, in the front of all the camps; as he did when they passed over Jordan; (Joshua iii. 6.) that is, in their first and last journeys this extraordinary favour was shewn them; but in all the rest the ark went in the midst of them. And thus Aben Ezra upon this place: "This first removal was not like the rest of their removals." But I see no good ground for this exposition. The plain meaning seems to be, that the Lord, as their king and governor, led them by the cloud, which was always over the ark; just as a general leads his army, though he be not in the front of it, but in the midst, from whence he issues out his orders.

*To search out a resting-place for them.*] There was no need of inquiry after a fitting station for them; but he speaks after the manner of generals, who send officers before them, to take up the most convenient quarters for their army. (See Deut. i. 33.)

Ver. 34. *And the cloud of the Lord was upon them by day, when they went out of the camp.*] It seems this removal of their camp from Sinai was in the day-time; (as sometimes they removed in the night, chap. ix. 21.) and the cloud being taken up from off the tabernacle, so moved over the ark, as to overspread them all by day, as the pillar of fire was over them by night, to give them assurance of the Divine protection. (See note upon Exod. xiii. 21. and Psal. cv. 39.)

Ver. 35. *And when the ark set forward.*] There being the letter *nun* turned the wrong way in the Hebrew word for *set forward;* as there is in the word for *complained,* in the first verse of the next chapter; the Jewish doctors fancy it denotes here God's gracious converting his face towards them, at the prayer of Moses; and, in the following story, the people's aversion to God, and ungrateful turning away their hearts from him.

*Moses said.*] It was his custom to pray in this manner upon such occasions; as R. Levi ben Gersom expounds it.

*Rise up.*] This is an expression (saith Abarbinel) like that in Isa. xxxiii. 10. "Now will I rise, saith the Lord, and will be exalted," &c. where his taking vengeance upon his enemies is called *his rising;* according to Job xxxi. 14. "What shall I do, when God riseth up," &c. The next words, "Let thine enemies be scattered," &c. justify this sense.

*Lord.*] It seems very strange to me, that any should allege this place as a proof that the ark is called Jehovah; when the prayer of Moses is so plainly directed to the Lord himself (who was there in a glorious symbol of his presence), and not to the ark; considering also, that, in other places where this very form of speech is used, the Lord and the ark are most manifestly distinguished the one from the other, (see 2 Chron. vi. 41. and Psal. cxxxii. 8.) And yet an anonymous anti-trinitarian writer (confuted by Joseph de Voisin fifty years ago), observing that the Chaldee here, instead of the *Lord,* hath the *Word of the Lord,* is so absurd, as to say, that the ark is called the *Word;* because God, (saith he, p. 234.) "ante illam responsa vel oracula sua dabat," &c. *before the ark gave his answers or oracles, when the priest, in dubious matters, consulted the mouth of the Lord:* which exposition carries its own confutation in it; for, if the high-priest consulted the mouth of the Lord (as he speaks), then, by the *Word* which gave the answer, must be meant the Lord himself; to whom Moses here directs his prayer, as the Jerusalem Targum excellently paraphrases this verse; "And it came to pass, when the ark was taken up, that Moses lifted up his hands in prayer, and said, Rise now, O Word of the Lord, in the strength of thy power, and scatter the enemies of thy people," &c.

*And let thine enemies be scattered.*] This is a prayer, that God would put all those to flight (as he had done the Amalekites, Exod. xvii.) who opposed their passage to the promised land: as, after they came thither, they used this prayer, (Psal. lxviii. 1.) for his aid against all those who sought to dispossess them of it.

*And let them that hate thee flee before thee.*] This is a repetition of the same prayer, as is usual; for *thine enemies,* and *those that hate thee,* signify the very same, (Psal. xxi. 8. Dan. iv. 19. Luke i. 71.)

Ver. 36. *And when it rested.*] As it did wheresoever the cloud stayed, and moved no further.

*He said.*] He prayed again. So the Jerusalem Targum understands both this and the former verse, "Moses lifted up his hand in prayer, and said," &c. And Jonathan Uzielides, "Moses stood in prayer, and begged mercy of God, saying," &c.

*Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel.*] Which Onkelos thus paraphrases, *Come again, and dwell with thy glory in the midst of us.* And so he did; the cloud, wherein the Divine Majesty resided, settling upon the tabernacle, over the ark of the testimony, as soon as it was again pitched. Others translate it, *Give rest, O Lord* (which the Hebrew words will bear); secure us, that is, in peace against the incursions of our enemies, and all other dangers. R. Levi ben Gersom expounds it, *Bring back*

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the Israelites into the land of promise, where their forefathers dwelt when they were few in number; whose posterity was now increased to *ten thousand thousands*, as the last words are in the Hebrew. And there are those who will have this to be a prayer for their increase and multiplication into many more thousands than they were already. And thus the Jerusalem Targum (who still by the *Lord* understands his *Word*), *Return now, O Word of the Lord, from the vehemence of thy anger, and come back to us in thy merciful goodness; bless the myriads, and multiply the thousands of Israelites.*

## CHAP. XI.

Ver. 1. *AND when the people complained.*] Or, as it is translated in the margin, *were as it were complainers*, or mutterers. Which words, D. Kimchi, in his Michol, brings as an instance to prove that the particle *caph* (which we translate *as*), doth sometimes serve only to signify the truth of a thing, and to confirm it, and imports nothing of *likeness*. For the discontent of the people did not rest in their minds, but broke out into open murmurings and undutiful complaints. The like he observes Gen. xxv. 31. 33. and Hosea v. 10. "The princes of Judah were like them that remove the bound:" where we make it to signify a similitude, but should only have taken it as a strong affirmation of the truth of the thing. (See Theod. Hackspan Disput. iv. de Locutionibus Sacris, n. 4.)

*Complained.*] Of their long march for three days together, with their little children, cattle, and all their baggage. So it is commonly thought; but I can see no good ground for it. For, no doubt, the cloud stood still, (though it did not come down and settle, as I said, chap. x. 33.) that they might make some convenient rests in their journey; else, how should they gather the manna that fell every night about their tents, and would keep but one day, as we read Exod. xvi.? I conclude, therefore, that this muttering was the beginning of those loud complaints which were made a little after, (ver. 4, 5, &c.) because they were not brought by this removal to a place where they might have had other food than manna, of which they now grew weary, having lived upon it near a whole year.

*It displeased the Lord.*] In the Hebrew, *it was evil in the ears of the Lord;* that is, though it was only a muttering, which did not come to the ears of Moses (as this complaint shortly after did), yet the Lord took notice of it, and was much offended at it; as it here follows.

*And the Lord heard it, and his anger was kindled.*] Or, *when the Lord heard it*, he demonstrated he was highly offended, by sending a fire among them.

*And the fire of the Lord burnt among them.*] Some take this phrase, *fire of the Lord*, to signify a great fire; as *mountains of the Lord* are high mountains; which came either from heaven like lightning, (as in 2 Kings i. 12.) or from the pillar of cloud and fire over the tabernacle; where the glory of the Lord appeared sometimes like unto fire.

*And consumed them that were in the uttermost parts of the camps.*] Where the mixed multitude was (as I observed, chap. x. 25.) who came out of Egypt; and may well be supposed to have stirred up the Israelites to complain of their tedious journey, which had not yet brought them near to the land of Canaan. And perhaps some of them lagged behind on purpose, that they might complain of weariness (as some take it), or rather of want of stronger food. But Bochartus hath demonstrated, that this word which we translate *the uttermost parts*, signifies *in all*, or *throughout*. Of which he gives many instances out of Lud. de Dieu, upon Ezek. xxxiii. 1. (See Gen. xix. 4. and xlvii. 2, &c. Hierozoicon. par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34.) And therefore so it should be here rendered, *consumed some in every part of the camp;* where they began to make complaints one to another, of their being still in a wilderness.

Ver. 2. *And the people cried unto Moses.*] Of whose power with God they had great experience; but had reason to distrust their own interest in him, because of their murmuring humour: for it is likely they are the same people that cried now to Moses, who before complained, (ver. 1.)

*And when Moses prayed unto the Lord.*] As they begged he would.

*The fire was quenched.*] Went out; and no signs of it appeared. So the Hebrew phrase signifies, *it sunk*. What number of them was burnt we are not told: it is likely not many, because the terror of it instantly made them deprecate God's displeasure, by Moses their intercessor; which put a stop to it.

Ver. 3. *And he called the name of the place Taberah.*] Which, for another reason, was also called Kibroth-hattaavah, (ver. 34.) They are mentioned, indeed, in Deut. ix. 22. as if they were two distinct places; but it is plain, by the story, that the things which occasioned both these names, happened in one and the same station. And therefore they were only different names for the same place; unless we suppose Kibroth-hattaavah to have been the name of that particular piece of ground in that place where the lusters were buried.

*Because the fire of the Lord burnt among them.*] This is the reason of the name of *Taberah* (which signifies *a burning*), which was imposed on this place, to preserve the memory both of God's judgments and of his mercy.

Ver. 4. *And the mixed multitude that was among them.*] The Hebrew word *hasaphsuph* is well translated by Bochartus, "populi colluvies undecunque collecta," *the dregs or scum of the people gathered together from all parts.* For the doubling of words increases their sense, in the Hebrew language, and makes the same with the superlative degree in other tongues: of which he gives many instances in his Hierozoicon, (par. ii. lib. v. cap. 6.) See Lev. xiii. 19. where *adamdameth* signifies *exceeding red;* as *hasaphsuph* here doth *a very great collection* of all sorts of people, both Egyptians and other neighbouring nations, who were invited, by their wonderful deliverance out of Egypt, to join themselves to the Israelites, as proselytes to their religion. (See Exod. xii. 38.) The Jews, in Tanchuma, say, there were forty thousand of them, and Jannes and Jambres at the head of them.

*Fell a lusting.*] He doth not say for what; and the Jews have taken the liberty to fancy what they please. Some of them say that they lusted after such women, as Moses had lately forbidden them to marry. So the paraphrase of Uzielides: *Moses heard the people weeping, because those that were near of kin to them were forbidden in marriage.* And he makes as if these proselytes petitioned Moses to abrogate those laws about incest. Such conceits others



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have indulged to themselves, (as Mr. Selden shews, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 4. p. 202.) when the words (in the end of this verse, and ver. 13. 18.) plainly shew they lusted *for flesh to eat.*

*And the children of Israel also.*] Though the mixed multitude were the first fomenters of this discontent, yet it run among the children of Israel throughout the whole camp; and rose so high that they fell into a great passion.

*Wept again.*] They had shed some tears, it seems, before, (when they complained, ver. 1.) but now they wept aloud, out of anger, vexation, and grief. Or else this weeping again refers to their first murmuring a year ago, like unto this, (Exod. xvi. 3.)

*And said.*] They could not refrain from bursting out into such discontented language; as argued they were extremely angry, or rather enraged.

*Who shall give us flesh to eat?*] It is an expression of a vehement impatient desire (mixed with despair) after flesh-meat; which they needed not to have wanted, if they would have killed their cattle, which they brought with them out of Egypt in great abundance: (Exod. xii. 38.) but they preserved them for breed when they came to Canaan; and if they killed them daily, they would not have lasted long to suffice six hundred thousand people, besides women and children. (See ver. 21, 22.) Besides this, while they continued in the wilderness, they were not permitted to eat any flesh, but only their share of the peace-offerings that were offered at the altar, (Levit. xvii. 3—5.) Which lasted, the Jews think, till they came to the land of Canaan, when this restraint was taken off, (Deut. xii. 15, 16.) And, indeed, the wilderness was so barren a place, that they could there have no great increase of cattle, scarce sufficient for sacrifice. They were angry, therefore, that they were not yet brought to a country where they might have had all sorts of flesh, without killing their own cattle; and have taken their fill of that and all other food (as appears by the next verse), at as easy rates as they had done in Egypt: whereas now they despaired, as I said, of getting any such food; for so such questions as this signify, (Psalm cxiii. 5. Isai. liii. 8. John viii. 16.)

Ver. 5. *We remember the fish.*] This shews, that all kind of food is comprehended under *flesh*, for which they longed; particularly this, which is one sort of flesh, (1 Cor. xv. 39.)

*Which we did eat in Egypt freely.*] Or, for nothing: for they could easily catch them in the river of Egypt, which abounded with them, (Isai. xix. 8.) and in the sea also, which was not far from them; wherein was exceeding great plenty of excellent fish.

*The cucumbers, and the melons,* &c.] None of which grew here in the wilderness, but were there in such plenty and perfection, that they were the common food of the Egyptians; who were noted anciently for the meanness of their diet, as Casaubon observes, in lib. ix. Athenæi Deipnos. cap. 11. p. 674. Some fancy these things were the cheaper there, because the Egyptians durst not eat either fish, or leeks, or onions; as is said by Juvenal, Sat. xv. Pliny, lib. xix. cap. 6. and Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 37. where he saith, it was not lawful for the Egyptians to taste of fish. But, in my opinion, these words of the people demonstrate rather, that they were not so superstitious in the days of Moses; for they were not the words merely of the Israelites, but of the *mixed multitude*, who were the beginners of this mutiny, and of this sort of undutiful language; which, one would think, they put into the mouths of the Israelites, who could not otherwise have had the impudence to magnify their condition in Egypt, where they groaned under the sorest slavery.

It is a strange fancy of one of the doctors in the Talmud (in the title Jona), who by *fishes* understands *harlots;* whom this crew of mixed people lusted after.

*The onions.*] The Hebrew word *chatzir* properly signifies *grass;* which being no part of human food, the LXX. here render the word *onions;* as agreeable to the other words that accompany it. But the learned Ludolphus thinks they had no other reason for it; and therefore, out of the Arabian language, rather interprets it *lettuce*, or *sallads*, in general, which were most excellent in Egypt. (Dissert. de Locustis, par. ii. cap. 14.)

Ver. 6. *But now our soul is dried away.*] They speak as if they were starved; and, as we speak, had neither life nor soul left in them. Such is the vile nature of discontented ingratitude, which makes men that are advanced from a poor to a plentiful condition contemn their present enjoyments, and praise their former wretched state.

*There is nothing at all besides this manna before our eyes.*] They were angry that they were come to a place, where they found nothing but that of which they were now grown weary; and therefore speak of it with disdain.

Ver. 7. *And the manna.*] Upon this occasion he describes more fully what kind of thing it was which they despised, that it might appear how justly God was displeased with them for their ingratitude.

*Was as coriander-seed.*] Not in colour (for that was like *bdellium*, as it here follows), but in its shape and form, being round, (Exod. xvi. 14.)

*And the colour of it as the colour of bdellium.*] Of a pure white colour, and bright like pearl; so that it was very grateful to the eye, as well as pleasant to the taste, (see Exod. xvi. 31.)

Ver. 8. *And the people went about.*] Round their camp, (Exod. xvi. 13.)

*And gathered it.*] Fresh every morning; which made it still more acceptable, (Exod. xvi. 18, 19.)

*And ground it in mills.*] Into flour, with a hand-mill.

*Or beat it in a mortar.*] Bruised it with a pestle in a wooden or stone mortar.

*And baked it in pans.*] Or else boiled it (as R. Bechai expounds it) in a pot.

*And made cakes of it.*] Or made cakes of it in an oven, or in a pan; that is, saith the same R. Bechai, it was of such an excellent composition, that it might be dressed divers ways, or eaten as it fell. For, if they would, they might use it, saith he, for food immediately, as they gathered it; or they might grind it, or bruise it, and then either boil it or bake it; and it was agreeable in what way soever it was prepared: which Moses mentions, to shew how ungrateful they were to God, who, by one thing, entertained them with great variety.

*And the taste of it was as the taste of fresh oil.*] When it was newly fallen, it tasted like honey; but when it was prepared by boiling, or baking, it tasted like fresh oil, (see Exod. xvi. 31.) Or to some it had the taste of honey; to others, of fresh oil. The Jews, indeed, say it had all sorts of tastes, according to every man's desire. So the author

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of the Book of Wisdom speaks, (chap. xvi. 20, 21.) from the ancient tradition of the Hebrews: whereby, I suppose, they meant no more, but that it pleased every man's palate; and had in it all that could be desired in any meat; being grateful to the taste of young and old, and refreshed the spirits, and kept up the flesh of their bodies in good plight. For it is not unreasonably observed, by the aforesaid R. Bechai, that it is compared by Moses to *fresh oil*, which is fat as well as sweet, to shew how unjust their complaint was, that they had no moisture left in them, but were *dried away*, (ver. 6.)

Ver. 9. *And when the dew fell upon the camp in the night.*] There was a great providence of God in this, saith the same Bechai, which sent it in the night, while they slept quietly in their beds; that when they rose in the morning they might find their food ready for them. And thus, saith he, it was when they came to Canaan; the rains were wont to fall in the night-season, and not in the day-time; that they might not be hindered from their work in the fields, and in their plantations.

*The manna fell upon it.*] That is, upon the dew; for it did not fall upon the camp, but round about it: (see Exod. xvi. 14.) This is a further aggravation of their ingratitude, that they despised this rare food, which came not out of the earth, or the waters, but from above out of the air; and therefore was more pure and spirituous than cucumbers and leeks, &c. which crude and gross sort of food their depraved minds preferred before this celestial nourishment, which by falling on the dew was kept clean and pure for their use.

Huetius observes, that several authors, both ancient and modern, mention manna as a thing which sometimes falls in those countries (particularly in Arabia, and upon Libanus), which they call *aerial honey*, or *dewy honey*, and *Syrian dew*; which was fit for food. But it never fell in such quantity, nor so constantly, every day, for the space of forty years; and so delicious and hearty. All this was miraculous; as was also its melting when the sun shone upon it; and that it putrefied before the next day, except on the sabbath, and yet kept in an urn many years: (see Alnetanæ Quæst. lib. ii. cap. 12. n. 17.)

Ver. 10. *And Moses heard the people weep, throughout their families.*] Or, for their families: or, about the state and condition of their families, as some of the Jews understand it, though to a foolish sense: (see Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 4. p. 203.) who they pretended could not live any longer upon manna.

*Every man in the door of his tent.*] It may be understood of Moses's tent, about which the heads of the several families were gathered; as mutinous soldiers are wont to be, about the door of their chief commander.

*And the anger of the Lord was kindled greatly.*] Which brake forth shortly after, in a great plague upon them, (ver. 34.)

*And Moses also was displeased.*] The same phrase with that, ver. 1.

*It was evil in the eyes of Moses.*] *i. e.* Grieved him so, that it made him wish himself rid of the burden of their government.

Ver. 11. *And Moses said unto the Lord.*] I suppose he went into the sanctuary to bewail himself, and pray God to relieve him, (see ver. 24.)

*Wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant?*] By committing this people to his charge.

*And wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight.*] By granting the prayer which he made at his first call to this office, (Exod. iii. 2. iv. 10.)

*That thou layest the burden of this people upon me?*] *i. e.* The principal care of such an untractable multitude upon one man, to whom they resorted in all difficulties, (Exod. xviii. 22. 26.)

Ver. 12. *Have I conceived all this people, have I begotten them?*] Are they my children, that I should make provision for the satisfaction of all their desires?

*That thou hast said unto me, Carry them in thy bosom (as a nursing father beareth the sucking child) unto the land,* &c.] Take a tender care of them, as a parent doth of a little infant, and conduct them into Canaan, &c. Nothing can more lively express the affection that princes ought to have for their people (if they have any regard to the will of God), than this Divine command to Moses.

Ver. 13. *Whence should I have flesh to give unto all this people?*] It is impossible for me to do what they desire.

*For they weep unto me, saying, Give us flesh that we may eat.*] And yet they will not be satisfied without it. He seems to be affected with their weeping, as the most loving parents are with the tears of a sucking child, when it cries for that which they have not for it.

Ver. 14. *I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me.*] Let me have some joined to me to take part of this trouble with me, and help to manage them in such mutinies; for it is beyond my strength to undergo the toil of hearing all their complaints, and appeasing their tumults. Some may imagine there was no reason for this request; he having several persons already appointed to assist him, by the advice of Jethro, (Exod. xviii.) But Rasi thinks those men were burnt in the late fire; because they did not suppress the beginning of this mutiny, (ver. 1.) but perhaps join in it: and so Bechai. But the true account is rather this, that they were set only to hear and judge smaller causes; all the weighty and difficult causes being still brought before Moses, to whom also the last appeal was made in every cause: which was so great a burden, that he complained for want of help in those great things which lay wholly upon him: (see Exod. xviii. 22.)

Ver. 15. *And if thou deal thus with me.*] If thou leavest me still alone in this office.

*Kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight.*] I shall take it for the greatest kindness to be taken immediately out of the world.

*And let me not see my wretchedness.*] Live to be a most miserable creature. For to *see wretchedness* is to be wretched; as to *see death* is to die, (Psalm lxxxix. 48.) And what could make such a tender parent as he was more miserable than their perpetual untowardness, together with the intolerable trouble it would give him to see heavy punishments continually befal them for their wickedness, and the enemies of God rejoice in their ruin?

Ver. 16. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] Here is not the least sign of God's dislike of this expostulation of Moses with God; which seems not very dutiful: because the vexation this stubborn people gave him was really so great, that he had reason to desire to be eased of it: which,

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though he begged with much earnestness, yet, no doubt, with no less submission to God's holy will and pleasure.

*Gather unto me.*] These words are interpreted by the Talmudists, as if the meaning was, that *they may be a Sanhedrin to my land; i. e.* a holy, perpetual, standing council, to endure throughout all generations. For wheresoever we meet with this word *li* unto me, they think it signifies a thing to be established by God to all generations. The examples they allege of it are these: of Aaron and his sons he saith, They shall minister *unto me* in the priest's office, (Exod. xxviii. 41.) and of the Levites he saith, (Numb. iii. 12.) They shall be *mine*, or *unto me;* and of the Israelites, (Lev. xxv. 55.) *Unto me* the children of Israel are servants. The like is said of the *first-born*, (Numb. iii. 13.) of the *sanctuary*, (Exod. xxv. 18.) of the *altar*, (Exod. xx. 24.) of the *holy ointment*, (Exod. xxx. 31.) of the kingdom of David, (1 Sam. xvi. 1.) and of the *sacrifices*, (Numb xxviii. 2. See Mr. Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 4. n. 2.)

*Seventy men of the elders of Israel.*] This number is generally thought, both by the Jewish and Christian writers, to be derived from the number of persons that came down into Egypt with Jacob, (Gen. xlvi. 27.) who, saith R. Bechai, were a kind of prototype of this number in future ages. For hence they were governed by so many elders when they were in Egypt, Exod. iii. 16. (where there is no mention indeed made of *seventy*, but he gathers it from what followed), and those were the *seventy* whom we find at the giving of the law, a little after they came out of Egypt, (Exod. xxiv. 1. 9.) who are called *nobles*, or great men, (ver. 11.) So that this number was not now first constituted; but rather continued and confirmed.

*Whom thou knowest to be the elders of the people.*] For there were many elders, out of whom *seventy* were chosen: (see Exod. xxiv. 1.)

*And officers over them.*] That is (saith R. Bechai) whom thou knowest to be of the number of those who, when they were *officers* in Egypt over the people, were beaten by Pharaoh's taskmasters, (Exod. v. 14.) Which word *officers* doth not signify men that had any judicial authority; but only such as had an inspection over others, to see they did their work, and to give an account of them. But it is very likely they were persons of note, who had more than ordinary understanding and breeding, which advanced them to be inspectors of others. And therefore the Talmudists rightly observe, that *the elders and officers* here mentioned were, no doubt, men of wisdom and judgment; who knew how to use the authority that was committed to them. And it is not improbable (as some of them affirm) that they were chosen out of those lesser courts which were erected by the advice of Jethro. See Selden in the same place, (sect. 5.) who at large confutes Baronius and others; who say, that the number of the great Sanhedrin (which derived its original from hence) was *seventy-two;* and makes it appear they were only *seventy;* and with Moses, their head, *seventy-one*, (sect. 8.) And it is not unworthy our notice, that about the same time (as he observes, sect. 12.) that this number of *seventy* judges was here constituted in the wilderness, the great judicature in Areopagus was constituted among the Greeks, *viz.* in the reign of Cecrops, the first king of Athens after the Ogygian flood: when, according to Eusebius, the people of Israel were brought out of Egypt. The Marmora Arundeliana indeed say, this court was erected in the time of Cranaus; but that makes no great difference, for he was the successor of Cecrops. We do not find of what number it consisted, but it is certain it was the highest πάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι Συνεδρίων, *of all the courts among the Greeks.* And it is no less observable, that, as that court began about the same time with the constitution of this among the Hebrews, so they both ended in the reign of the emperor Vespasian; as the said Mr. Selden shews in that book, (cap. 16. sect. 10.)

*And bring them unto the tabernacle of the congregation.*] That there they might be, as it were, consecrated unto God; and that the people might know they received their authority from him.

*That they may stand there with thee.*] As those men who were to be sharers with him in his authority, and were like to him in wisdom, piety, and descent. So Maimonides glosses upon these words in Hilk. Sanhedr. cap. 2. where he saith, none were made members of the Sanhedrin but priests and Levites, and such of the Israelites as were descended from the noblest families; and quotes these words to prove it.

Ver. 17. *And I will come down.*] In a visible manner, (ver. 25.)

*And talk with thee there.*] To declare (perhaps in their audience) that he appointed them to the office of being the assistants of Moses in the government.

*And I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and put it upon them.*] He did not take away from Moses any of the gifts which he had bestowed upon him; nor did he diminish them: but conferred upon these men some of the gifts (which are here meant by *spirit*), *viz.* of wisdom, and judgment, and courage; with all others that were needful in a governor. This R. Solomon Jarchi illustrates by the comparison of a great lamp set up in a room, at which many others are lighted, without the least diminution of its light. (See further, ver. 25.)

*And they shall bear the burden of the people with thee.*] By this it appears it was the spirit of government which God intended to give them, that they might ease Moses, by assisting him, with the same authority that he had, to hinder or to appease such mutinies as now the people were fallen into.

*That thou bear it not thyself alone.*] That all the murmurings of the people might not be only against him; but some of their complaints might be diverted unto others: who might also help him in the judging of such causes as had hitherto been reserved to him alone. For it is plain that these seventy persons made a higher court than any of those constituted by the advice of Jethro.

Cornelius Bertram indeed fancies, that these rulers of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, not being sufficient for the business committed to them (though he likewise conceives they had some of their several families joined with them), God appointed these seventy for their assistance, to whom they were to bring all causes which they could not determine, before they troubled Moses with them, (lib. de Repub. Jud. cap. 6.) But our learned Mr. Thorndike, in his Rights of the Church, chap. 2. hath well observed, that those captains were to be in place only during the pilgrimage of the wilderness; for when they came to the land of promise, the law provided that judges and ministers should be ordained in every city, (Deut. xvi. 18.)

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who, if there fell any difference about the law, were to repair to the place where God dwelt, to the successors of Moses, and these seventy, for resolution in it, (Deut. vii. 11, 12.) For, as he judiciously notes in his Review, p. 69. (suitable to what is here delivered), they were assumed to assist Moses in his great office of judging the hardest causes; and, by that law, (Deut. xvii. 8, &c.) were afterwards made a standing court, resident at the place of the tabernacle; to judge the last result of all causes concerning the law, and to determine all matter of right not determined by the letter of the same.

Ver. 18. *And say thou unto the people.*] All that he said hitherto concerned Moses himself, in answer to his request. Now he tells him what he should say to the people, in answer to their complaint.

*Sanctify yourselves.*] Here the word *sanctify* seems to signify no more, but to *prepare* and *make themselves ready* to receive what they desired. So the Chaldee expounds it; and so the word is translated by us several times in the book of Jeremiah, (chap. vi. 4. xii. 3. li. 28.)

*Against to-morrow.*] He seems at the same time to gratify Moses and satisfy them: for his setting the seventy elders before the Lord, and their eating flesh, succeed one another. Or else, he immediately gathered the elders; and the next day the quails came for their food.

*And ye shall eat flesh, for ye have wept in the ears of the Lord,* &c.] You shall have what you long for with such vehemence, that it hath made you utter complaints against the Lord.

Ver. 19. *Ye shall eat not one day.*] As they did about a year ago, (Exod. xvi. 12, 13.)

*Nor two days, nor five days,* &c.] Not for a short time only.

Ver. 20. *But even a whole month.*] So long (the Hebrews gather from hence) they stayed in this part of the wilderness of Paran; or rather, a little longer. For they came hither on the twenty-third day of the second month, in the even; on which, if we suppose the fire to have burnt among them, (ver. 1.) and that the next morning, which is scarce credible, they lusted after flesh, and in a tumultuous manner demanded it of Moses, who promised they should have it; we must allow a little time for the constituting of the seventy elders: and suppose it was done on the twenty-fifth day, and that the next day the quails came (as we translate it), they were two days in gathering them: from whence, if we begin this month, it will appear they stayed here longer than that space.

*Until it come out at your nostrils.*] Till you be glutted with it, and vomit it up so violently, that it come not only out at your mouth, but at your nostrils.

*And it be loathsome to you.*] Which was both the cause and the effect of vomiting.

*Because that ye have despised the Lord.*] Forgetting all that he had done for them, as if it had been nothing; and slighting his servant Moses.

*Which is among you.*] By a visible token of his glorious presence in the sanctuary, where he dwelt among them, (Exod. xxv. 8.)

*And have wept before him, saying, Why came we forth out of Egypt?*] As if he had undone them by their deliverance from thence.

Both Onkelos and Jonathan translate this verse in such a manner, that one cannot but think they had a notion in their days of more persons than one in the Godhead. For these are the words of the latter of them, *Because you have despised* (or rejected, as Onkelos), *the Word of the Lord, for glorious is his majesty which dwelleth among us.* For I cannot see how the word *Memri* can signify any thing in this place (whatsoever it may do in some others), but a person equal to Jehovah. And yet the anonymous writer against the Trinity (confuted by de Voisin), hath the strange unaccountable boldness to pass it by with this silly gloss, "Proprie de lege accipi potest," &c. *It may be properly understood of the law, which may be contemned or transgressed:* as if this could be called *the glorious majesty of the Lord,* which dwelt among them. What will not men say or do to serve a cause?

Ver. 21. *And Moses said, The people among whom I am.*] Over whom I preside, as their governor.

*Are six hundred thousand footmen.*] Who were able to carry arms; besides women, and children, and slaves, and the mixed multitude; who in all may well be supposed to have made thirty hundred thousand.

*And thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a whole month.*] *i. e.* How can this be? Which is a downright distrust of God's promise, if we regard merely the words, and do not consider that they were spoken hastily, and something inconsiderately, while his mind was very much disturbed by the tumult which the people made: for which reason a severe notice is not taken of it; but he only put in mind of God's eternal power, (ver. 23.) Which may make it probable, that they were only words of admiration, how such a provision should be made for such a vast number; and those uttered on a sudden.

Ver. 22. *Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them, to suffice them?*] In the Hebrew the words are, *If the flocks and the herds be slain for them, will they be sufficient for them?* That is, there will not be enough for a whole month. And so the next passage is to be translated, *If all the fish of the sea be gathered for them, will they be sufficient for them?*

Ver. 23. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Is the Lord's hand waxed short?*] *i. e.* I need not tell thee that my power is as great as ever.

*Thou shalt see now whether my word shall come to pass unto thee, or not.*] For thou shalt be convinced of it by the speedy performance of my promise.

Ver. 24. *And Moses went out.*] I supposed, ver. 11. that Moses went into the sanctuary to make his addresses to God for relief; and if that be true, then that is the place from whence he now went out. But there is this objection against it, that if he had gone to consult God in the sanctuary, (as he did on some occasions, chap. vii. 89.) it would not have been said that he *went out;* but that he *came out.* For that is the usual expression in this matter. Therefore we may rather think he now *went out* of his own tent, where the people stood murmuring, (ver. 10.)

*And told the people the words of the Lord.*] Both concerning them and concerning himself.

*And gathered the seventy men of the elders of the people.*] That is, sent out his summons to them to attend him; though two of them, it appears afterward, did not come, (ver. 26.)

*And set them round about the tabernacle.*] That is, required them to come thither, and there place themselves;

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that the people might understand they received their authority from God; and that from thence he might send his Holy Spirit upon them. For God alone, who was their king, could appoint who should bear rule among them. There also were the great assemblies held. (See chap. xxvii. 2.)

Ver. 25. *And the Lord came down in a cloud.*] The Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, appeared from heaven in a cloud; or, in the *pillar of the cloud*, as it is in chap. xii. 5.

*And spake unto him.*] As he had promised, ver. 17. declaring, it is likely, the reason and intention of his appearing on this occasion.

*And took of the spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders.*] See there, ver. 17.

*And it came to pass, that when the spirit rested upon them.*] *i. e.* As soon as they received it.

*They prophesied.*] Either by setting forth the praises of God in such a strain as none else could imitate, or giving such admirable instructions to the people, as manifested they were raised above themselves; or perhaps by declaring things to come (particularly that they should have *quails*, as we render the word, in great abundance very shortly, as some of the Jews take it), though that could not gain them such credit as the other gifts, till their predictions were fulfilled. And these the Jews call the *second degree of prophecy:* concerning which Maimonides speaks in his preface to his More Nevoch. but more fully in his second part of it, cap. 45. where he saith the *first degree* was, that which moved and enabled men to some *heroic* undertaking, with assurance they were put upon it from God; as to deliver men from tyranny and oppression: which was the *Spirit of the Lord* that came upon Gideon and Samson, and the rest of the judges of Israel; who were carried by an extraordinary power to perform such things, as otherwise they thought not themselves fit to undertake. And the *second degree* was, when a man found a power upon him, exciting him to speak either psalms, or hymns, or wholesome precepts of living; or about political affairs, and civil government, far beyond his natural capacities; and all this waking, and in the full vigour of his senses. This is also called the *Holy Spirit;* and in this number he places these seventy elders, who were endued with the spirit of Moses, for the government of the people with him, in such measure that they attained to be prophets. Just as in the New Testament the prophets are placed next to the apostles; so these men were next to Moses.

*And ceased not.*] In which translation we follow the Chaldee paraphrasts, as several others do: but the LXX. translate it, *and they added no further* (which the Hebrew words will well bear), taking the meaning to be, that they prophesied that day, but not after. And this is the sense of the Talmudists, particularly of Jarchi, who, in his gloss upon this place, saith: "All these elders prophesied only this first time that the Spirit rested on them, as they stood about the tabernacle; but they did not prophesy after that." The like say several others mentioned by Mr. Selden, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 4. sect. 2.) And indeed the Spirit was not sent upon them to make them prophets, but to make them governors and judges. And therefore the gift of prophecy, which God gave them for the present, was only to procure them reverence from the people; as an evident sign that they were chosen by God to be coadjutors to Moses, in the exercise of his supreme authority over them. And thus I find Theodoret understood it: (Quæst. xx. in Num.) *The seventy did not prophesy beyond this day,* ὅτι οὐ προφητείας χάριν ἀλλ' οἰκονομίας, &c. *because God promoted them not to prophesy, but to govern: which St. Paul also reckons among other gifts bestowed upon Christians,* (1 Cor. xii. 26.) Now, that it might appear God had conferred this Divine gift of government upon them, they also prophesied the first day that they received it. And I do not see why our translation [*did not cease*] may not be interpreted to this sense; that is, *they did not cease all that day while they stood about the tabernacle.*

Ver. 26. *And there remained two of the men.*] Of the seventy elders, whom Moses ordered to appear, and set themselves about the tabernacle. So the Jerusalem Targum: these were "of the number of the seventy wise men, neither did the seventy wise men go from the tabernacle while Eldad and Medad prophesied in the camp." And so R. Levi ben Gersom notes: "It seems to be plain out of the text, that these two were of the seventy elders." Which our translators thought necessary to express by adding those words *of the:* for in the Hebrew there is no more said, but only *there remained two men.*

*In the camp.*] Among the rest of the people; from whom they would not come, out of modesty, saying, *They were not equal to such a dignity;* as the words are in the Gemara Babylonica, tit. Sanhedrin. Or perhaps they loved a private life; and were afraid of being envied by the people, whom they saw to be so unruly, that it made them decline the burden; as Saul did, when he hid himself among the stuff.

*The name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad.*] We do not find the names of any other of the seventy elders, but only these two; who, Jonathan saith, were Moses's brothers by the mother's side. And St. Jerome himself mentions such a tradition, that they were his brethren. But there is no certainty of this; nor of what others of the Jews say concerning them. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 4. sect. 3.)

It may be they are mentioned in honour of their virtuous modesty, which made them think themselves unworthy of so high a dignity.

*And the spirit rested upon them.*] As it did upon those who were about the tabernacle, (ver. 25.) Whereby God marked them out to be in the number of those whom he had chosen to be assistants unto Moses.

*And they were of them that were written,* &c.] Whose names Moses put into the summons, which he sent to those whom he judged fit to be advanced to this authority. The Jews (particularly Solomon Jarchi) say, they were chosen by the way of casting lots; and, according to their manner, they tell the story thus, in the place mentioned before in the Gemara:—Moses, say they, was in doubt how he should execute God's command, (ver. 16.) because, if he did not choose an equal number out of every tribe, it might be ill taken: and if he chose *six* out of each of the twelve tribes, they would exceed the number of seventy; if but *five*, they would fall short of it. He resolved, therefore, at last, to choose *six* out of each tribe, which, in all, were seventy-two persons: and in seventy schedules he wrote the name of *elder*, but the other two were blanks. Then mixing all these in an urn, he bade them come and draw: and to

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every one who drew a schedule, that had the name of elder in it, he said, *God hath sanctified thee;* but to him that drew a blank, he said, *God hath not chosen thee.* And those two blanks, some of the Jewish doctors say, came into the hands of Eldad and Medad; who, therefore, were left behind in the camp. And this conceit our very learned Dr. Lightfoot himself entertained, saying (in his short account of this chapter), "that six of a tribe made up the number of the Sanhedrin (which was chosen), and two over. And those two were Eldad and Medad, who were written for elders, but the lot cast them out; that there might be but seventy. Yet did the Lord honour them with the spirit of prophecy."

But as this whole story of the manner of choosing the elders is very doubtful; so other Jews, of great authority, say, that Eldad and Medad were of the number of the seventy that were chosen. Particularly Jonathan saith expressly, they were of the number of those whose schedules came up with the name of elder in them; but they did not go to the tabernacle, because they had no mind to be governors. Nay, the Talmudical gloss upon the forenamed place of the Gemara, saith, that when seventy of the seventy-two had drawn, two of them had blanks; whereby Eldad and Medad knew that the two remaining schedules had the name of elder in them, and therefore would not draw them, because they were sure not to have blanks. The very same Mr. Selden shews is in other noted books of theirs. So that it is generally received, they were in the number of those seventy which were chosen to be joined with Moses in the government. (See lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 4. sect. 7.)

*And they prophesied in the camp.*] Which was a greater thing than if they had prophesied at the tabernacle: denoting them to be men so highly in the favour of God, that he would distinguish them from other men wheresoever they were, and not want their service. The Jerusalem Targum relates what each of them foretold (for to that he restrains their prophesying), and what they both foretold; but it is not worth the mentioning.

Ver. 27. *And there ran a young man, and told Moses, and said, Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp.*] The Jews, who will seem ignorant of nothing, say it was Gershon, the son of Moses, who carried these tidings to his father.

Ver. 28. *And Joshua the son of Nun.*] From whence some conclude, that he was none of the seventy elders; though a man of a most excellent spirit. And indeed this is likely enough, he being to succeed Moses, and so to become the head of them.

*The servant of Moses.*] Who ministered to him, as a constant attendant on his person, (Exod. xxiv. 13.)

*One of his young men.*] The word *one* is not in the Hebrew, which may be translated *from among his young men: i. e.* the rest of those that waited on him.

*My lord Moses, forbid them.*] Perhaps he thought they could have no authority; not being at the tabernacle: or rather, that their prophesying too much lessened the authority of Moses; by whose consent, and in whose presence, the rest were joined to him; but these two, without his knowledge, and being absent from him, became his consorts in spiritual gifts. This he thought tended to the diminution of his master; for whom he expressed a great honour. The two Targums say that they prophesied of the death of Moses, and the advancement of Joshua to be the leader of God's people; which made Joshua the more concerned to have them suppressed. But this is like the rest of their conceits; several of which are mentioned by Mr. Selden in the place beforenamed, sect. 3.

Ver. 29. *And Moses said unto him, Enviest thou for my sake?*] This shews that Joshua thought it a disparagement unto Moses, that they should have the gift of prophecy bestowed on them, and be no way indebted to Moses for it; as the others were, who were brought by him to the tabernacle, where he presented them to God, as men fit to partake of it: but these two seemed to have no dependance on him for what they received.

*Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets.*] This shews also that the gift of prophecy was a distinct thing from the gift of government: for he did not wish they might all be made rulers; than which nothing could have been more absurd.

*And that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them.*] That they might all break forth, by his inspiration, into his praises: which is a high demonstration of that most excellent spirit that dwelt in Moses; which had nothing of envy, pride, or vain-glory in it: for he sought not himself in the least, but purely the glory of God, and the good of his people: which admirable temper of mind St. James from hence commends to all Christians, when he saith, (chap. iv. 5.) "Do ye think, that the Scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy? But he giveth more grace." Where doth the Scripture (by which word the apostles commonly mean the Old Testament) say any thing like this, unless it be in this place? the sense of which is fully expressed by James, as Hermannus Witzius well explains this meaning, "Doth that spirit, whereby we are regenerated and governed, move us to envy, or any such-like vicious desire? No, far from that; it giveth greater grace, and makes us rejoice in the good of our neighbours," &c. as Moses did, when he said, *Dost thou envy for my sake?* and thereby excitest me to the like envy? Is that suitable to the Spirit that is in us? which I wish God would bestow *upon all his people.* This agrees with what St. James saith, "But he giveth more grace." (Miscell. Sacr. lib. i. cap. 18. n. 27.)

Ver. 30. *And Moses gat him into the camp.*] From the tabernacle where the elders had been presented unto God, and endued with his Spirit.

*He and the elders of Israel.*] That they might exercise their authority jointly with him. And there, I suppose, Eldad and Medad were assumed into the same authority; for we do not read that they were brought to the tabernacle; being sufficiently approved by God in the camp.

Ver. 31. *And there went forth a wind from the Lord.*] At the prayer (it is likely) of Moses and the elders, who promised the people flesh enough, a mighty wind of an extraordinary force was raised beyond the common course of nature. The Psalmist informs us from what quarter this wind blew, when he saith, (Psalm lxxviii. 26.) "He caused the east wind to blow in the heaven, and by his power he brought in the south wind:" which some understand, as if sometimes an east wind blew, and sometimes a south; that these quails (as we call them) might be brought from several coasts. But the Hebrews wanting compound words,



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make use of these two words, to express that which we call a south-east wind. Or, as Bochartus will have it, the Hebrew word *kadim*, which properly signifies the *east*, doth sometimes signify the *south*; and is by the LXX. often so translated; of which he gives a great many instances. And therefore the Psalmist (as the manner of the Hebrew language is) repeats the same thing in other words. (See Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. i. cap. 15.) And so the famous Ludolphus, both in his commentary upon his Ethiopic History, and in his dissertation De Locustis, saith, they were brought in by a south wind blowing from all points of that quarter.

*And brought quails.*] Nobody, that I have met withal, hath laboured so much to give a clear explication of this whole following discourse as Job Ludolphus, in his most learned commentary upon his Ethiopic History, lib. i. cap. 13. n. 96. where he hath a long discourse (to which I refer the reader), to shew that the Hebrews do not take the word *selau* (here used) to signify *quails:* but we take that translation of it only from Josephus. (See what I have noted on Exod. xvi. 13.)

The no less learned Bocar, indeed, hath said a great deal to justify Josephus; and hath shewn that Egypt and the neighbouring regions abound still with *quails;* from whence this wind blew fair to bring them to the Hebrews. And every one knows that there are certain winds called *Ornithias*, from their bringing great flights of birds along with them. *Quails* also, he observes, are wont to fly from the *southern* countries to the *northern*, in the spring-time (as it now was), and to fall sometimes in such vast quantities as to sink a ship. Notwithstanding all which, and a great deal more which he alleges, with great learning, there are several things said in the following relation, which by no means can be brought to agree to *quails;* and therefore Ludolphus rather takes *selau* to signify *locusts;* by which it is easy to give a plain explication of all that is said of them. It is certain they were not only used for food in those parts of the world, but that some of them were very delicious meat in several countries; for they that have eaten them (see Lev. xi. 22.) compare them to young pigeons, or to a fresh herring, or to a crab, or lobster (like to which they are in shape and figure), and they are several ways prepared, and accounted very wholesome food, when they have thrown away the heads, and wings, and legs. Pliny saith that some parts of Ethiopia lived upon them; and that they were preserved *fumo et sale, by being dried in the smoke and salted*, for their nourishment, throughout the whole year. Now all that is said in this, and in the following verses, will have a plain and easy meaning (as I said), if we follow this interpretation; but not, if we take them for *quails*, or *pheasants*, or *sea-fowl*. As, for example, what was said before, concerning God's sending a mighty wind, is not hard to understand, if we suppose him to speak of *locusts;* which all authors say are brought with a wind: but it was never heard to bring *quails*, which cannot fly high, nor far; much less so far as from the sea to the middle of Arabia Petræa. Nor would the locusts have come this way, had not this wind brought them from their ordinary course.

*From the sea.*] *viz.* From the Red Sea, yet not excluding the Persian Gulf; which must not be understood as if they came out of the sea, but from the sea-coast; and it is very probable out of Africa, where they abound. So the aforesaid Ludolphus expounds it, in his late Dissertatio de Locustis, par. ii. cap. 39, &c.

*And let them fall by the camp.*] Or poured them down upon the camp, as *dust* or *rain* falls thick upon the ground. For both these comparisons the Psalmist uses in the place beforenamed, (Psal. lxxviii. 27.) And this is expressed in Exod. xvi. 13. by *covering their camp.*

*As it were a day's journey on this side, and as it were a day's journey on the other side.*] A day's journey, as Bochartus makes account, is at least twenty miles. See the place beforenamed, Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. i. cap. 15. p. 105.; or, as Ludolphus makes the computation, sixteen miles, in his Dissertation de Locustis, par. ii. cap. 44, &c. Take it either away, it shews there was a vast number of them: for he adds,

*Round about the camp.*] So that which way soever they went for sixteen or twenty miles together, there lay heaps of them upon the ground: which, if we understand this of quails, cannot be conceived without a heap of miracles. And if we resort to that, what need was there of a wind to bring them, when God must be supposed miraculously to have created them as he did manna. And yet such a quantity of quails was not to be found any where, without a miracle, as would cover the heavens forty miles (according to Bochartus) on all sides. But that which would have been on many accounts miraculous, if we understand it of quails, will be found less wonderful, or rather natural, if it be understood of locusts: who come in very great and thick clouds, which darken the sky; as all authors tell us. (See Ludolphus Comment. in Histor. Ethiop. p. 188.)

*And as it were two cubits high upon the face of the earth.*] This interpreters look upon as impossible: for then the quails would have been choked and stifled; if they had been heaped so deep one upon another. And therefore they have devised the addition of a new word; and refer this, not to their falling upon the ground, but to their flying in the air, two cubits high above the earth; that so they might the more easily be taken by their hands. So the Jews, and so Val. Schindler in his Lexicon upon the word *selau*. But, besides that there is nothing of this in the text; and it is contrary to what the Psalmist says, that they fell *in the midst of their camp*, (ver. 28.) and that they came down like rain, which always falls upon the ground; there are many other difficulties in this interpretation, (as he shews p. 189. and defends what he there asserts in his Dissertation de Locustis, par. ii. cap. 49, 50.) And therefore it is better to expound it of locusts; who, though they fall one upon another to a great depth, are not thereby suffocated, by reason of the length of their feet, and the thinness of their wings.

Ver. 32. *And the people stood up* (or rather, *rose up*) *all that day, and all that night, and all the next day.*] They were intent upon the gathering of them for thirty-six hours.

*And they gathered the quails.*] By this it is evident that they gathered something lying upon the ground, and not flying in the air: for we do not *gather* things there, but *take* or *catch* them.

*He that gathered least.*] *viz.* The master of every family for himself, and for those belonging to him. For we are not to suppose that every man in Israel gathered so many as follows.

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*Gathered ten homers.*] A vast quantity if they were quails; which would have served them, not for a month, but for a year or two: as Ludolphus observes, (p. 190. of his Commentary on his Ethiopic Hist.) besides, we do not use to measure fowl, but to number them. And therefore Bochart, being sensible of this impropriety, takes the word *homer* here to signify a *heap:* which is confuted by Ludolphus in his Dissertatio de Locustis, (par. ii. cap. 54, 55, &c.)

*And they spread them all abroad for themselves, round about the camp.*] This is another plain indication that they were locusts; which they spread to be dried in the sun: but if they had been quails would have been very preposterous; for it would have made them the sooner stink. Interpreters therefore commonly pass by this, and give no account why they spread them abroad; and the Vulgar Latin omits this word *spread:* whereas all authors tell us, this is the principal way of preparing locusts, and preserving them for a month or more: which they boiled, or otherwise made fit to eat, when they had occasion. (See Ludolphus in his forementioned Commentary; and in his defence of it lately in his Dissertatio de Locustis, par. ii. cap. 97, 98, &c.)

Ver. 33. *And while the flesh was yet between their teeth.*] While they were eating; and therefore were in good health, and had a good stomach.

*Ere it was chewed.*] Before they had swallowed it.

*The wrath of the Lord was kindled against the people.*] They felt unexpected effects of God's displeasure; being taken, perhaps, with a sudden vomiting, of which they died, (ver. 20.) This was in the conclusion of the month; for so long (he there saith) they should eat flesh.

*And the Lord smote the people with a very great plague.*] He sent a pestilence among them, as Aben Ezra supposes; or, as others think, they wasted away in a consumption: the vomiting, perhaps, continuing so, that they could never retain any meat, till they died. This they gather from Psal. cvi. 15. where the Psalmist saith, "He sent leanness into their soul." But Bochartus and Menochius think he burnt them up with a fire from his presence, as at the beginning of this murmuring, ver. 1. where it is said, as it is here, "The anger of the Lord was kindled." But Bochartus grounds this chiefly upon Psal. lxxviii. 21. where it is said, "A fire was kindled in Jacob;" which he refers to this story.

It may seem strange to some, that now they should be punished so heavily, when about a year ago they murmured for flesh as they did now; and he gave it them in the even, together with manna in the morning, without any punishment at all. But it is to be considered, that, as it was a greater fault to fall into the same sin again, after God had been so good to them; so they were not in such necessity now as they were then, when they were really pinched with hunger: whereas now they were fed with bread from heaven; and therefore cried for meat, not out of need, but wantonness. And it may be added, that they were not then so well taught as they had been since; by the giving of the law to them at Mount Sinai, and many other instructions from the house of God.

Ver. 34. *And he called the name of that place Kibroth-hattaavah.*] That is, the Graves of Lust: because their wanton appetites threw them into those graves; for there, as it follows, they buried those that lusted.

*For there they buried the people that lusted.*] Not all that lusted, for then all the people who were guilty of this sin would have been buried; but all that died of the plague, which was inflicted for this sin; who, perhaps, were those that began and headed this mutiny; or were most violent in it.

Ver. 35. *And the people journeyed.*] When the cloud was taken up, (chap. ix. 17.)

*From Kibroth-hattaavah.*] From whence they departed about the beginning of the fourth month, called Tammuz.

*Unto Hazeroth.*] Another place in the wilderness of Paran; but how far from the former station, whether a day's journey or more, we do not find.

*And abode at Hazeroth.*] There the cloud rested, and accordingly there they encamped. But we do not read how long: only we are sure they stayed there at least a week, (chap. xii. 15.)

## CHAP. XII.

Ver. 1. *AND Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses.*] I can see no good reason that can be given why Miriam is put here before Aaron; but because she, it is highly probable, was the beginner of this sedition, and drew her brother Aaron into it.

*Because of the Ethiopian woman.*] Or rather Arabian woman: (see Gen. x. 6.)

*Whom he had married.*] Whom most both of the Jewish and Christian writers take to have been Zipporah; though some few fancy he speaks of another woman, whom he had lately married; Zipporah being either dead, or divorced. The only difficulty is, why they should quarrel with him about Zipporah; who, if she had been dead, or divorced, it is not likely he would have married a Cushite, but a Jewish woman. The Hebrew doctors have devised strange stories about his forbearing her company; which may be read in many authors; particularly in Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 26. where he recites many of their opinions about this matter. The most common is, that they were angry at his marriage with a woman of another nation; whom they would have had him put away, and taken another wife. So they interpret the following words, *for he had married an Ethiopian woman:* as if his mere marriage with her was the thing which they spake against. Which is not at all probable, if this be meant of Zipporah; for he had been married to her forty years; which, if they had disliked, one would think should have long before now been charged upon him as a fault. I rather think that they were jealous of his being ruled too much by her, and by her relations. For it was by her father's advice that he made the judges, mentioned Exod. xviii. 21, 22. and perhaps they imagined she and Hobab had a hand in choosing the seventy elders lately made, as we read in the foregoing chapter. With which this story being immediately connected, it makes me think it hath some relation to that. For those elders were nominated, it is evident, by Moses alone; without consulting Aaron or Miriam: who, taking themselves to be neglected, in so great an alteration made of the government without their advice, were very angry: and not daring to charge Moses directly with this neglect of them, they fall upon his wife; whom in scorn they call a Cushite or Arabian woman; which in aftertimes



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were accounted a vile people, as appears from Amos ix. 7. For that country was inhabited by divers nations, mingled together, *viz.* Ishmaelites, Midianites, Amalekites, and such-like: who, from thence, some think, were called by the general name of Arabians; because of their mixture. For *Ereb*, in Hebrew, signifies a *miscellaneous company*, or *mixture of many people:* see Jeremiah xxv. 20. 24. where he calls this very people by this name.

Ver. 2. *And they said, Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses?*] Here it appears that it was really Moses with whom they were offended; who alone had called what men he thought good to be presented unto God, to be constituted by him his assistants in the government, (chap. xi. 24.)

*Hath he not also spoken by us?*] Are not we also acquainted with God's mind, being prophets? For so Aaron was made, (Exod. iv. 14, 15.) and Miriam so acknowledged, (Exod. xv. 20.) And moreover the prophet Micah (chap. vi. 4.) mentions them as conductors of the people, while they were in the wilderness, together with Moses. Which might make them stomach it, that he took no notice of them when he chose the seventy elders, who were to be his coadjutors, but did it of himself.

*And the Lord heard it.*] Observed their ill behaviour towards him; though he himself took no notice of it.

Ver. 3. *Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth.*] This is added as the reason why he passed by the affront they put upon him, and why God avenged it; because he was so exceeding meek and patient (or, as others translate it, so humble and lowly), that he would have been exposed to further affronts, if God had not chastised their insolence. Moses also might think fit to set this down, as a confutation of their charge against him; being so far from that pride which they imputed to him, that he did not resent (though he was so very much above them) their undutiful behaviour towards him; who had conversed immediately with God himself, and been with him in the holy mount many days together; who sent several commands to Aaron, as well as to the people by him alone: which made such a difference between him and all others, that, as it was an unaccountable arrogance in them to equal themselves unto him, so he demonstrated how far he was from being proud of his superiority, by meekly bearing their haughty behaviour towards him.

So little cause there is for their cavils, who from hence argue that Moses was not the author of these books, because he commends himself in them: for this is not so much a commendation, as a necessary account of himself, to shew how causeless their charge against him was. To such vindications of themselves the humblest souls may be constrained, by the calumnies of wicked men: as we see not only in St. Paul, but our blessed Saviour, who were put upon glorying and magnifying themselves by the malignity of their enemies. (See John x. 36. 2 Cor. xi. 10. 23, &c.) And this is the more allowable, when men know, not only that they write the truth, but that it is notorious to all that are acquainted with them, and cannot be contradicted. The holy writers also are not to be confined to our rules, being moved by the Holy Ghost to set down such things, which, if they had been left to themselves, they would not have mentioned. And men, who have a due reverence to the Holy Scriptures, will look upon this rather as the Holy Ghost's testimony concerning Moses, than Moses's testimony concerning himself. But we have to do now with a generation of men that write upon these books, not as of a Divine original, but as they do upon common authors.

Ver. 4. *And the Lord spake suddenly unto Moses.*] The Lord thought fit immediately to stifle their insurrection; which might have proved dangerous if it had spread among the people. And perhaps the word *suddenly* may relate to the manner of his calling to them with a quick and hasty speech, as one provoked and highly displeased.

*And unto Aaron, and unto Miriam.*] It is uncertain whether God spake to these two by himself or by Moses. It is likely he spake to them all together (while Aaron and Miriam were expostulating with Moses), with such a voice as he was wont to use when he communicated his mind to the prophets.

*Come out ye three.*] It is likely they were all in Moses's tent, whither his brother and sister were come to utter their complaint.

*Unto the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Which was God's tent, wherein he dwelt among them, and from whence he declared his will to them.

*And they came out.*] To attend the pleasure of the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 5. *And the Lord came down in the pillar of the cloud.*] The pillar of the cloud, which was wont to be over the most holy place, where the Lord dwelt, came down from thence, and the Schechinah in it; and stood, as it here follows, at the door of the tabernacle.

*And stood in the door of the tabernacle.*] As if it would leave them; as it did, ver. 9.

*And called Aaron and Miriam.*] Who were at some distance, I suppose; and are commanded to come nearer.

*And they came forth.*] From the place where they were when he called them; or from Moses, with whom they came from his tent, and are now required to stand by themselves.

Ver. 6. *And he said, Hear now my words.*] Mark what I say to you.

*If there be a prophet among you.*] This doth not make a doubt of it, but supposes that they, and others among the people, were prophets; as they alleged, (ver. 2.) But God would have them to understand, that he did not communicate his mind to all alike, nor in the same way and manner; but so differently, as to make a remarkable distinction between Moses and others.

Whether there were, in those days, men brought up and trained to be made fit to receive this gift bestowed upon them, we do not know: but, in aftertimes, it is evident there were certain colleges of prophets, wherein disciples of prophets were bred. Such was that, 1 Sam. x. 5. and xix. 18, &c. where the *sons of the prophets, i. e.* their scholars or disciples (as Jonathan always translates that phrase), were brought up: and, for the most part, such only were endued with this gift, who were so educated in those schools, in the study of the law and in piety. Though God did not tie himself to dispense it to such persons alone, but bestowed it upon whom he pleased, though they had spent no time in those schools of the prophets. This is apparent, from that proverbial speech, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1 Sam. x. 11. and xix. 24.) This

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had been no wonder (as this saying imports), if it had been usual for persons to be endowed with this gift on a sudden, who were never bred up in such a course as led to it. But to shew how this came to pass, *one of that place answered and said,* (as it there follows, ver. 12.) *But who is their father?* that is, this is no such wonder, if it be considered who makes men prophets, *viz.* God, who is the father of all the children of the prophets, and therefore may inspire whom he pleases: as he now might have imparted this gift to meaner persons than the seventy elders presented to him by Moses; and made them equal, if he had thought fit, with Aaron and Miriam. For this was the case of Amos, in after-ages; who was *no prophet, nor a prophet's son* (as he himself relates, chap. vii. 14.) *but a herdsman;* and yet *the Lord took him as he followed the flock, and bade him go and prophesy unto his people Israel.*

*I the Lord.*] Here is the original of prophecy; *will make myself known unto him,* communicate to him my mind and will.

*In a vision.*] This was one way of discovering his mind to the prophets; by representing things to them, when they were awake, as if they had perceived them by their senses; which at that time were locked up, and all transacted by a Divine operation upon their mind and imagination: (see Gen. xv. 1. and Dan. viii. 1. 15.) Abarbinel mentions one, who observes, that the word *marah* (the plural of which, *maroth,* signifies *looking-glasses,* in Exod. xxxviii. 8.) is a different word from *mareh,* which is commonly used for *vision;* and teaches us, that all the representations made in this way to the prophets, were only as the images of things represented in a glass; in which we behold the outward shape, or shadow, as we may call it, but not the thing itself. And so St. Paul seems to have understood this word (if he alludes to this place, as Grotius thinks he doth), when he saith, *Now we see,* δι ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, *through a glass darkly,* (1 Cor. xiii. 12.)

*And I will speak unto him in a dream.*] This was another way of God's revealing his mind unto the prophets, in their sleep; when they not only saw things represented to them, but also heard a voice. And both these seem sometimes to have been mixed together, or to have followed one another; as in Gen. xvi. 12. Dan. vii. 1. and viii. 16—18. And it is a maxim among the Jews, that there is no degree of prophecy, but it is comprehended under one of these, *visions* or *dreams.* So Maimonides, in his More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 32. and 41. and again, cap. 43. where he saith, "There is no third degree of prophecy besides these two." For as for that Divine Spirit, which moved men to speak of things appertaining to the knowledge of God and his praises, beyond their natural or acquired abilities, without seeing any figures, asleep or awake, though with assurance that it was from God, they will not have it called prophecy; though they acknowledge those parts of Scripture which they call *Cetuvim,* and the LXX. ἁγιόγραφα, *i. e. written by the Holy Ghost,* were indited by that Divine Spirit; and therefore we cannot reasonably deny those that were inspired by it the name of prophets.

Ver. 7. *My servant Moses is not so.*] Doth not receive my mind in either of those ways; and therefore is more than a prophet, having it communicated to him in a far more noble and clearer manner, which placed him in a higher rank than any other inspired person.

*Who is faithful in all my house.*] Because he was entrusted (so the word may be understood) with God's whole family; that is, with all the children of Israel, and faithfully discharged the trust reposed in him, by acquainting them with all God's will, and executing all his commands; and doing nothing of himself (as now he was falsely accused), but only what God required. This is a high testimony to him; and the Jews, when they are in the humour of exalting Moses, say he was *more faithful than the angels of the ministry:* they are the words of R. Jose in Siphri; and if he had said, *as faithful as the angels of the ministry,* it might have passed for a good explication.

Ver. 8. *With him will I speak, mouth to mouth.*] In a most familiar manner, as one friend discourses with another. So it is explained, Exod. xxxiii. 11. From whence Abarbinel, in his Rosch Amana, gathers, that Moses's prophecy differed from others in these four things: first, that God spake to others by a mediator (that is, as he explains it, by some angel), but to him by himself, without the intervention of any other. Secondly, that they never prophesied, but their senses were all bound up, either in visions or in dreams; whereas he was as perfectly awake, as we are when we discourse one with another. Thirdly, that after the vision was over, they were often left so weak and feeble, that they could scarce stand upon their feet; as appears from Dan. x. 8. 11. but Moses spake with the Divine Majesty, without any consternation or alteration; his conversation with him being like that of one friend with another. And lastly, no prophet but he could understand the mind of God when they pleased; for he communicated himself to them only when he thought good; whereas Moses might at any time resort to God, to inquire of him, and receive an answer: (see chap. ix. 8.) To the same purpose also Maimonides writes, in his book De Fundamentis Legis, (cap. vii.)

*Even apparently.*] Plainly, clearly, and distinctly; so that there was no difficulty to apprehend his meaning, nor need of an explication. Thus he proclaimed his name to Moses, Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.

*And not in dark speeches.*] Or, in parables and enigmatical representations, such as the *ladder* which Jacob saw in a dream, the *boiling-pot* which was shewn to Jeremiah, the *wall,* the *plumb-line,* and the *basket of summer-fruits* which Amos saw; the *beasts* which were represented to Daniel, the *lamps, mountains, horses,* and *chariots* to Zachariah, the roll of the book which Ezekiel was to eat. By all which the prophet (as Maimonides observes, whose illustrations these are of these words) was given to understand some other thing, which was intended to be made known to him by these figures; (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 43.) who, in his book concerning the Foundations of the Law, further observes, that some of these prophets had both the parable (as he calls it) and its interpretation represented to them: others, the parable only without any exposition; and to some was only delivered the explication.

*And the similitude of the Lord shall he behold.*] I am apt to think the word *not* should be here again repeated, (as it must be in some places to make out the sense, as Prov. xxv. 27.) which will make the meaning plainly this, *he shall not behold the Lord in similitudes and resemblances,* as other prophets did. For the Hebrew word *temunah*

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signifies the shape of a thing represented either to the outward senses or to the imagination, not the thing itself. Therefore it would be to equal Moses with the rest of the prophets to say he should see the *similitude* of the Lord; for so did they. Amos, for instance, saith he *saw the Lord standing upon the altar,* (chap. ix. 1.) that is, some angelical appearance in a glorious shape. And Eliphaz saith, that *a spirit passed before him, the form* (or *aspect*) *whereof he could not discern;* only the *temunah* (we render it an *image*) *was before his eyes,* (Job iv. 15, 16.) But God did not thus reveal himself to Moses by images and similitudes of things, but spake to him himself, as it goes before, *mouth to mouth.* Which led Maimonides into the opinion (which he often repeats) that when God is said to speak to any other man, it was by an angel; and that he never spake to any one himself, but only to Moses. Nor did any man before him say that God *spake to him,* or that he *sent him* on a message unto others; but Moses was the first that had this honour. (More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 63. and par. ii. cap. 39.)

But if we follow our translation, which should run thus, *But the similitude of the Lord shall he behold,* it relates to that wonderful apparition of God to him in the bush, (Exod. iii. 6.) as Maimonides thinks, More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 5. where he saith, "God poured upon him as much as he could contain," but especially to that revelation which God made of himself to him, when he told him that he could not see his *face,* but should behold his *back parts,* (Exod. xxxiii. 20. 23.) which was a privilege granted to none but him. And thus *the similitude of the Lord,* or his *likeness,* signifies the Lord himself, (Psal. xvii. *ult.*) *When thy likeness shall awake* (that is, *thou thyself appear for me), I shall be satisfied.*

*Wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?*] Who is my prime minister, employed by me in the highest services.

Ver. 9. *And the anger of the Lord was kindled against them.*] As appeared by what follows.

*And he departed.*] He withdrew his presence from the door of the tabernacle, immediately before they could make an answer: which was a token of exceeding great displeasure; as it is in us when we will not so much as hear what men say for themselves, when they have highly and notoriously offended us, and we reprove them for it, but turn away from them.

Ver. 10. *And the cloud departed from off the tabernacle.*] It was not merely taken up from it (as it was wont to be when they were to remove their camp), but quite disappeared for a time; or stood at a great distance from them, till Miriam was removed from the tabernacle, and carried out of the camp: for that was one reason of its departure; the Divine Majesty not designing to stay where so impure a creature was. And this was also a manifest token of God's high displeasure against them, which moved him to forsake them.

*And behold, Miriam became leprous.*] Or, *was become leprous;* a proper punishment for pride and evil-speaking: which was not inflicted upon Aaron, because he was to judge of leprosy, and was not the first in the transgression. And besides, it is likely, God would not have one that was but newly made his high-priest become vile and contemptible.

*White as snow.*] Which was a mark of an incurable leprosy, when all the body was overspread with it, (Exod. iv. 6. 2 Kings v. 27.)

*And Aaron looked upon Miriam.*] As he was bound to do; whose office it was to inspect it, and judge whether it was a leprosy or not, (Lev. xiii. 2, &c.)

*And behold, she was leprous.*] He could not but judge her to have a leprosy, and consequently pronounce her unclean.

Ver. 11. *And Aaron said unto Moses.*] He was made sensible that Moses had greater interest in God than himself, and therefore desires his intercession for them.

*Alas! my lord.*] Have pity upon us, miserable wretches.

*I beseech thee, lay not the sin upon us.*] He supplicates him as his superior, and humbly begs his pardon; and that he would obtain remission of the punishment which they had justly deserved by their sin: for he was afraid he himself might suffer, as he saw she did.

*Wherein we have done foolishly, and wherein we have sinned.*] He prays him to look upon their offence as proceeding from folly and weakness, though in itself a great sin.

Ver. 12. *Let her not be as one dead,* &c.] For so she was not only legally, being to be separated from the living, but naturally also; this being, as I said, the worst kind of leprosy, which ate into the very flesh, and made her look like an abortive (as it here follows) or still-born child, which had lain long dead, and was half wasted away in its mother's womb.

Ver. 13. *And Moses cried unto the Lord.*] Most earnestly petitioned the Lord for her; such was his meekness and piety. And his *crying,* perhaps, supposes the Divine Majesty to be gone afar off, if not out of sight.

*Heal her now, O God, I beseech thee.*] For it was beyond any other power but his to recover her.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord said unto Moses, If her father had spit in her face.*] An expression of extreme anger, abhorrence, and contempt, (Job xxx. 10. Isa. lii. 6.)

*Should she not be ashamed seven days?*] She could not have had the confidence to come presently into his presence; but be ashamed for a great while to look him in the face.

*Let her be shut out of the camp.*] Much more is it fit that Miriam should avoid my presence, and not presume to come before me; who have set a greater mark of my indignation and detestation upon her. For spittle might soon be wiped off; but the leprosy stuck to her, and made her unfit for all conversation with God or man.

*Seven days.*] Which was the time for legal cleansing from such great impurities, (Lev. xiv. 8. Numb. vi. 9. xxxi. 19.

*And after that let her be received in again.*] I suppose she was presently freed from leprosy; but kept out from the camp so long, to declare God's displeasure against her; and to humble her, by exposing her to shame.

Ver. 15. *And Miriam was shut out of the camp seven days.*] That her offence might be known to all, by her open punishment.

*And the people journeyed not till Miriam was brought in again.*] For the cloud was gone which should have directed them in their motions. And besides, this respect, perhaps, was shewn unto her because she was a prophetess;

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and hereby she had time given her to humble herself before God, and to beg his pardon for her sin.

*Brought in again.*] When one would have expected that such sacrifices should have been offered for her cleansing, as are required in Lev. xiv. But this was an extraordinary case; she being on a sudden miraculously struck with the highest degree of the plague of leprosy, and as suddenly cured by the same hand that struck her.

Ver. 16. *And afterward the people removed.*] Which shews that the cloud, which departed from the tabernacle, (ver. 10.) returned again to it, together with Miriam, that it might guide them in their removal to another station; for till it was taken up from the tabernacle, they stirred not from the place where they were, (chap. ix. 17, 18.)

*From Hazeroth.*] After they had abode there seven days at the least.

*And pitched in the wilderness of Paran.*] Where they were before, (see chap. x. 12.) but now were brought into another part of it, called Rithmah, (chap. xxxiii. 18.) which was called also by another name, Kadesh-barnea, (chap. xiii. 26. Deut. i. 19.) Or else we must suppose these two places to have been so very near together, that they might be said to have pitched either in the one or the other. This station was at the foot of the mountain on the south part of Canaan, (Deut. i. 20.) so that their next removal was to have been into the land promised to them, if they themselves had not hindered, by their renewed rebellion. This removal was in the fourth month of the second year after they came out of the land of Egypt. (See chap. xi. 20. 35.)

## CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] They being now come to the borders of Canaan, the Lord ordered Moses to exhort them to go up, and take possession of it, and *not to fear nor be discouraged;* as we read in Deut. i. 21. But the people (out of a distrust of God's power, as Moses seems to intimate, Deut. ix. 23.) desired they might first send some to search out the land, before they attempted its conquest, (Deut. i. 22.) About which, it is likely, Moses consulted the Divine Majesty, who gave them leave so to do.

Ver. 2. *Send thou men.*] For their greater satisfaction, God ordered them to have their desire. For there seems to have been a general fear upon them (every one of them coming to Moses with this request, Deut. i. 22.) which could not be removed, but by sending some to bring them intelligence what kind of country it was, and what people they had to deal withal, (ver. 18—20.)

*That they may search the land of Canaan.*] To make a discovery, both of the country and of the inhabitants, and the best way to invade it, (Deut. i. 22.)

*Which I give unto the children of Israel.*] To the possession of which God now intended to introduce them. For he had already brought them to the confines of it, and bidden them go up and possess it, (Deut. i. 20, 21.) but they would needs make this delay, for a discovery of the condition of the country; which was their own contrivance at the first, and not a Divine counsel.

*Of every tribe of their fathers shall ye send a man.*] That there might be no suspicion or partiality in their report.

*Every one a ruler among them.*] Men of authority and prudence, who might be the more believed; yet not of the highest rank, (for such are called by the name of princes, chap. i. 16.) but rulers perhaps of thousands, who were very considerable in their tribes: for they are called by the same name in the Hebrew, every one being said to be a *nasi* and a *rosch*, a *leader* and a *head*, in their tribes; which may incline one to think, that there were higher and lower persons of this sort, who had the same title in every tribe.

Ver. 3. *And Moses, by the commandment of the Lord.*] Which was given him in the fifth month (called Ab, as St. Jerome notes from the Jews) of the second year after they came out of Egypt: it is not certain upon what day; but it is likely in the beginning of the month, which answers to the nineteenth of our July.

*Sent them from the wilderness of Paran.*] From Kadesh-barnea, (chap. xxxii. 8. Deut. i. 19, 20. ix. 23. Josh. xiv. 7.)

*All those men were heads of the children of Israel.*] So the rulers of thousands and hundreds are called, (Exod. xviii. 25.) as well as the princes, (Numb. i. 16.) But these were a lower sort of *heads*, or great men, in the several tribes of Israel.

Ver. 4. *And these were their names: Of the tribe of Reuben, Shammua the son of Zaccur.*] There is little to be observed concerning this verse, and those that follow to the sixteenth, but that it is evident these were not the same men, who, in the first chapter of this book, are called the *heads* and *princes* of the tribes; being inferior persons, who ruled over some part, not over a whole tribe. The three first tribes also that are here mentioned, sprang from the three eldest sons (for Levi did not make a tribe in Israel) of Jacob: but, in the enumeration of the rest, there is not any order observed, of which I can give an account. Perhaps they being to disperse themselves, when they entered the country they were to search, (see ver. 22.) and thinking it not prudent to go above two (at the most) in company, cast lots who should be associated: and the first lot fell to those of the tribes of Reuben and Simeon; the next to those of Judah and Issachar; and so to the rest.

Ver. 11. *Of the tribe of Joseph.*] *i. e.* Of the other branch of Joseph's family, *viz. of the tribe of Manasseh*, as it here follows.

Ver. 16. *These are the names of the men that Moses sent to spy out the land.*] He would have their names remembered (which is the reason of this remark), for the sake of those two worthy men, Caleb and Joshua, whose virtue was very illustrious in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation.

*And Moses called Oshea, the son of Nun.*] So he is called, ver. 8. being named for the tribe of Ephraim.

*Jehoshua.*] He was called by this name presently after they came out of Egypt, (Exod. xvii. 9.) when he went to fight with Amalek: whom he having overcome, Moses looked upon it as a token that he should save and deliver the people of Israel, and then called him by this name: which imports something more than Oshea; for that denotes only *a prayer* for salvation (as Menochius observes), but this carries in it *a promise* of it. And some think the addition of the first letter in the name of Jehoshua was from the name Jehovah; implying that the Lord would

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employ him in leading and conducting his people into the land of promise: wherein he was a type of the Saviour of the world, the Lord Jesus (whose name is the same with this), who conducts those that believe on him to a heavenly inheritance.

If I could find the like comfortable signification in the rest of the names of these men, I should think there might be some ground for their opinion, who fancy Moses chose Joshua because there was a good omen in his very name. For all nations took great care that no man should be employed in affairs of moment, whose name carried any unlucky signification in it. So Cicero observes, in his first book of Divination, that the generals of armies, and the censors, took care that none should so much as lead the sacrifices to the altar but who were *bonis nominibus, of names that signified good:* of which the consuls also were very observant, *ut primus miles fiat bono nomine, that the first soldier whom they listed should be of a good name;* such as Valerius, Salvius, Statorius, or the like. On the contrary, the name of Nævius was deemed so bad, that in his oration pro Quinct. Sext. he saith, *having named the man, methinks I have said enough.*

Ver. 17. *And Moses sent them to spy out the land, and said unto them.*] That is, when he sent them to spy out the land (as was said in the foregoing verse), he gave them the following directions.

*Get ye up this way southward.*] This south part of Canaan fell afterward to be part of the lot of the tribe of Judah, (Josh. xv. 1—3.) and was very dry, and consequently barren, (Judg. i. 15.) and, therefore, fittest for their entrance to spy out the land unobserved, being less inhabited than the better parts of the country. Besides, it was nearest to the place where they now were encamped.

*And go up into the mountain.*] Where the Amorites dwelt, (Deut. i. 19.) together with some Amalekites, and other people, (chap. xiv. 43. 45.) From whence they were to go down into the valleys.

Ver. 18. *And see the land what it is, and the people that dwell therein.*] These are the general directions which he gave them, to inform themselves both of the country and of its inhabitants.

*Whether they be strong or weak, few or many.*] In particular, with respect to the latter, he directs them to inform themselves whether the inhabitants were strong-bodied or feeble; and whether their number was great or small.

Ver. 19. *And what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be good or bad.*] And, with respect to the former, he would have them bring an account; first, what sort of country it was, whether healthful and delightful, or unwholesome and unpleasant.

*And what cities they be, that they dwell in.*] And then how large their cities were, and of what strength.

*Whether in tents, or in strong holds.*] Whether they lived in tents, as the Arabians did (and the Israelites while they were in the wilderness), or in houses; and whether they were fortified. Or rather (as we would say in our language), whether in *open villages or in walled cities:* for so the word *mahanaim* signifies, not *tents* (as we here translate it), but *hosts* or *camps*, (Gen. xxxii. 1.) and here *towns* without walls, as the LXX. interpret it; and the Vulgar, also, only inverting the order of the words, *whether in walled towns, or without walls.*

Ver. 20. *And what the land is,* &c.] And last of all, what is the soil of the country; whether rich and fertile, or poor and barren; and also, whether it be a woody country, or otherwise.

*And be ye of good courage, and bring of the fruit of the land.*] In which discoveries, there being some hazard, he bids them be confident God would preserve them; so that they might venture to bring away with them some of the fruit which the country produced.

*Now the time was the time of the first ripe grapes.*] Towards the vintage.

Ver. 21. *So they went up, and searched the land, from the wilderness of Zin.*] Which was on the south of the land of Canaan, (chap. xxxiv. 3. Josh. xv. 1. 3.) being different from the wilderness of Sin, which lay near to Egypt, (Exod. xvi. 1.)

*Unto Rehob, as men come to Hamath.*] The city of Rehob lay in the north of the land of Canaan, and fell to the lot of the tribe of Asher, (Josh. xix. 28.) And it lay not far from Hamath (which, in aftertimes, was called Epiphania), a city which we very often read of afterward, as the bounds of Judea northward; which Moses saith was *unto the entrance of Hamath,* (chap. xxxiv. 8.) So that they took a survey of the whole country, from one end of it to the other, south and north; and also, as they passed along, observed those parts that lay east and west. For they gave an account of the Canaanites, as dwelling *by the sea* (which was westward), *and by the coast of Jordan,* which was on the east, (ver. 29.) Or, if by *the sea* we understand not the Western Ocean, but the Dead Sea (as some do); yet it appears by these very words, that they bent their course, as they passed from south to north, unto the western and eastern parts also. For Rehob and Hamath both lay at the foot of Libanus; one to the north-west (towards Sidon), and the other to the north-east.

Ver. 22. *And they ascended by the south.*] In their return from searching the country.

*And came unto Hebron.*] That is, some of them. For the word in the Hebrew is not *they came* (as it is *they ascended*), but *he came;* which demonstrates that they did not go all of them together in a company (for that had been dangerous, and might have made them taken notice of), but dispersed themselves; some going to discover one place, some another. And it is a probable conjecture of some of the Hebrew doctors, that Caleb was the man that went to take a view of Hebron; and was so little affrighted at the sight of the giants there, that he was the very person that afterward drove them out; and had this place given him for his portion: for it was in the south part of the lot of the tribe of Judah; being formerly called Kirjath-Arba, (Josh. xiv. 9. 12. 14.)

*Where Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak were.*] These were the grandchildren of Arba (from whom Hebron had the name of Kirjath-Arba, *i. e.* the city of Arba), who was the father of Anak, whose family was more eminent than any other in Canaan; these three sons of his being men not only of great bulk, but prowess and valour. Bochartus thinks (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 1.) that Anak signifies as much as the Roman name Torquatus; being like to that Gaul whom Manlius vanquished. And Ahiman signifies as much as, *who is my brother?* importing there was none to be compared with him. Sheshai he takes to be

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as much as Sixtius, *viz.* six cubits high, as Goliath was. And Talmai he derives from *talam, furrow:* as if he seemed in length to equal a furrow in the field. These were the people that made the Israelites tremble; for it is likely their whole family was of a very large stature, though not so big as these. And, indeed, they were so very terrible to all their neighbours, that it became a proverbial saying in those countries, *Who can stand before the children of Anak?* (Deut. ix. 2.)

*Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt.*] The Egyptians boasted of the great antiquity of their nation and cities: but Moses shews that Hebron was built before the capital city of their country: for so Zoan was; and called in after-ages Tanis; lying not far from that mouth of the river Nile, which from thence was called by Plutarch τανιτικὸν στόμα. R. Solomon will have it that Hebron was built by Cham, one of the three sons of Noah, and the father of Mizraim; from whom the Egyptians descended. But of this there is no certainty; and the Gemara upon Sota (cap. 7.) saith, It is not likely that a man would build a house for his younger son, before he had built one for his elder; for Canaan was the youngest of all the sons of Cham, (Gen. x. 6.) Yet those doctors are willing to suppose that Cham built both these cities; and therefore interpret the word *banah,* which is rightly translated *built,* as if it signified *fruitful,* (according to Gen. xvi. 2.) and make the sense to be, that *Hebron was seven times more fruitful than Zoan:* which is very foolish; as, upon other accounts, so on this, that Hebron was a stony place, and therefore not fertile.

Ver. 23. *And they came unto the brook Eshcol.*] A place which lay in a valley at the foot of the mountain, (Deut. i. 24.)

*And cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes.*] This was done, no doubt, in some private place, upon the southern borders of Canaan; just as they were returning to the camp of Israel again. For it would have given the country too great an alarm, if they had marched in the highway with this bunch upon their shoulders.

*And they bare it between two.*] A great many authors mention vines and grapes of an extraordinary bigness in those eastern and southern countries. I need only refer to Strabo, who says, the vines in Margiana, and other places, were so big, that two men could scarce compass them with their arms, and that they produced βότρυν δίπηχυν, *a bunch of grapes of two cubits,* (lib. ii. Geograph. p. 73. and lib. xi. p. 516.) Which is in part justified by Olearius, in his late travels into Persia, book iii. where he saith, not far from Astracan, he saw vines, whose trunks were so thick, that a man could do no more than grasp them about with both his arms. And Forsterus, in his Dictionarium Hebraicum, p. 862. saith, there was a preacher at Nuremberg called Achaicus, who lived as a monk eight years in the holy land (as they call it), who told him upon his sick-bed, that in his time there were clusters of grapes at Hebron of such bigness, that one single kernel was sufficient to quench his thirst a whole day, when he was sick there of a tympany. J. Conradus Dieterius hath collected a great deal more to this purpose out of Leo Africanus and Nic. Radzivillius, and other authors, in his Antiq. Biblicæ, p. 249. And since him the most learned Huetius, in his Quæstiones Alnetanæ, lib. ii. cap. 12. n. 24. where, among other things, he observes, that Crete, Chios, and other islands in the Archipelago, afford bunches of grapes of ten pound weight, sometimes of thirty-six, yea, of forty. And he mentions grapes of a prodigious bigness in the island of Madeira.

*Upon a staff.*] See chap. iv. 10.

*And they brought of the pomegranates and figs.*] Which grew in the parts nearest to the place where the Israelites were encamped.

Ver. 24. *The place was called the brook Eshcol, because of the cluster of grapes which the children of Israel cut down from thence.*] That is, when the Israelites got possession of the land, they called this *brook* (or *valley*) by the name of *Eshcol,* in memory of this bunch of grapes, for so *Eshcol* signifies.

Ver. 25. *And they returned from searching of the land.*] Came back to the camp of Israel.

*After forty days.*] This shews that they did not take a cursory view of the country; but took time enough to make their observations. And the ripe fruit which they brought with them, after they had been *forty* days from the camp, demonstrates that their return was in the latter end of the sixth month, very near to the seventh; that is, in the end of the year, according to the old style of that nation. For on the fifteenth day of the seventh month God ordered the feast of tabernacles to be celebrated; a little before which they gathered both their harvest and their vintage, (Exod. xxiii. 16. Lev. xxiii. 39. Deut. xvi. 13.)

Ver. 26. *And they went and came to Moses, and to Aaron,* &c.] They went up the mountain from Eshcol; and came down on the other side of it, to Moses and Aaron, and all the congregation, (Deut. i. 24, 25.)

*Unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh.*] Unto the place from whence they were sent; which was Kadesh-barnea, (see ver. 3. and Deut. ix. 23.) which is here in short called Kadesh; but is quite different from that Kadesh we read of afterward, (chap. xxi. 1.) For that was in the wilderness of Sin; and they did not come to it till the fortieth year after they came out of Egypt, (chap. xxxiii. 37, 38.) whereas they were at this Kadesh in the second year; before they were doomed to wander forty years in the wilderness.

*And brought back word unto them, and unto all the congregation.*] Gave a public account before Moses and Aaron of what they had discovered.

*And shewed them the fruit of the land.*] And at the same time presented to them the cluster of grapes, the pomegranates, and figs, which they had brought with them.

Ver. 27. *And they told him, and said.*] They address their relation to Moses; because he sent them, (ver. 2.)

*We came unto the land whither thou sentest us.*] I suppose they chose some of their number to speak in the name of the rest: and, first, they give an account of the land, as he required, (ver. 19, 20.)

*And surely it floweth with milk and honey.*] Their report of the condition of the land was as honest as could be desired; for they testify it to be such as God promised to bestow upon them, (Exod. xxxiii. 3.)

*And this is the fruit of it.*] They prove what they say by a sample of the product of it: which was so large, that some of the Jews fancy there were eight men employed to carry this one cluster, as they say in the Gemara Sotæ, cap. 7. Of which the spies made this wicked use, as from thence to tell their brethren, "You see this goodly fruit, how vast it is: but believe us, the inhabitants of the country exceed



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us, and all other men in stature, as much as this fruit exceeds all other of the same kind, throughout the world." So Wagenseil explains the sense of their discourse in that place, sect. 4.

Ver. 28. *Nevertheless the people be strong that dwell in the land; and the cities are walled, and very great.*] This is an account of the other part of the inquiry Moses commanded them to make, concerning the inhabitants and their cities, (ver. 18.)

*And moreover we saw the children of the Anakims there.*] See ver. 22. All this was true; but spoken in such a manner, as to represent the conquest of the country exceeding difficult, if not impossible. So they explain their meaning in downright words, (ver. 31.) and so the people understood them, Deut. i. 28. where these frightful people are called *the sons of the Anakims:* for they saw, not only those three mentioned before, (ver. 22.) but others also that were descended from them; who, as I there noted, were gigantic persons. So the LXX. translate these words *υἱοὶ γιγάντων*, and so the Chaldee; and so the Jews use the word *Anakim*, to signify *giants;* particularly Benjamin Tudelensis, p. 3. of his Itinerary: where L'Empereur thinks it probable they were called *Anakims*, "à torque quo colla superbe cingebant," *from a collar or chain, which they proudly wore about their necks:* for the word *Anak* properly signifies *collum torque cingere*, (p. 136.) *to wreath a chain about the neck.* But it is evident they had their name from their progenitor, Anak, the son of Arba: whence he was so called we do not know.

Ver. 29. *The Amalekites dwell in the land of the south.*] They do not represent the Amalekites as inhabitants of the land of Canaan; but they observe that they lay on the *south* border of it: where, if they went about to enter, in all probability, that nation (which were their early enemies when they came out of Egypt) would help to oppose them in their attempt, as much as the people of Canaan. For that is their intention, in the following report, to shew what a stout people they must encounter, which way soever they endeavoured to enter into Canaan.

*And the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites.*] An account of all these see Gen. xv. 20, 21.

*Dwell in the mountains.*] Which were in the entrance of the land of Canaan, on the south-east part of it. Particularly the Amorites, it is evident, were planted there, upon the mountains of the borders of Canaan, (Deut. i. 27. 44.) And many of them had made an expedition into the country beyond Jordan, where they had possessed themselves of Bashan and Heshbon, and all the land between the rivers Jabbok and Arnon. For they were a very warlike people, and of great stature, (Amos ii. 9.) which made these searchers of their land afraid of them; and bid their brethren consider whether they thought they should be able to dispute their passage with them: which they plainly suggest, in their opinion, they could not. For the Jebusites were another mighty people, whom, after the conquest of Canaan, they could not of a long time dispossess of Mount Sion. I need not say how terrible the Hittites were; for it is probable from thence came the word *hittha*, which signifies a fright and sudden consternation; as Bochartus hath observed in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 36.

*And the Canaanites.*] Those who were particularly called by this name: see Gen. xv. 21.

*Dwell by the sea.*] It is certain that the Canaanites dwelt by the ocean, called the Midland Sea; for they seem to have had their names from merchandizing; for which that situation was most proper; and for that reason others of them were seated near Jordan. This, I think, is plain from Deut. i. 7. And, besides, the word *sea* alone commonly signifies that great ocean. But, it being plain that they were also seated, as it here follows, upon the river Jordan, it is possible that by *sea* may be meant, in this place, the Dead Sea, or the Lake of Genesareth, or both of them; because they were near Jordan, which ran into them.

*And by the coast of Jordan.*] Where the Canaanites were also seated, as is evident from Deut. xi. 30. For there were both western and eastern Canaanites, as appears from Josh. xi. 3. and they are frequently joined with the Perizzites, (particularly Judg. i. 4.) who were a fierce sort of rough people, that dwelt in the woody part of the mountains. So that the intention of the men, who made this report, was, to represent to the people, that whether they invaded the land by the *southern* parts, or the *eastern*, they would find *both* strongly guarded by a mighty people, much superior to them in force: which account, the following verse shews, put the people into a tumult.

Ver. 30. *And Caleb stilled the people.*] It is plain by this, that the people understood, by their way of speaking, countenances, and gestures, that the meaning of these men who made this report (which was not false in itself) was, that, though the country indeed was very rich and desirable, yet it was impossible for them to drive the inhabitants out of it: which put them into a mutinous disposition, as Caleb perceived by their looks and their muttering; and therefore stepped forth, before it brake out, to quiet their spirits with his account of the country and inhabitants, in which Joshua, no question, joined with him. It is not indeed here mentioned, because Caleb, perhaps, stood next to those who began to make a commotion, and therefore spake first: but he was seconded by Joshua, we may be sure; because we find him mentioned in the next chapter, and, in the first place, together with Caleb, as endeavouring to appease the tumult. And he is not only exempted from the punishment inflicted upon the people for their rebellion, (chap. xiv. 30. 38.) but is expressly said to have *followed the Lord fully*, as well as Caleb, (chap. xxxii. 12.)

*Before Moses.*] The Hebrew phrase *el moscheh* may signify that he stilled them, as they were coming towards Moses in a seditious manner; or quieted them so far as to make them hearken to Moses; or, as we render it, in his presence, when they were ready to fly in his face. One of the doctors in the Gemara beforementioned, (cap. 9.) saith, that Joshua being about to speak, they bitterly reproached him, and would not suffer him to proceed: and therefore Caleb thought good to give them a great many blandishing words, and to call Moses *this son of Amram*, which looked like contempt of him; whereby he stilled them, and disposed them to listen to him. And then he said, "Is not he the person that brought us out of Egypt; that divided the Red Sea for us to pass through it; that gave us manna from heaven? What if he should bid us make ladders and climb up into the skies, should we not obey him?"

*And said, Let us go up at once.*] Or, go up immediately, without a stop.

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*And possess it.*] He speaks as if it were already their own (as indeed it was, by God's gift), and they needed only enter and take possession of it.

*For we are able to overcome it.*] There will be no such difficulty, as these men represent, in the conquest of it.

Ver. 31. *But the men that went up with him.*] The rest of the company that went to search the land; who if they had not persisted in their unbelief, the people perhaps might have been perfectly appeased by Caleb and Joshua.

*Said, We be not able.*] Now they open their minds more plainly, in their reply to Caleb, whom they oppose directly; and declare their opinion downright, that they were not an equal match for their enemies.

*To go up against the people.*] To beat them out of the mountains which they inhabited.

*For they are stronger than we.*] These men had no confidence in the promise and power of God, on which Caleb and Joshua relied; but measured all things by human strength.

Ver. 32. *And they brought up an evil report of the land which they had searched unto the children of Israel.*] In the heat of their opposition, they now disparage the country which they had before praised, (ver. 27.) and also stretch their report of the inhabitants beyond the truth.

*Saying, The land, through which we have gone to search, is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof.*] Unless we suppose that there was a great plague at this time in the country, as the Hebrews do (who love to excuse their forefathers' sins), this was a gross lie. But take it as they suppose, yet this was a very malignant report. For if they saw the people of the country every where, as they passed along, carrying their neighbours to their graves (as the Jews tell the tale), this, which they should have ascribed to the providence of God, who sent this mortality, that they might have fewer enemies to oppose them, and that these spies might pass more freely, and less observed, they most wickedly ascribe to the badness of the air: which being very unhealthful to the natives, might well be thought would be much more so to strangers. Thus bad minds (as the aforesaid Gemara glosses well enough upon this story) turn that which God intends for their benefit into their hurt. And if we had any better authority for this story, the word *achal* (which we translate *eat up*) would well enough agree with it. For, as Maimonides observes, in the first part of his More Nevoch. (cap. 30.) it is used in the Holy Scriptures concerning any kind of consumption, destruction, or desolation: as here in this book, chap. xi. 1. Lev. xxvi. 38. 2 Sam. ii. 26, &c.

*And all the people that we saw in it were men of great stature.*] The Hebrew phrase is, *men of measures*, ἄνδρες ὑπερμήκεις, as the LXX. translate it, *men of larger size than the rest of mankind.* Which we have no reason to think was true: but having seen the sons of Anak in one part of the country, they imagined all the rest of the people to be near unto their stature. For this is the description of that giant of Gath, mentioned 1 Chron. xx. 6. where he is called *a man of measure*; and 2 Sam. xxi. 20. where he is called in the plural number (as they are here), *a man of measures*, ἀνὴρ ὑπερμεγέθης, *a man above the common bigness.* And thus very great houses are called *houses of measure*, (Jerem. xxii. 24.)

Ver. 33. *And there we saw giants.*] Men of greater bulk and strength than the biggest of those very great men, (see Gen. vi. 4.) which they spake of in the foregoing words.

*The sons of Anak.*] They had mentioned this once before, (ver. 28.) and now repeat it again; because they were struck with such a terror at the sight of them, that they were always at their tongue's end. Just as Homer mentions, Τρῶάς τε καὶ Ἕκτορα, as Bochartus makes the comparison, (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 1.)

*Which came of the giants.*] Who were descended from a gigantic race of men; particularly from Arba, who was their grandfather, as Joshua tells us, chap. xiv. 15. xv. 13, 14, &c. where he shews how Caleb drove these Anakims out of their cities, and made them fly to the Philistines; where there were some remainders of them till the days of David. And others of them, perhaps, fled into Greece; for there was a race of men among the Greeks called Ἀνακες; who Vossius thinks it probable might descend from these children of Anak, (lib. i. de Orig. et Progressu Idolol. cap. 13.)

*And we were in our own sight as grasshoppers.*] Their fear magnified them above measure; though, no doubt, they were men of such an extraordinary height, that they might look upon themselves to be as small and contemptible, as grasshoppers are compared with us. And such very tall men there are still in some parts of the world, as Job Ludolphus observes, in his Commentary upon his Histor. Ethiopica, lib. i. cap. 2. n. 22.

*And so we were in their sight.*] One of the Jewish doctors makes bold to call these men liars: for, though their fear might make them appear as grasshoppers, yet how could they tell, saith he, that they were so in the sight of the children of Anak? Here the Gemarists (in the place I mentioned above, cap. 10.) endeavour to help them out, by continuing the tale of the great mortality which was then in those countries. Where a funeral-feast (as the manner was) being one day made under certain cedar-trees, which are very shady; the spies got up to the top of them, to hide themselves among the thick boughs: but the people below happening to look up, the spies heard them say, There are men got up into the trees, who look like grasshoppers. But there needs no such inventions to defend them, when an hyperbole will do it: their plain meaning being this, that the Anakims looked down upon them with the utmost contempt.

By all which it appears, that they had not only a sight of the Anakims, but the Anakims also saw them, and looked upon them, it is likely, as they did upon other travellers; who were wont to come thither, either for their pleasure, or to traffic in their country; or in their way to other places: whom it was not their custom to examine strictly, whence they came, and what their business was; but let pass to and fro among them freely.

## CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 1. *AND all the congregation.*] By *all the congregation* may be here meant, all the great men (for so the phrase sometimes signifies), except Caleb and Joshua, and, perhaps, some few others.

*Lifted up their voice, and cried.*] Shrieked, and made loud lamentations.

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*And the people wept.*] Which put all the people into tears.

*That night.*] Which followed after the report made by the spies.

Ver. 2. *And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses, and against Aaron.*] As they had frequently done before; but now in a more tumultuous manner.

*And the whole congregation said unto them.*] The great men spake in the name of the whole body of the people.

*Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt!*] In a fit of fury and despair, they quite forgot how miraculously God had brought them from thence; and consequently could as easily bring them into Canaan.

*Or, would God that we had died in this wilderness!*] When several of their brethren were burnt, and smote with a very great plague, in this very wilderness of Paran, (chap. xi. 1. 33.)

Ver. 3. *Wherefore hath the Lord brought us into this land.*] Having vented their passion against God's ministers, they most undutifully accuse him, as if he had dealt deceitfully with them.

*To fall by the sword.*] Of the children of Anak, who they fancied were irresistible.

*That our wives and children should be a prey.*] To the people of Canaan, after all the men of Israel were killed.

*Were it not better for us to return into Egypt?*] Their rage deprived them of the use of their reason.

Ver. 4. *And they said one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.*] They knew that Moses would not conduct them thither; and therefore they thought of choosing another leader. But, though they might in a raging fit speak of returning to Egypt, yet it is an amazing thing that they should continue in this madness, and deliberate about it; nay, actually appoint them a captain, as Nehemiah saith they did, chap. ix. 17. For how could they get thither without food? which they could not expect God would send them from heaven, when they had forsaken him. Or how could they hope to find their way, when his cloud, which directed them, was withdrawn from them? Or hope to deal with those that might oppose their passage, if they hit upon the right way? And after all, if they came into Egypt, what entertainment could they look for there, among a people, whose king, and princes, and first-born, had lately perished on their account? Nothing can be said in answer to these things, but that outrageous discontent will not suffer men to consider any thing, but that which grieves them; and that foul ingratitude and forgetfulness of God's benefits, throws them into such discontents.

Ver. 5. *And Moses and Aaron fell on their faces.*] To deprecate God's displeasure; which lately arose against them, upon a less occasion than this, (chap. xi. 33.) and they might justly fear would now destroy them all, for their incurable infidelity; as Josephus explains it.

*Before all the assembly of the congregation of the children of Israel.*] Some fancy, that their falling down *before them*, was to beseech them to desist from their murmuring; and to trust in God, who would go before them, and fight for them; as he saith he told them, Deut. i. 29, 30. But *falling on their faces* being the posture of the most humble supplicants to God, and not to men, (as all understand it in other places, particularly chap. xvi. 4. xx. 6.) their falling down *before the assembly* signifies no more, but that in their presence Moses and Aaron humbled themselves deeply before the Divine Majesty; and prayed to him with the greatest earnestness to forgive them, and to bestow a better mind upon them. Which they did in their presence, to awaken them to consider the danger they were in by their heinous sin; that they themselves might cry to him for mercy. For the usual posture of prayer in that nation was *standing;* but in very great distress, and anxiety of mind, when they were exceeding solicitous to obtain their petition, they *kneeled* down, and sometimes *fell on their faces;* which was still a sign of greater ardour and concernment, as appears from our blessed Saviour, (Matt. xxvi. 39. Luke xxii. 41.)

Ver. 6. *And Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, which were of them that searched the land, rent their clothes.*] As the manner was, on any sad and doleful occasion; especially when they heard any man blaspheme the Divine Majesty; in detestation of the impiety, and to declare their sorrow, and indignation, and dread of God's judgments; as appears from Jerem. xxxvi. 24. where the stupidity of Jehoiachim and his servants is represented by this, that when they heard the words which the prophet declared in God's name against Judah, *they were not afraid, nor rent their garments.*

Ver. 7. *And they spake unto all the company of the children of Israel, saying.*] This shewed great courage, that they durst declare their opinion, contrary to the sense of so great a multitude.

*The land which we passed through to search it is an exceeding good land.*] This is opposed to what their fellows had said, that it was a land *which ate up its inhabitants,* (chap. xiii. 32.) Quite contrary they assure them it was *very, very good,* as the words are in the Hebrew; and so expressed by the Chaldee, and the LXX. *exceeding, exceeding good:* that is, every way desirable; for thus the Hebrews express the superlative degree.

Ver. 8. *If the Lord delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it us.*] If we do not forfeit his favour, he will make us so happy, as to drive out the Canaanites, and settle us in the possession of this land.

*A land which floweth with milk and honey.*] As their companions themselves had confessed, (chap. xiii. 37.)

Ver. 9. *Only rebel ye not against the Lord.*] By slighting his goodness, by murmuring, and discontented speeches, and talking of going back to Egypt, (ver. 2—4.)

*Neither fear ye the people of the land.*] This is opposed to what the rest of the spies had said, concerning the mighty power and strength of the inhabitants of Canaan, (chap. xiii. 28, 29. 31, &c.)

*For they are bread for us.*] We shall as easily vanquish them as we eat our meat.

*Their defence is departed from them.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *their shadow;* whereby men being defended from heat in those countries, it signifies the protection which God gives men from those things that might hurt them: which Divine protection, they tell the people, was now withdrawn from the Canaanites, who had filled up the measure of their iniquities, (Gen. xv. 16.) and now were exposed as a prey to the Israelites.

*And the Lord is with us.*] For, on the contrary, they entreat the people to consider that God, who was departed

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from the Canaanites, was with them, to aid and assist them in the conquest of the country: and for both these reasons they needed not to fear them. So they conclude their speech, like men of an undaunted spirit, in these words; *fear them not.*

Ver. 10. *But all the congregation.*] The Hebrew words *col ha edah,* as I observed, ver. 1. signifies *all the great men; the rulers of the rest.*

*Bade stone them with stones.*] Ordered the people to stone them to death; as they had done, it is likely, if they had not been deterred from the attempt by the appearance of the Divine Majesty. For the Hebrew word *amar* (as Maimonides observes in his More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 65.) is used, not only concerning that which is *spoken* or *thought,* but of what is *decreed* and *resolved.* And he produces these words as an instance of it, together with Exod. ii. 14. 2 Sam. xxi. 16.

*And the glory of the Lord appeared.*] The Schechinah which resided within the tabernacle, upon the mercy-seat, now openly appeared, in a bright flaming light, like fire: and, in all probability, after such an amazing manner, as terrified them from their design. Thus it appeared on Mount Sinai, to fright them from approaching near unto it, Exod. xxiv. 17. (from whence Moses saith, *the Lord thy God is a consuming fire,* Deut. iv. 24.) and thus it appeared afterward, Numb. xvi. 19. 42.

*In the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Or rather *upon* the tabernacle (for *in* the tabernacle the people could not have seen it, as now they did), over the most holy place; which the cloud constantly covered, over the mercy-seat, where the Divine Glory dwelt: (see chap. ix. 15.)

*Before all the children of Israel.*] Both to fright them, as I said, from their purpose of stoning Joshua and Caleb; and to shew his anger and displeasure at their rebellion, which, it is likely, appeared by the flashes that came from the glorious flame.

Ver. 11. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] In answer, I suppose, unto his prayer, (ver. 5.)

*How long will this people provoke me?*] Shall I always bear with their most undutiful behaviour; which will provoke the greatest patience unto anger?

*How long will it be ere they believe me.*] Dost thou not see that their unbelief is incurable?

*For all the signs which I have shewed unto them?*] Since they continue in it, notwithstanding all the wonders I have done, to convince them of my power and faithfulness.

Ver. 12. *I will smite them with the pestilence.*] Send a pestilential disease among them to sweep them away at once, as the fifteenth verse interprets it, (see Exod. xxxii. 10.)

*And disinherit them.*] And so deprive them and theirs of the country which I promised to their fathers for an inheritance, (Gen. xv. 7.) This was not an irrevocable decree, but a threatening which God changed into another severe punishment.

*And will make of thee a greater nation, and mightier than they.*] Fulfil my promise to Abraham, by making thee the father of a more numerous people, and more powerful than they whom I reject.

Ver. 13. *And Moses said unto the Lord, Then the Egyptians will hear it, (for thou broughtest up this people by thy might from among them.)*] It is an abrupt kind of speech, proceeding from the great disturbance which this threatening made in his mind; being as much as if he had said, If thou thus destroy them, the Egyptians, when they hear of it, will triumph; and thou wilt lose all the honour thou hast got, by the wonderful deliverance thou didst work for thy people from their bondage.

Ver. 14. *And they will tell it to the inhabitants of this land.*] Or rather, *they will say* to the inhabitants of this land, *i. e.* the Canaanites, with whom the Egyptians had frequent commerce.

*For they have heard,* &c.] The word *for* is not in the Hebrew: and the sense will be more plain if we omit it, and translate the whole thus; *They will say to the inhabitants of this land, they have heard that thou Lord art among this people:* that is, that there was a glorious token of thy presence among us.

*That thou Lord art seen face to face.*] And spakest to us from Mount Sinai out of that glorious cloud, which there appeared unto all the people, (Exod. xix. 18. xx. 1. xxiv. 16, 17. Deut. iv. 12.)

*And that thy cloud standeth over them.*] Numb. x. 34.

*And that thou goest before them by day-time in a pillar of a cloud, and in a pillar of fire by night.*] Exod. xiii. 21.

Ver. 15. *Now if thou shalt kill all this people.*] Or rather, *but thou hast killed all this people.*

*As one man.*] On a sudden, with one stroke; as if they had all but one life.

*Then the nations which have heard the fame of thee will speak, saying.*] Of which the nations that have heard the forenamed report of thy majesty will make this construction.

Ver. 16. *Because the Lord was not able to bring this people into the land.*] Because he whom they called Omnipotent, was indeed defective in his power; which at last failed him, so that he could not complete what he had undertaken.

*Which he sware unto them.*] Gen. xv. 17, 18. xxiv. 7.

*Therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness.*] Killed them all, before they came to the land he had solemnly promised to them; for that was an easier work than to make good his word.

The sum of this argument is, that it would be a great disparagement to the Divine Majesty if he now destroyed this nation; because his enemies would conclude, he had deluded them with false promises, which he wanted power to effect.

Ver. 17. *And now, I beseech thee, let the power of my Lord be great.*] That is, let it appear to be unlimited, by bringing them into the land which he sware to give them, (ver. 16.) or by pardoning their sin, which had provoked his high displeasure against them, (ver. 11.) For by *power* may be meant either that which is properly called by that name, *viz.* his omnipotence, which can conquer all opposition; or his mercy and clemency, in overcoming his anger, and bearing with an ungrateful people: which agrees very well with what follows; but both tend to the same meaning, that he would not destroy them, but bestow the land of Canaan upon them according to his intentions.

*According as thou hast spoken.*] Which will be suitable to thy blessed nature, which thou didst proclaim to me when thy glory passed by me, (see Exod. xxxi. 22. xxxiv. 5, 6.)

Ver. 18. *The Lord is long-suffering, and of great mercy,*

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*forgiving iniquity*, &c.] In these very words (though something more largely) God proclaimed his name to Moses; when he shewed him his glory, Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. where they are explained.

*And by no means clearing the guilty.*] Even these words (according to the interpretation I have there given of them) are a plain argument to move the Divine goodness to pardon their sin. But the next words [*visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children*, &c.] seem to be directly contrary to the intention of his petition, till it be considered, that they had not now committed idolatry, against which sin, God, in these words, particularly declares his severity; and that Moses did not now plead for an absolute pardon without any punishment at all, but only that he would not destroy the whole nation as one man, and utterly disinherit them, as he seemed resolved to do, (ver. 12. 15.) This threatening he hoped his gracious nature would incline him to revoke; notwithstanding which he might *visit the sin of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation;* that is, punish them and their posterity a long time. And so this latter part of the verse is to be interpreted, (according to what I observed, Exod. xxxiv. 7.) *in making desolate he will not make quite desolate, though he visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children*, &c.

Ver. 19. *Pardon, I beseech thee, the iniquity of this people.*] So far as not to destroy them utterly.

*According to the greatness of thy mercy.*] Which God himself had proclaimed, (ver. 18.)

*As thou hast forgiven this people from Egypt even until now.*] This looks like an argument against them: for they having provoked him so often as they had done since they came out of Egypt, in the space of one year and little more, (see ver. 22.) and been as often forgiven, it might seem more reasonable that he should now punish them, and not forgive them any more. But he appeals to that *long-suffering* goodness which he mentions as the prime character of the Divine Nature, (ver. 18.) which, though it had been exercised by them many ways, yet he hoped would still bear longer with them.

Ver. 20. *And the Lord said, I have pardoned, according to thy word.*] Granted thy desire, not to destroy them utterly and altogether, (ver. 12. 15.)

Ver. 21. *But as truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord.*] In the Hebrew the words run plainly thus, *As true as I live, and that all the earth shall be* (or *hath been*) *filled with the glory of the Lord.* For so the Egyptians themselves confessed, (ver. 14.) that the fame of it was come to them; and afterward he did many more wonderful things when he brought them into Canaan: unto which (if these words be taken in the future tense) he hath respect, when he saith, *as true as that he would in a most glorious manner subdue the Canaanites, not one of these murmuring Israelites should come into that good land.*

Ver. 22. *Because all those men*, &c.] The sense would have been clear if we had left out the word *because*, as we might have done, the Hebrew particle *ki* being sometimes only an expletive, or if we had translated it *that*, as it signifies in Gen. xxii. 17. and many other places. For the meaning plainly is, though the words be something intricate, that all the men of whom he is speaking should perish, and not one of them come into Canaan.

*Which have seen my glory.*] Which appeared to them in the cloud upon Mount Sinai, and resided in the tabernacle.

*And my miracles which I did in Egypt.*] Mentioned in the fourth, seventh, eighth, and following chapters of the book of Exodus.

*And in the wilderness.*] Where he divided the Red Sea for them to pass through on dry land, and gave them manna constantly from heaven, with water out of a rock, which followed them whithersoever they went, &c.

*And have tempted me now these ten times.*] That is, very oft, as this phrase *ten times* signifies, (Gen. xxxi. 7. 41. Nehem. iv. 12. Job xix. 3.) But some of the Hebrews will not be satisfied with this explication, but endeavour to find out precisely just ten provocations of which they were guilty: though, to do this, they are forced to begin with one which fell out before they came to the Red Sea, (Exod. xiv. 11, 12.) and all the other nine they find in the wilderness. (See Pirke Avoth. cap. 5. and Paulus Fagius's Scholia upon it; with Genebrard upon Psal. lxxviii. 46.) Mr. Mede hath observed, that *to tempt* God, in Scripture language, is to *provoke him by some presumptuous fact to anger;* as it were, *to try* whether he will punish or not; or, in fewer words, *to dare* God, (book i. Discourse 26. p. 153.) And the following words in the next verse justify this notion in this place.

*And have not hearkened to my voice.*] This seems particularly to refer to their disobedience, when he bade them *go up, and possess the land of Canaan; notwithstanding, they would not go up, but rebelled against the commandment of the Lord their God,* (Deut. i. 21. 26, &c.)

Ver. 23. *Surely they shall not see the land*, &c.] The Hebrew particle *im*, when it follows an oath, is to be simply translated *not*. And so the words run clearly here, *they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers.*

*Neither shall any of them that provoked me see it.*] This is but an explication of the foregoing words, and might have been better translated, *even all that provoked me* (by their discontent and murmuring, &c. ver. 1—3.) *they shall not see it.* This heavy doom was passed upon them on the ninth day of the month Ab (which answers to our July), as Moses Kotzensis reports the opinion of their doctors: on which day, they say, both the first and second temples were levelled with the ground; and Bitter, likewise, a great city, was taken on the same day, in which were many thousand Jews; who, with their king (as they called him), Ben Cosiba, and his whole army, were cut in pieces. And to make this day still more dismal, Turnus Rufus, one of the Roman captains, ploughed up the ground on which the temple and buildings about it stood upon this very day. (See Wagenseil upon Gemara Sotæ, cap. 7. sect. 10. annot. 8.)

Ver. 24. *But my servant Caleb.*] He alone is here particularly mentioned, because this is the first proof we read of his sincerity and resolution. But Joshua is as much concerned in this character and promise, whose faith and courage were tried, as soon as they came out of Egypt, by fighting with the Amalekites. And therefore there was no need to speak here of his integrity: though afterward it is expressly remembered, in the very same words used in this place concerning Caleb, (chap. xxxii. 12.) And here below in this chapter, (ver. 30.) he is assured of coming into

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the land of promise as well as Caleb, with whom he joined in opposing the mutinous multitude, (ver. 6.) where he is named first in that heroic action.

*Because he had another spirit with him.*] Was otherways affected (as we now speak), trusting in the power and promise of God, and not at all afraid of the strength of their enemies.

*And hath followed me fully.*] The Hebrew phrase is, *hath fulfilled after me; i. e.* completed his obedience to me; or fulfilled my will and commands in every thing: being not only full of courage himself, but endeavouring to put it into others, (Deut. i. 36.)

*Him will I bring into the land whereunto he went.*] Into Canaan: particularly to Hebron, and the parts about it; which were bestowed upon him by the order of Moses himself, (Josh. xiv. 9. 13, &c, see chap. xiii. of this book, ver. 22.)

*And his seed shall possess it.*] Or, as some translate it, *shall expel it; i. e.* drive out the inhabitants of that place, and the parts adjacent, as we read he and his brother did, (Josh. xv. 13—15, &c.)

Ver. 25. *Now the Amalekites and the Canaanites dwelt in the valley.*] These words being read without a parenthesis, in conjunction with those that follow, are very plain, being thus translated; *both the Amalekites and the Canaanites dwell in the valley:* that is, at present lie in wait for you at the bottom of the other side of the mountain. For they were not far from one another, (chap. xiii. 29.) and the Hebrews use the word *jashah* for any *abode* in any place, though it be not a settlement, but for a short time. (See ver. 45.)

*To-morrow turn you.*] Therefore, do not go forward, as I formerly commanded you, lest you fall into their ambushes; but face about, and return from whence you came, &c. This he bade them do *to-morrow, i. e.* hereafter; at their next removal: for they did remain some days in Kadesh before they turned about, (Deut. i. *ult.*) And so the word *to-morrow* is used in Exod. xiii. 14. for the *time to come.*

*And get you into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea.*] Into that wilderness which led to the Red Sea, and so to Egypt, whither they desired to return, (ver. 3, 4.) This command was so grievous to them, that it set them, as I take it, into a new fit of murmuring: which is the occasion of what follows in the next verses, 26, 27.

Ver. 26. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, and unto Aaron, saying.*] He now speaks unto Aaron, what he only spake to Moses before, (ver. 11.)

Ver. 27. *How long shall I bear with this evil congregation.*] It is a short imperfect sort of speech in the Hebrew, such as men use when they are very angry; *how long to this evil congregation, i. e.* shall I shew mercy: which is the same with *bear with them,* as we translate it, to supply the sense.

*Which murmur against me?*] Whom nothing will please, unless they have their own will in every thing.

*I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against me.*] This seems to signify that there was a new discontent; which, in all likelihood, arose, because God would not conduct them forward to Canaan; but bade them go back from whence they came: which order he tells them, in the following words, he would never revoke.

Ver. 28. *Say unto them, As truly as I live, saith the Lord.*] This oath made what he had resolved unalterable.

*As ye have spoken in mine ears.*] See chap. v. 2.

*So will I do unto you.*] Give you your own wishes, to die in the wilderness; which was exactly fulfilled, (chap. xxvi. 65.)

Ver. 29. *Your carcasses shall fall in this wilderness.*] He repeats their own desire.

*And all that were numbered of you.*] Which number was taken about half a year ago; as we read in the first chapter of this book, (ver. 3. 18, &c.)

*According to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward.*] Which amounted in all to six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty, (ver. 46.) besides the Levites, who were not numbered at this time, as we read in the next verse, 47. And when they were numbered, their number was not taken from *twenty* years old; but from a *month* old and upward, (chap. iii. 15.) And therefore, the Levites are not comprehended in the heavy sentence here denounced, no more than the children under *twenty* years old, or the wives of the men that murmured; but only the men of war, who were above *twenty* years old. And accordingly we find Eleazar, who is mentioned at the numbering of the Levites, (chap. iii. 32.) alive at the dividing of the land of Canaan, (Josh. xiv. 1.)

Ver. 30. *Doubtless ye shall not come into the land.*] He would not have them retain the least hope of having this sentence reversed, being established by God's oath.

*Concerning which I sware to make you dwell in.*] Not to make these particular men, but the seed of Abraham inhabit it; as Grotius rightly observes, (lib. ii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 13. sect. 3.) The land was promised by oath, *non personis, sed populo, not to persons, but to the people; viz.* to the posterity of those unto whom God sware to give it, (ver. 23.) Now such a promise, as he observes, may be performed at any time, because it is not tied to certain persons.

*Save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.*] They are excepted, because they had distinguished themselves from the rest, by their eminent faith and courage, in the midst of a perverse generation.

Ver. 31. *But your little ones.*] All under twenty years old.

*Which ye said should be a prey.*] He upbraids them with their discontented and distrustful language, (ver. 3.)

*Them will I bring in, and they shall know the land.*] That is, enjoy it.

*Which ye have despised.*] See chap. xiii. 32.

Ver. 32. *But as for you, your carcasses, they shall fall in this wilderness.*] He repeats it again, to make them sensible of the certainty of it; and, in their own words, (ver. 2.) to humble and put them to confusion.

Ver. 33. *And your children shall wander.*] So the Chaldee interpret what in the Hebrew is *shall feed,* or graze, as sheep do in the deserts. Or rather, after the manner of the Arabian shepherds, who could not stay long in one place, but were forced to remove their tents to another, that they might find pasture for their flocks. So R. Solomon interprets it.

*Forty years.*] Reckoning from their first coming out of Egypt; from whence they were brought into the wilderness a year and a half ago; and now are condemned to make up their time of wandering in it full *forty* years.

*And bear your whoredoms.*] That is, the punishment of

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their whoredoms; as idolatry is peculiarly called, (chap. xv. 39. Exod. xxxiv. 15. Jerem. iii. 14.) of which they had been guilty presently after they came out of Egypt, when they made the golden calf and worshipped it; and continued other idolatrous practices, (Lev. xvii. 5. 7.) which God punishes now that he visits their present rebellion. For it was not that alone to which he threatens this punishment, but he reckons with them for all the rest of their iniquities, (Deut. ix. 18. 24.) especially for the greatest of them all, which he declared he would not forget to punish upon any new occasion, (see Exod. xxxii. 34.) which they now gave him. It must be acknowledged, also, that other heinous sins are called by this name of *whoredoms* in Scripture, as well as idolatry, (Psalm lxxiii. 26.) See Mr. Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 23. p. 489.

*Until your carcasses be wasted in the wilderness.*] This is the third time he reflects upon their foolish wish, (ver. 29. 32.)

Ver. 34. *After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days.*] See chap. xiii. 25.

*(Each day for a year) shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years.*] Reckoning the time past, since they came into the wilderness, which was a year and a half: so that the meaning is, they should wander *forty* years in the wilderness before they got out of it. Which is not to be understood so precisely as to want nothing at all of it: for they came out of Egypt on the fifteenth day of the first month, on the morrow after the Passover, (chap. xxxiii. 3.) and they came into Canaan and pitched in Gilgal, upon the tenth day of the first month of the *one-and-fortieth* year after their departure from Egypt; (Josh. iv. 19.) and, consequently, there wanted *five* days of full *forty* years.

*And ye shall know my breach of promise.*] In the Hebrew the words are no more than these, *ye shall know my breach:* which the ancients understand of God's breaking in upon them, to take vengeance of them for their sin. So the LXX. γνώσεσθε τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ὀργῆς μου, *ye shall know the fury of my anger;* and the Vulgar translates it, *ultionem meam, my vengeance:* that is, you shall find that I am the avenger of iniquity. And it is the same, if we understand *my breach* to signify God's departure from them, who had so shamefully departed from him. Or, according to our translation, it signifies, *a revocation of the blessing promised to them:* which was so nullified, that they were left without any hope of having the like promise of entering into Canaan renewed to them.

Ver. 35. *I the Lord have said.*] Decreed and pronounced this sentence.

*I will surely do it to all this evil congregation.*] Break from them; or break in upon them, to consume them, and utterly disinherit this untoward generation.

*That are gathered together against me.*] Whom they accused, as well as Moses and Aaron, (ver. 2, 3.)

*In this wilderness they shall be consumed, and there shall they die.*] The repetition of this so frequently (ver. 29. 32, 33.) was to convince them the decree was peremptory and irreversible.

Ver. 36. *And the men which Moses sent to search the land.*] That is, ten of them.

*Who returned.*] See chap. xiii. 25, 26.

*And made all the congregation to murmur against him, by bringing up a slander upon the land.*] See chap. xiii. 31, 32. xiv. 2.

Ver. 37. *Even those men, &c. died by the plague.*] Either by the pestilence, threatened ver. 12. or by lightning, or some other sudden death: about which there is a dispute among the Hebrew doctors, in the Gemara on Sota, cap. 7. sect. 11. where some of them say they died of a quinsy, which choked them; or, as others, their tongues swelled, and hung out of their mouths down to their navels, and were full of worms, &c. So that their punishment was suitable to their sin (as they conclude); *with their tongues they offended, and in their tongues they suffered.*

*Before the Lord.*] Whose glory appeared upon the tabernacle, before them all, (ver. 10.) unto which I take these words to relate; signifying that they died in his presence (and perhaps by a flash of fire from thence), on that very day upon which this murmuring was raised by their false report.

Ver. 38. *But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, which were of the men that went to search the land.*] Here Joshua is mentioned with Caleb, and placed first (as in the sixth verse), as Caleb was in ver. 30. Which shews there was no difference made between them.

*Lived still.*] This is set down to shew God's faithfulness in his promise to them: who, I suppose, were now in the company of the rest of the searchers of the land, before the Lord, and had no hurt, when all the other ten fell down dead on a sudden; which made their preservation the more remarkable.

Ver. 39. *And Moses told all these sayings unto all the children of Israel.*] Acquainted them with the doom which God had passed upon them.

*And the people mourned greatly.*] Were extremely afflicted at the news; but did not beseech him to pray for them, (as at other times, chap. xi. 2.) because he had told them the doom was irreversible.

Ver. 40. *And they rose up early.*] Or, *but they rose up.*

*In the morning.*] The next morning after they were told what God had decreed against them.

*And gat them up into the top of the mountain.*] They resolved they would go up; or they prepared themselves for it: for they did not yet actually go up; as appears by the following words.

*Saying, Lo, we be here.*] We are ready to do as Joshua and Caleb exhorted us, chap. xiii. 30. xiv. 9. They seem now to be as forward, as before they were backward to go to possess the land: which their rising *early* signified.

*And we will go up to the place which the Lord hath promised.*] They pretend now to depend upon his promise, and to trust he will make it good.

*For we have sinned.*] Are sensible of our sin, and repent of it. Or, *though we have sinned,* yet we hope he will make good his promise.

Ver. 41. *And Moses said, Wherefore now do you transgress the commandment of the Lord.*] Why do you still continue in your disobedience to God; who commands you to return, and not to go forward? (ver. 25.)

*But it shall not prosper.*] You shall not succeed in your enterprise; which these words shew they stood ready to take in hand.

Ver. 42. *Go not up.*] Though they sought the renewal of God's promise with tears, (ver. 39.) and now were ready to testify their repentance with the hazard of their lives, he would not recal the sentence passed upon them.

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*For the Lord is not among you.*] The cloud did not stir to conduct them; by which they might have understood that their attempt was presumptuous.

*That ye be not smitten before your enemies.*] Who, without God's help, would be too strong for them.

Ver. 43. *For the Amalekites and the Canaanites are there before you.*] Either they were removed out of the valley where they were before, (ver. 25.) or, their main body being there below, they sent a strong party to possess themselves of the top of the mountain, and to make good the pass against the Israelites.

*And ye shall fall by the sword.*] Lose your lives in the attempt.

*Because ye are turned away from the Lord, therefore the Lord will not be with you.*] This was a powerful reason to check their motion, and to restrain them from their attempt: but, after the manner of obstinate sinners, they go on still in their unbelief; as the next words inform us.

Ver. 44. *But they presumed to go up to the hill-top.*] They audaciously endeavoured to ascend the mountain, against the Divine command: which is a strange instance of hardened infidelity.

*Nevertheless, the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and Moses, departed not out of the camp.*] The cloud stood still over the tabernacle; and therefore Moses, and the Levites, and the ark (which went before them, when they first removed from Sinai, chap. x. 33.) did not stir out of the place where they were encamped to conduct them. But this seems to signify that all the other camps, except that of the Levites, *i. e.* the whole body of armed men, moved without the guidance of God; who would not favour them, because they moved against his express command.

Ver. 45. *Then the Amalekites came down, and the Canaanites.*] With whom the Amorites also joined, (see Deut. i. 44.)

*Which dwelt in that hill.*] Who had posted themselves there, and possessed themselves of the top of the mountain, (ver. 43. and see ver. 25.)

*And smote them.*] Having a great advantage of them that were climbing up the hill: from whence they came pouring down upon them.

*And discomfited them.*] It is not said how great a slaughter they made of them; but it is likely it was not small, because they chased them a good way. Thus began God's threatening to be immediately fulfilled, (that their carcasses should fall in that wilderness, ver. 29.) by their own wilfulness.

*Even unto Hormah.*] A place in the confines of Canaan, near the Dead Sea: so called from the destruction that was here made of the Israelites, and afterward of the Canaanites, (chap. xxi. 3. Judg. i. 17.) And upon the occasion of this calamity which befel the Israelites, and the great mortality which followed, while they stayed in the wilderness, Moses is thought to have penned the ninetieth Psalm; in which he signifies the life of man was now shortened, and reduced to seventy or eighty years; that is, made but half as long as their forefathers'.

## CHAP. XV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] We read in Deut. i. *ult.* that *they abode in Kadesh* (where the foregoing murmuring was) *many days:* during which time (and in the latter part of this second year after they came out of Egypt), it is very probable all that we read in this chapter, and in the four following, was transacted.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them.*] These words were not directed to the whole congregation, but to the younger sort, who had not forfeited the favour of God, as their fathers had done; several of which, it is likely, were already dead, according to the doom God had passed upon them; and the rest looked upon themselves as disinherited: (chap. xiv. 12.) and therefore these precepts were not delivered to them.

*When ye come into the land of your habitations, which I give unto you.*] This shews he speaks to the children of the murmurers, whom he promised to bring into the land of Canaan, (chap. xiv. 31.) and would therefore have well instructed in the manner of sacrificing, wherein God's worship and service very much consisted; which is the reason why he further explains what he had heretofore said about this matter. But hence it appears, that they were not bound to observe these laws till they came to Canaan.

Ver. 3. *And will make an offering by fire unto the Lord.*] This comprehends all the sacrifices which were burnt upon the altar, either in the whole or in part.

*A burnt-offering.*] This was the principal, and most ancient sacrifice of all other; which was wholly burnt upon the altar, every morning and every evening, (Exod. xxix. 40.) of which he treats in the first of Leviticus.

*Of a sacrifice.*] This undoubtedly signifies *peace-offerings*, as appears from ver. 8. and from the words here following; and likewise from the use of the word *sacrifice* in other places, (Exod. xviii. 12. Levit. xvii. 5. 8.) and from this consideration also, that *sin-offerings* had no *meat-offerings* attending on them, but only in the case of a leper, (Lev. xiv. 10.)

*In performing a vow, or in a free-will-offering.*] These words explain what he means by *a sacrifice*, viz. *peace-offerings;* which were offered in performance of some vow, or freely of their own accord, (Lev. vii. 16. xxii. 21.) or by God's command upon their solemn feasts; as it here follows.

*And in your solemn feasts.*] Mentioned Levit. xxiii. (See there, ver. 37. and Numb xxix. 39.)

*To make a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] Levit. i. 9.

*Of the herd or of the flock.*] Under the word *flock* is comprehended both *kids* and *lambs:* for the Hebrew words *tson* and *seh* signify both; as many have observed, particularly Bochart in his Hierozoicon, (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 42.)

Ver. 4. *Then shall he that offereth his offering unto the Lord.*] Of any of the forenamed sorts.

*Bring a meat-offering.*] As a necessary appurtenance to such sacrifices.

*Of a tenth-deal of flour.*] That is, the tenth part of an ephah, (as is expressly declared, chap. xxviii. 5.) which was an omer: (see Exod. xvi. 36.)

*Mingled with the fourth part of a hin of oil.*] See Exod. xxix. 40. In this, such meat-offerings as were accessaries to other offerings, and a part of the sacrifice, which went before, differed from those meat-offerings which were not dependant upon a foregoing sacrifice, but offered alone by themselves: for in these latter the oil was only poured upon the meat-offering, (Lev. ii. 1, &c.) and not mingled



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and macerated with the flour; as it is here ordered: and there was this further difference between them, that those meat-offerings which were accessary to other sacrifices, were all burnt on the altar, in honour of God, as Josephus observes, lib. iii. cap. 10. but when a meat-offering was solitary (as we may call it), as the principal offering which a man then made, a little part of it only was burnt upon the altar, and the priest had the rest; as appears from the second chapter of Leviticus.

Ver. 5. *And a fourth of a hin of wine for a drink-offering shalt thou prepare.*] See Exod. xxix. 40.

*With the burnt-offering or sacrifice.*] Whether it were a whole burnt-offering, or a peace-offering, (ver. 3.) this wine was wholly poured upon the altar; and the priest had none of it.

*For one lamb.*] It was the same *for one kid.* If there were more than one, the drink-offering, as well as the meat-offering, was increased; particularly upon the sabbath, (chap. xxviii. 9.) And the true reason why meat-offerings and drink-offerings are required to attend upon the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, was, because these sacrifices were a feast, and are called the *bread* or food *of God,* (chap. xxviii. 2.) And therefore, as bread and wine, as well as flesh, are our refection; so God required them at his table. And *salt,* though not here named, was also added, (because it was to be omitted in no sacrifice, Lev. ii. 13.) as also *frankincense;* because it is said both ver. 7. and ver. 10. this drink-offering was for *a sweet savour unto the Lord;* which seems to allude to the fragrancy of frankincense.

This was a thing so well known, that the heathen imitated this practice, in all their sacrifices, which were ever accompanied with a meat-offering: insomuch that Pliny saith, without this *mola salsa,* no sacrifice was thought to be good: "Nullum sacrificium ratum fieri existimant," (lib. xxx. cap. 5.) And long before him we meet with it in Homer, in those known words of his,

———Οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο.

And as for wine, Brentius, in his paraphrase to Leviticus, takes notice of that phrase in him, no less obvious,

———ἐπὶ δ' αἴθοπα οἶνον
Λείβε———

which they not only poured upon the sacrifice, as it stood at the altar ready to be offered, but upon its flesh, when it was burning there: as we find in Virgil, Georg. iv.

"Ter liquido ardentem perfudit Nectare flammam."

And in many other places. (See Dilherrus, in his Dissert. Specialis de Cacozelia Gentilium, cap. 10.)

Ver. 6. *Or for a ram, thou shalt prepare for a meat-offering two tenth-deals,* &c.] This being a nobler sacrifice than a *lamb,* a larger *meat-offering* (and *drink-offering* also, as appears by the next verse) is required to attend it.

Ver. 7. *And for a drink-offering, thou shalt offer a third part of a hin of wine,* &c.] Whereas for a *lamb* a fourth part was sufficient, (ver. 5.)

Ver. 8. *And when thou preparest a bullock.*] This is a sacrifice of the *herd,* as the former of the *flock,* mentioned ver. 3.

*For a burnt-offering, or for a sacrifice in performing a vow, or peace-offerings unto the Lord.*] That is, free-will-offerings; which were one sort of *peace-offerings,* as those for performance of a vow were the other: (see ver. 3.) But free-will-offerings are peculiarly called by the name of *peace-offerings,* because they were the most acceptable of this sort; being offered purely out of love and affection to God, and not as a payment which was due upon a vow.

Ver. 9. *Then shall he bring with the bullock a meat-offering of three tenth-deals of flour,* &c.] The *meat-offerings* increased proportionably to the sacrifices upon which they attended: one tenth-deal, with a fourth part of a hin of oil, being sufficient for a lamb, (ver. 4.) and two tenth-deals, with a third part of a hin of oil, for a ram, (ver. 6.) but three tenth-deals of flour, and half a hin of oil, is here required to accompany the sacrifice of a bullock.

Ver. 10. *And thou shalt bring for a drink-offering half a hin of wine,* &c.] The same was to be observed in the *drink-offering;* which is larger in this sacrifice than in the two former, (ver. 5. 7.)

Ver. 11. *Thus shall it be done for one bullock, or for one ram, or for a lamb, or a kid.*] He repeats what he had said more distinctly, proceeding from the sacrifice last mentioned unto the first: which (ver. 5.) is said to be *one lamb;* but here explained to comprehend also *a kid.* For so the last part of this verse runs in the Hebrew; *for a young one* (which he calls *seh*) *either of the sheep, or of the goats.*

Ver. 12. *According to the number that ye shall prepare, so shall ye do to every one, according to their number.*] This I take to be a general rule, by which these offerings were to be governed; that, proportionable to the number of bullocks, rams, sheep, or goats that were offered, should be the quantity of the *meat-offering* and *drink-offering;* for bread and wine must bear proportion to the meat set on the table.

Ver. 13. *All that are born in the country shall do these things after this manner.*] *i. e.* All Israelites.

*In offering an offering made by fire,* &c.] When they offer any of the forenamed sacrifices, (ver. 3.)

Ver. 14. *And if a stranger sojourn with you.*] There were two sorts of strangers, it is vulgarly known, among the Israelites: some that entirely embraced and professed the Jewish religion, into which they were admitted by circumcision, &c.; others that were permitted to live among them, having renounced all idolatry, but did not submit to their whole religion. The Talmudists expound this place of the former sort.

*Or whosoever be among you in your generation.*] One would think this should signify the other sort of strangers; but they make it only an explication of the former: whether he were a proselyte that sojourned for a time, or were settled among them.

*And will offer an offering made by fire of a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] Any of the forementioned offerings, which could be offered, as is here directed, by none but one that was subject to their law. For though another proselyte, who worshipped the true God, but was not circumcised, might bring a burnt-offering; yet they say it was without a meat-offering and drink-offering; and no peace-offerings were accepted from him.

*As ye do, so he shall do.*] Offer according to the rules above given; which is farther explained in the following verses.

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Ver. 15. *One ordinance.*] *viz.* About sacrifices.

*Shall be both for you of the congregation.*] *i. e.* For you Israelites.

*And also for the stranger that sojourneth with you.*] Here the LXX. translate it, Προσηλύτοις προσκειμένοις ἐν ὑμῖν, *proselytes that are added, or joined to you;* or are *juris vestri participes,* as Mr. Selden expounds it, (lib. ii. Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 2. p. 147.)

*An ordinance for ever,* &c.] Never to be repealed as long as your religion lasts.

*As ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord.*] In matters of religion and Divine worship, though not in all civil things: for no proselyte, they think, could be chosen a member of the Sanhedrin, or great council at Jerusalem. The Jews extend these words to the way and manner of being made proselytes, by circumcision, baptism, and sprinkling of blood; as the Jews were originally, they say, initiated into their religion. (Selden, lib. i. de Syned. cap. 3. p. 34.)

Ver. 16. *One law and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you.*] This general rule was made to invite and encourage strangers to become proselytes to the Jewish religion, and to engage the Jews to be kind to them; they being admitted to an ἰσοτιμία, as Philo calls it, *an equal privilege* with those who were born Jews. Yet this, the Jews say, is to be received with some distinctions; for the laws of Moses, either concerning the duties they owed to God and one to another, or concerning magistracy and marriages; they say, those of the first sort belonged to proselytes, as much as to original Jews, yet with some temperament; (as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4.) but in those of the second sort they had not an equal privilege; for they were not to have any sort of command, either civil or military: and though they might marry with the Jews, yet not with the priests; and some marriages were permitted to them, which were forbidden to the Israelites: (see there, p. 167.)

Ver. 17. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] These commands were given, in all likelihood, at the same time with the foregoing.

Ver. 18. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them.*] See ver. 2.

*When ye come into the land whither I bring you.*] See there also; only add this, that the Jews acknowledge such kind of offerings, as here follow, and first-fruits, were due by the law only from the corn, &c. that grew in the land of Canaan; but by the decree of their wise men, they were to bring them out of Syria, and out of the land of Og and Sihon; as Maimonides saith in his treatise called Biccurim, cap. 2.

Ver. 19. *When ye eat.*] *i. e.* When it is ready to be eaten; for they offered it before they ate of it.

*Of the bread of the land.*] So corn is called, (Psalm civ. 14.) and the meaning seems to be, that when they made bread of the new corn of the land, they should out of the dough first make a cake, and offer it to the Lord, before they baked bread for their own use.

*Ye shall offer up a heave-offering unto the Lord.*] This is explained in the next verse, of offering a cake out of the first dough, whether it were of wheat, or barley, or rye, or oats, or that which they call *cusemim* (which they describe to be a kind of wheat, or barley, different from that which is commonly known by those names); for of these five kinds of grain, the Talmudists say, this cake was to be offered; and that out of the gleanings, and the sheaf left in the field, and out of the corners of the field.

Ver. 20. *Ye shall offer up a cake of the first of your dough for a heave-offering.*] Not upon the altar; but it was given to the priests, on whom God bestowed all their *heave-offerings,* (chap. xviii. 8.) yet they are said to be *offered unto the Lord,* because they were *heaved,* or lifted up to him, as the Creator of heaven and of earth; and then given to his ministers, who had it in his right.

*As ye do the heave-offering of the thrashing-floor, so shall ye heave it.*] That is, as the first-fruits of the harvest were given to the priests, and not offered upon the altar, so should this be given them, (Lev. xxiii. 16, 17.) and so were the first-fruits of their oil and their wine, &c. (Numb. xviii. 12, 13.) All which the Jews call the *great terumah,* or *heave-offering.*

Ver. 21. *Of the first of your dough shall ye give unto the Lord a heave-offering in your generations.*] This being a new law, not given before, he repeats it, that they might be the more observant of it: as we may see they were by this; that it was one of the things which rendered a woman infamous (though not so as to give her the bitter water), if she did not separate this cake from the first dough of the new corn to be presented to God; but either made her husband believe she had done it, when she had not, or ate it herself; as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 17. and therefore at this very day the Jews are so nice in this point, that they take enough to make a cake, as soon as the meal is mingled with water. The proportion is not mentioned in the law; but their wise men say, it was to be the forty-fourth part of the whole dough: (see Buxtorf. Synagog. Jud. cap. 34.) The cabalists observing that this verse begins with the letter *mem,* and ends with *mem,* conclude (after their way), that therefore they were to give the fortieth part, because *mem* is the numeral letter for forty.

Ver. 22. *And if ye have erred, and not observed all these commandments which the Lord hath spoken unto Moses.*] Which have been now given concerning sacrifices; for to such commandments these words seem to have respect. Maimonides, in his treatise of the worship of the planets (and the Jews generally), saith this concerns idolatry.

Ver. 23. *Even all that the Lord hath commanded you by the hand of Moses.*] That is, all the commandments in the book of Leviticus, about such matters of God's worship and service.

*From the day that the Lord commanded Moses.*] The word Moses is not in the Hebrew, and the sense is plainer without it, as the Vulgar hath translated these words, *from the day he began to command.*

*And henceforward.*] Or rather *thenceforward,* until now; or until he made an end of commanding. So this phrase is used in Lev. xxii. 27. *From the eighth day, and thenceforth,* creatures were clean to be offered. (See Ezek. xxxix. 22.)

*Among your generations.*] In the Hebrew, *to your generations.* And so the LXX. εἰς τὰς γενεὰς, *to be observed throughout all generations.*

Ver. 24. *Then it shall be, that if aught be committed by*



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*ignorance, without the knowledge of the congregation.*] It is commonly said, that Moses here speaks concerning sins of *omission* (as we call them), as in Lev. iv. 13. he doth of sins of *commission*, or doing that which ought not to be done; as here not doing that which ought to be done; for which different sorts of sacrifices are appointed. But others think that he speaks in both places of the same errors; only in that law, (Lev. iv. 14.) concerning those committed by the *whole congregation*, here of such as were committed by some lesser number of them, called *the congregation;* suppose the seventy elders, or the rulers of thousands and hundreds, &c. who are sometimes called by this name, (chap. xxv. 7. xxxii. 12. Josh. xxiv. 4.) But the Jews generally think Moses here speaks of strange worship, which was to be expiated by this sacrifice of a goat for a sin-offering. And therefore an excellent person of our own, after long consideration of this matter, comes to this conclusion: that in Leviticus he requires a young bullock to be slain for a sin-offering, when the whole congregation, though adhering to the true worship of God in every thing, were led ignorantly to do something against some negative precept (as they call it); to practise, that is, what God had forbidden, (so those words seem to import, Lev. iv. 13, 14.) but this kid of the goats here mentioned for a sin-offering, together with a young bullock for a burnt-offering, was to be sacrificed, when all the people, forgetting the holy rites prescribed by Moses (which often happened under bad kings), fell by a common error into idolatrous worship; which agrees very well with what is said in the two verses beforegoing; where he speaks, as I noted, of not observing these holy rites about sacrifices: (see Dr. Outram, lib. i. de Sacrificiis, cap. 14. sect. 2.)

*Then all the congregation shall offer one young bullock for a burnt-offering.*] Having neglected these laws ordained by Moses, and worshipped God in a wrong manner, according to the rites used in other countries (or at least mistaking the proper sacrifices and rites belonging to them, which they ought to have offered), this burnt-offering, I suppose, is commanded to be offered, when they saw their error, in token that they returned to God's true religion, and that way of worship which he had prescribed.

*With his meat-offering, and his drink-offering.*] Prescribed above, ver. 8—10. Which, perhaps, they had neglected to offer formerly with the burnt-offering.

It is well observed by Mr. Thorndike out of Maimonides, that *all the congregation* (if we understand thereby the whole body of the people), could not possibly offer these sacrifices; but the great consistory offered them as often as they occasioned the breach of the law, by interpreting it erroneously. (Rights of the Church in a Christian State, p. 159.)

*And one kid of the goats for a sin-offering.*] To expiate for what had been done after the manner of the heathen, contrary to the laws of God's worship here delivered by Moses; or otherwise than he directed: from whence it was (which adds much probability to this), that when Hezekiah restored the true worship of God, after the temple had been shut up, and the daily sacrifice omitted, and many idolatrous rites there used, by the ignorance of the people, in the days of his father, (2 Chron. xxviii. 24. xxix. 3.) he caused seven bullocks to be offered for a burnt-offering; and as many goats for a sin-offering; and so Ezra did at the restoration of the Divine service after they came out of Babylon, (Ezra viii. 35.) And it makes no difference, that Moses here requires only *one* of a sort to be offered, whereas Hezekiah offered *seven*, and Ezra *twelve;* for this only proves that one was absolutely necessary, but more than one was acceptable; especially when exceeding great errors had been committed in God's worship.

Ver. 25. *And the priest shall make an atonement for all the congregation.*] Who had thus committed an error in the worship of God out of ignorance: being misled by the great interpreters of the law; who therefore were to bring this sacrifice in the name of them all. For it is apparent by this, as well as the former verse, that *all the congregation* were concerned in this sacrifice, as much as in that Lev. iv. 13. And the same appears from the next verse, where he saith, *all the people were in ignorance.*

*And it shall be forgiven them, for it is ignorance.*] Proceeding from an erroneous interpretation of the law, or some other mistake; not from contempt of God and of his laws: for then they were to be utterly cut off, (ver. 30, 31.)

*And they shall bring their offering, a sacrifice made by fire unto the Lord.*] That is, a burnt-offering: which is not prescribed in Leviticus (as I observed before), and therefore was a different sort of offering, for a different offence.

*And their sin-offering before the Lord.*] Prescribed in the foregoing verse.

*For their ignorance.*] Which made them capable of a pardon; though not without these sacrifices.

Ver. 26. *And it shall be forgiven all the congregation of the children of Israel.*] He repeats it again, that they might not doubt of reconciliation to him, when they repented as soon as they understood their error, and acknowledged it, and begged his pardon by these sacrifices.

*And the stranger that sojourneth among them.*] Who were obliged to the same laws with the Israelites, and had the same privileges, (ver. 14—16.)

*Seeing all the people were in ignorance.*] It was a common error; and therefore no wonder strangers were carried away with it.

Ver. 27. *And if any soul.*] *i. e.* Any particular person.

*Sin through ignorance.*] Offend in matters of religion; by not observing the rites here prescribed, or by doing contrary to them through mere ignorance. To this, I think, these words are to be limited; wherein they differ from that law, Lev. iv. 27. which speaks of all manner of offences through ignorance.

*Then he shall bring a she-goat of the first year for a sin-offering.*] This sin-offering differs from that in Leviticus, (chap. iv. 28.) which was only a female kid of the goats.

Ver. 28. *And the priest shall make an atonement for the soul that sinneth ignorantly.*] As he was to do for the whole congregation, (ver. 25.)

*When he sinneth by ignorance before the Lord.*] These words, *before the Lord,* seem to me to import, that he speaks of sins committed about the worship of God; and confirms what I have said upon ver. 24. For in Lev. iv. both ver. 13. and ver. 27. he speaks in general of sins committed, either by the congregation, or by particular persons, *against any of the commandments of the Lord,* not *before the Lord; i. e.* (as I understand it) in his worship and service.

*To make an atonement for him,* &c.] He repeats it again,

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to shew them that he would no more have a particular person suffer for his error than the whole body of the people.

Ver. 29. *You shall have one law for him that sinneth through ignorance, both for him that is among the children of Israel, and for the stranger that sojourneth among them.*] See ver. 15. This must necessarily be meant of a proselyte of justice, as they called him that was circumcised, and undertook to keep the whole law; for he speaks of such, whether natives or others, as erred in not observing all his commandments, (ver. 22, 23.)

Ver. 30. *But the soul that doeth aught presumptuously.*] Not merely knowingly, but wilfully and audaciously; in contempt of the Divine Majesty and his authority: for so the Hebrew phrase, *with a high hand*, signifies, as Maimonides observes, in his More Nevochim. par. iii. cap. 41. where he saith, it imports a sin, not only publicly and openly committed, but with pride and insolence; it proceeding, not merely from an ill custom a man hath got of doing amiss, but from an express intention to contradict the law of God, and to set himself in defiance of it: which is the reason of what follows, *the same reproacheth the Lord.*

*Whether he be born in the land, or a stranger.*] Here the word *stranger* is simply used, without the addition of *that sojourneth among them* (as in the preceding verse), and therefore Mr. Selden well concludes, that even the *proselytes of the gate* were concerned in this law (as it related to idolatry and blasphemy), though not in the foregoing; and that they were liable to be *cut off* by the hand of Heaven; but whether to be punished by the judges or not, it doth not appear, (lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 11.)

*The same reproacheth the Lord.*] "No man sinned thus (saith Maimonides in the place forenamed), but he who had a settled opinion in his mind, contrary to the law of God; in which he dissented from it. And the common received exposition of this place is, that it speaks of an idolater; because he opposed the chief and principal foundation of the law. For no man worshipped a star, or a planet, but he that believed its eternity: which is the most repugnant of all other things to the law of God; which, in the very first words of it, declares, that all the world had a beginning, and was made by Him whom the Jews worshipped." Thus he. But doing any thing *with a high hand* doth not signify any one certain kind of sin, as the Jews generally fancy, (who think he speaks here only of an idolater or blasphemer: see Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 6. p. 101.) but a certain manner of sinning, with despite to the commands of God, and contempt of his authority, in any kind of sin whatsoever. And this Maimonides himself afterward acknowledges, in the words following: "There seems to me to be the same reason in all other transgressions, which are committed contemptuously against any law of God; as, if an Israelite seethed a kid in its mother's milk, or wore heterogeneous garments, or rounded the corners of his head, or his beard, in contempt of the law. For the consequence of this is, that he believes this law not to be true; which, in my judgment (saith he) is the meaning of these words, *He reproacheth the Lord.*"

*And that soul shall be cut off from among his people.*] No sacrifice could make an atonement for such a man; but he was to die, either by the hand of Heaven, or of the judges. Sometimes God saith, he will cut off idolaters, and such as consulted familiar spirits, (Lev. xx. 5, 6.) Sometimes he only saith certain offenders shall be cut off; as here in this, and many other places. Of which phrase I have given an account, Gen. xvii. 14. where the reader may see the several opinions that have been about it; and that its meaning must be determined by the matter in hand. Accordingly, Maimonides hath judiciously resolved, that, in this place, it signifies cutting off by the hand of the magistrates, as in the case of apostacy to idolatry, (Deut. xiii. 13, &c.) Not that all their goods were to be destroyed, and nothing left to their heirs (as when they served other gods); but, though a whole tribe had, *with a high hand*, transgressed any precept of the law, that is, denied it to be God's law, he thinks they were only to be all killed. Just as all the people thought in the case of the Reubenites, Gadites, and half tribe of Manasseh; who, only building an altar on the other side of Jordan, contrary to God's law, as was imagined, all the rest of the tribes of Israel gathered together, *to go up to war against them*, and cut them off, Josh. xxii. 11, 12, &c. 22, 23. where they acknowledged they deserved to perish, if they had built an altar for worship, as their brethren thought they had done.

Ver. 31. *Because he hath despised the word of the Lord.*] This shews the nature of the offence; which was setting at nought God's laws, and denying them to be of Divine authority.

*And hath broken his commandment.*] Not only by doing contrary to it, but, in effect, disannulling it; by rejecting its authority, and affirming he is not bound to observe that precept.

*That soul shall be utterly cut off.*] They shall have no mercy upon him.

*His iniquity shall be upon him.*] Not upon those who put him to death; but upon himself.

Ver. 32. *And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness.*] In this part of the wilderness, at Kadesh-barnea, it is very probable: (see ver. 1.)

*They found a man.*] The Jews, who would not be thought ignorant of any thing, say this man was one of those that presumed to go up to the mountain, when Moses forbade them, (chap. xiv. 44.) And some of them say expressly, his name was Zelophehad; about the dividing of whose estate a question afterward arose, (chap. xxvii. 1, &c.) So the Chaldee paraphrase, ascribed to Jonathan and others: (see Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 1. n. 9.)

*That gathered sticks.*] Or was *binding up sticks*, which he had gathered, and plucked up by the roots out of the earth; as some of the Jews understand the Hebrew word (Mr. Selden there observes), from Exod. v. 7.

*On the sabbath-day.*] This the Jewish doctors would have to be the very next sabbath after its first institution in the wilderness; which is to make this history misplaced, and the foregoing also, without any necessity.

Ver. 33. *And they that found him gathering sticks.*] Admonished him (as the Jews also say) of the unlawfulness of it, and wished him to desist. But he would not hearken unto them; and therefore (as it here follows) *they brought him unto Moses*, &c. as one that contemptuously, and with a high hand, had offended God. For they make this an instance of such a presumptuous sin as is mentioned before, ver. 30, 31. which is not improbable. And it appears from hence, that they observed the sabbath while they were in the wilderness; and therefore did not bring him before

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Moses on that day, but the next after; or at least he was not judged till the next day.

*Brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the congregation.*] Who were now, they fancy, hearing a sacred lecture, when they brought the man before Moses. For he was the chief judge, who was to determine such cases: though we may conceive the seventy elders (who were constituted before this happened, chap. xi. 24, &c.) to have been now sitting, and Moses at the head of them. But he being not deprived of any authority by their creation, who were added only to give him ease, it is more likely this man was set before Moses, as the sole judge of this case. For God speaks to him alone, (ver. 35.) when he directs what should be done with him. Yet Aaron and the elders, it appears by these words, were present (and called here *all the congregation*), when this offender was brought before him.

Ver. 34. *And they put him in ward.*] By the order of Moses, (as they did the man that blasphemed, Lev. xxiv. 12.) to secure him, till the mind of God was known how he should be punished.

*Because it was not declared what should be done to him.*] They knew very well that he was to die; for it had been declared, (Exod. xxxi. 14. xxxv. 2.) but they questioned what kind of death he should suffer, as the Jews interpret it. For they observe this difference between that case of the blasphemer in Leviticus, and this here of the sabbath-breaker: that there they doubted whether he should be punished by them, or by the hand of Heaven; but here, what kind of death they should inflict upon him. Though there are some (as Mr. Selden there observes, n. 8.) who imagine, the question here also was, whether the sense of the law was, that they should expect his punishment from God, or he be put to death by the court of judgment.

Ver. 35. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] Who went, I suppose, into the sanctuary, to inquire what the pleasure of God was in this matter; as he did in another difficulty, (Numb. ix. 8.)

*The man shall be surely put to death.*] By this answer, it seems to me, the question was not, at first, what death he should die; but whether he should be put to death or not: that is, whether the gathering and binding up sticks into a faggot was such a work as is forbidden in the law, (Exod. xx.) unto which death was afterward threatened in the places beforementioned. And the resolution was, that he should be put to death, as a man that denied God, the creator of the world; though not in words, yet in fact. For he who did any work on the sabbath, (as Aben Ezra notes upon Exod. xx.) denied the work of creation; though he did not in downright terms deny God himself. For the sabbath being a *sign* (as God calls it) that they were the worshippers of him who made all things; the contempt of that was a renouncing of their religion, and therefore deserved to be punished with death; the belief of the creation of the world being the very foundation of the Jewish religion; as the belief of its eternity was the foundation of the pagan. This made the breach of this precept, of keeping the sabbath strictly (which is more frequently repeated than any other, for the reason forementioned), so heinous a crime, and so severely punished; for by this time a true worshipper of God was distinguished from a profane person and an idolater.

*All the congregation shall stone him with stones, without the camp.*] This was a punishment inflicted for very enormous crimes. (See Lev. xx. 2. xxiv. 12.) And this man was condemned to suffer it, because he was the first breaker of this sacred law. And he doing it presumptuously, (as is supposed from the connexion of this story with ver. 30, 31.) in contempt of the law; and not desisting from his impiety, when he was admonished to forbear, (as I said, ver. 33.) it highly aggravated his guilt; being no less than *a reproaching of the Lord, and a despising of his word.* Whence the vulgar saying of the Talmudists, *He that denies the sabbath, is like to him that denies the whole law.*

Ver. 36. *And all the congregation brought him without the camp, and stoned him,* &c.] Not on the sabbath-day, as I said before; for that was unlawful (as Philo observes), but the next day after; or as soon as Moses had passed sentence upon him.

Ver. 37. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] This was spoken, it is most likely, about the same time that the foregoing passage happened, and the commands mentioned in the beginning of this chapter were delivered. For this that follows, is a direction for the better observance of all the rest of God's commandments.

Ver. 38. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them fringes.*] This is the best word we have in our language to express the Hebrew word *tzitzith*, which imports something of an ornament resembling a flower, as the word *tzitz* signifies. Of how many threads they consist, and after what fashion they are made by the Jews at this day, see Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica, cap. 9.

*In the borders of their garments.*] Or (as it is in the Hebrew) *in the wings of their garments;* which had four skirts, as appears by Deut. xxii. 12. at the bottom of each of which they were to have a fringe: which seem to have been only threads left at the end of the web unwoven; at the top whereof they put a lace, as it here follows.

*Throughout their generations.*] To be a perpetual mark of their religion, and put them in mind of their duty.

*And that they put upon the fringe of the borders a riband.*] Or, a *lace;* which both bound the fringe fast at the top, and also made it more conspicuous and observable; which was the intention of it. For by this they were distinguished from all other people who were not Jews; as well as put in mind of the precepts of God, as it follows in the next verse.

*Of blue.*] Or, as some would have it translated, of *purple.* But the Hebrew writers say, *thecheleth* signifies that colour which we now call *ultramarine;* as Braunius hath observed, (lib. i. de Vestitu Sacerd. Hebr. cap. 13. and Bochart. Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. v. cap. 10, 11.)

There is another very learned person, also, who hath more lately shewn, out of an excellent MS. in his possession, what the Jews deliver concerning the way and manner of dying this colour: which being not easy to compass, the Jews at this day, instead of this colour, are contented to use *white.* (See J. Wagenseil upon the Gemara Sotæ, cap. 2. annot. 8.)

Ver. 39. *And it shall be to you for a fringe.*] Or rather, *it* (that is, the riband) *shall be unto you upon the fringe;* or, *to the fringe;* added to it, to make it the more noted; being of a distinct colour from the fringe, which was of the same colour. And the garment, the Jews say, in the sel-

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vage of which these fringes were, was their upper garment, called *talith*, being a kind of cloak.

*That ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord.*] *i. e.* When they looked down, this fringe and lace which they saw there might put them in mind of the duty they owed to God; who commanded this, not for itself, but to remember them that they were a holy people, bound to God by peculiar laws, which they should be as careful to observe as to wear these fringes. Hence it was that they, who pretended to greater sanctity than others, enlarged these fringes, (as our Saviour observes, Matt. xxiii. 5.) *i. e.* extended them to a greater length, so that they swept the ground, which made them more observable, as Braunius notes out of the Gemara of Gittim. lib. i. de Vest. Sacerd. Hebr. cap. 3. n. 16. where he also observes, that their superstition grew so much, as with great subtilty to contrive, that these fringes might be so wrought, as to denote the six hundred and thirteen precepts contained in the law of Moses; that so they might be put in mind *of all the commandments of the Lord.* (See Buxtorf also in the place beforenamed; and Bishop Montague, in his Apparatus, cap. 7. n. 32.)

*And do them.*] Which was the end of remembering them, as that was of their wearing them; though the Jews proved so foolish, as to pride themselves in the bare use of their ornaments; *i. e.* in their being a select people; which ought to have made them more careful to do the whole will of God.

*And that ye seek not after your own heart.*] Follow not your own thoughts and imaginations, (as Maimonides expounds it, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 39.) or rather, *your own desires.* Or the word *seek* may import, *inventing* other ways of serving God, according to their own fancies.

*And your own eyes.*] Nor follow the example of others; as they were prone to do, it appears, by their making the golden calf, that they might have such a visible representation of God, as other nations were wont to have.

*After which ye use to go a whoring.*] It appears by this, that the foregoing words have a peculiar regard to the worship of God (which he speaks of in the beginning of this chapter), from which, when they departed, they are said to go *a whoring from God,* unto whom they were espoused.

Ver. 40. *That ye may remember and do all my commandments.*] He would not have them think there was any sanctity to be placed merely in wearing these fringes; but they were to be considered only as instruments, to call their duty to remembrance, and excite them to the performance of it. And so the Jews themselves sometimes call them, as Buxtorf observes in the place beforenamed, "means and instruments of observing the precepts."

*And be holy unto your God.*] By observing all his commandments; especially keeping themselves from idols.

Ver. 41. *I am the Lord your God.*] Their sovereign and benefactor.

*Which brought you out of the land of Egypt.*] He remembers them of the most peculiar obligation they had upon them, to observe this law and all the rest of his precepts.

*To be your God.*] They were redeemed by him on purpose, when none else could deliver them, that they might acknowledge no other God, but only him, to whom they owed their liberty, to serve him.

*I am the Lord your God.*] This seems to be repeated, to encourage them to hope that he would still continue good to them, notwithstanding the rebellion of their fathers; for which he had condemned them to die in the wilderness; where he would preserve them (their children), and at last bring them into Canaan, if they would follow his directions.

## CHAP. XVI.

WE have nothing here said to direct us to the time and place, when and where this new rebellion happened; but it is very probable (as I said, chap. xv. 1.) that it was in some part of the second year after they came out of Egypt, before they removed from Kadesh-barnea.

Ver. 1. *Now Korah the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi.*] By this it is evident that Korah was cousin-german (as we speak) to Moses and Aaron; for Izhar (Korah's father) was the second son of Kohath, as Amram (the father of Moses and Aaron) was his eldest son, (Exod. vi. 18. 1 Chron. vi. 2.)

*And Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab.*] This Eliab was the son of Pallu, the second son of Reuben, as appears from chap. xxvi. 5. 8, 9.

*And On the son of Peleth.*] He also was descended from Reuben, as well as Dathan and Abiram (as the next words tell us, *sons of Reuben*), but of what family it doth not appear. Nor is this man any where again mentioned, no, not in the progress of this conspiracy; which inclines me to think, that though he entered into it, yet he afterward withdrew himself, or was so inconsiderable, that no notice was taken of him.

*Took men.*] The word *men* is not in the Hebrew; but simply *Korah took.* Which word *took* being the first word in the Hebrew text, the whole verse may be thus translated, *Korah the son of Izhar,* &c. *took both Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, and On the son of Peleth,* &c. That is, he drew these into a conspiracy with him. Or, *he betook himself to a party,* as the Chaldee understands it, *he divided himself;* with an intention, that is, to make a sedition. But the sense is the same, if we follow our translation, *he took men;* that is, complices or associates with him in his rebellion: by which we may understand *the two hundred and fifty,* mentioned in the next verse.

Ver. 2. *And they rose up.*] Made an insurrection: in which Korah seems to have been the ringleader, having drawn the rest into it; which he might the more easily do, because the Kohathites and Reubenites lay encamped on the very same side of the tabernacle, (Numb. ii. 10. compared with chap. iii. 29.) by which means they had opportunity often to conspire together. Whence R. Solomon makes this reflection, *Woe to the wicked, and woe to his neighbour!* The cause of the insurrection is generally thought, both by Jews and Christians, to have been, that Korah could not brook the preferment of Aaron and his family, so high above the rest of the Levites, who were made only their ministers, (chap. iii. 6. 9. viii. 19.) For he thought this was too great a difference between the children of two brothers, who were of equal deserts. Nay, Aben Ezra thinks, that he wholly disliked the late exchange of the first-born for the Levites. And besides, it may be

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thought that he stomached the late preferment of Elizaphan the son of Uzziel, who was the youngest son of Kohath, to be chief of the family of the Kohathites, (chap. iii. 30.) which he thought rather belonged to himself, who was the son of the second son of Kohath. And finding himself too weak to make an insurrection alone, he persuaded Dathan and Abiram (of the tribe of Reuben), and those in whom they had an interest, to join with him, upon another pretence; that they were descended from the eldest son of Israel, to whom the chief authority in the nation belonged, which Moses had taken upon himself; and likewise preferred the tribe of Judah to the principal place in their encampment, (chap. ii. 3.) and also the seventy elders to be his assistants, without their advice, and leaving them out of the number.

Such as these may be thought to be the grounds upon which they proceeded: Korah seeking the priesthood, and the sons of Reuben the civil dignity. But it seems to me that the ground of the quarrel was wholly upon the account of the priesthood (as I shall shew upon the next verse), and that they struck at Moses only as advancing his brother and his family, by his own authority, and not (as they pretended) by God's direction. For, as Dathan and Abiram did not appear openly, when they had formed this faction (for we find them in their tents, ver. 12. and refusing to come to Moses when he sent for them), so, in the next verse, they seem to speak of nothing but the priesthood: and so Moses understood their meaning, ver. 5. 10. 15.

*Before Moses.*] In an open defiance of his authority; who, they pretended, had no power to make such alterations as he had done.

*With certain of the children of Israel.*] It is not said out of what tribe; but it is likely out of several: if not some out of every tribe, in whom they had any interest.

*Two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly,* &c.] The LXX. divide their character into three parts. First, that they were *princes of the assembly,* ἀρχηγοὺς συναγωγῆς, *rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds,* &c. And secondly,

*Famous in the congregation.*] Which they translate συνκλητοὺς βουλῆς, *who used to be called to public consultations,* when they were to deliberate about weighty affairs. And so several, both ancient and modern, translations, as Mr. Selden hath shewn ,ib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 4. n. 10. where he saith, they were called " maxime puto, si non solum, deliberandi causa," *chiefly, if not only, to have their advice.* And then lastly,

*Men of renown.*] Such who had got a great name (that is, fame and credit) among the people, upon these, or other accounts. This made the insurrection the more dangerous, that such great persons were engaged and appeared in it.

Ver. 3. *And they gathered themselves together.*] The forenamed company came in a body.

*Against Moses.*] As an arbitrary disposer of all preferment.

*And against Aaron.*] Who was promoted by Moses to the office of high-priest; which he himself had discharged before Aaron's consecration; which, perhaps, they made a ground of their quarrel.

*And said unto them, Ye take too much upon you.*] In the Hebrew the words are *rab-lachem, it is sufficient for you:* that is, you have domineered long enough; resign your places to others: for all of us, nay, every man in Israel, is as good as you.

*Seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them.*] Here seems to be the root of the quarrel. Before Moses's time every one might offer sacrifice in his own family (as I have often observed), which custom these men would have had still continued; being angry that this high office was confined to one family alone, who were to enjoy all the benefits of it; which were exceeding great. For the priests had a large share in most offerings; and some things wholly to themselves. This is the more probable, because it was so very hard to convince the people that God had settled this dignity, and all the profits belonging to it in Aaron's family. For though God did a new thing never heard of before, to demonstrate these people, that rose against Moses and Aaron, to be seditious, yet it was necessary still to do more. For after the earth had swallowed up Dathan and Abiram, and fire consumed Korah and his company, and a plague destroyed many more of them, the Lord did another miracle, (chap. xvii. 8.) in making Aaron's rod blossom and bud, and bring forth almonds in one night's time; when all the rest of the rods remained dry sticks: which makes it probable, as I said before, there were some in all the tribes who were engaged in this sedition; and were so deeply infected with the false notions of Korah, that it was necessary to give them all this satisfaction.

*And the Lord is among them.*] The people need no other governor but him, who dwells among them in his tabernacle, where they can present their sacrifices to him themselves without your assistance.

*Wherefore then lift you up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?*] Since God owns us all for his special and peculiar people, why do you take upon you such high places and dignity above us all? For Moses disposed and ordered all things; and Aaron, by his order, took upon him to be solely God's chief minister in his sanctuary.

Ver. 4. *And when Moses heard it, he fell upon his face.*] With Aaron also, it is likely, as they did lately, (chap. xiv. 5.) And for the same end (see there), to deprecate God's displeasure (which they might justly think would now rise higher than ever), and to beg his direction what to do in such a dangerous state of things.

Ver. 5. *And he spake unto Korah, and unto all his company.*] This shews that Korah was the head of this faction, and Dathan and Abiram did not at the first (I guess from hence) appear with him.

*Saying.*] Being risen up from prayer, he made this answer to the seditious people, by order from God, who, no doubt, directed him to this way of suppressing them.

*Even to-morrow the Lord will shew,* &c.] In the Hebrew the words are, *to-morrow* (or, *in the morning*) *and the Lord will shew,* &c. That is, stay but till to-morrow, and it shall appear, without any further delay, whether you or we be in the right. He would keep them in suspense no longer, and yet gave them so much time to consider better, and repent. Some observe that the morning was the time of executing justice, and therefore here appointed.

*Will the Lord shew.*] By some visible token.

*Who are his.*] Or, *who appertain to him; viz.* as his ministers.

*And who is holy.*] Separated and solemnly consecrated, by his appointment, to the sacred office of priesthood.

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*And will cause him to come near unto him.*] Make it appear that they are the persons who ought to burn incense and to offer sacrifice. For *to come near*, is to perform these offices, as may be learnt from Lev. xix. 22. but especially from Lev. x. 3. And the very word *cohen* denotes it; for it signifies *a minister next to the king.*

*And him whom he hath chosen will he cause to come near unto him.*] They shall discharge the office of priesthood, whom God himself hath chosen to it, and nobody else.

Ver. 6. *This do.*] I put you to this trial.

*Take your censers.*] Perform the office of priests, unto which you pretend a right.

*Korah and all his company.*] All the two hundred and fifty men, and whosoever else were in the faction of Korah; whom he orders, no doubt, by God's direction, to execute the office to which they aspired.

Ver. 7. *Put fire therein, and put incense in them.*] As the priests were wont to do.

*Before the Lord to-morrow.*] At the altar of the incense, as some conceive, before the most holy place. So Menochius. But this is contrary to ver. 18. where we read they *stood in the door of the tabernacle*, with their censers, fire, and incense. Nor would the sanctuary contain such a company; or, if it had been large enough, the people could not have seen either their offering or their punishment from the Lord for their sin. Therefore these words *before the Lord* signify with their faces towards the sanctuary, at the gate of which they stood; for what was done there is said to be *before the Lord*, (Exod. xxix. 42.)

*And it shall be, that the man whom the Lord doth choose, he shall be holy.*] This comprehends both the man and all his family: so the meaning is, the Lord would declare whether Aaron and his sons should execute the priesthood alone, or Korah and his company be admitted to it.

*Ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi.*] It is the same phrase which we had before, ver. 3. *rab-lachem:* you are high enough already: let the station wherein you are suffice you, and aspire not after greater dignity. The following words justify this interpretation.

Ver. 8. *And Moses said unto Korah, Hear, I pray you, ye sons of Levi.*] By this and by the foregoing verse it appears, not only that there were some of the Levites in this sedition, together with Korah at the head of them, but that they were the chief incendiaries (though others, as I said before, were drawn in to join with them), because Moses addresses himself only to them.

Ver. 9. *Seemeth it a small thing unto you.*] Do you take it to be no honour to you.

*That the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation of Israel.*] Made choice of you, above all other Israelites, to wait upon him in his family, as his domestic servants, (Numb. iii. 12. viii. 6. 14.)

*To bring you near to himself.*] Though not so near as the priests, yet nearer than all other men, being the sole attendants upon the priests, (chap. iii. 6. viii. 10, 11.)

*To do the service of the tabernacle of the Lord.*] See chap. iii. 7, 8. particularly the Kohathites were chosen to do the service of the tabernacle, *about the most holy things*, (chap. iv. 4. 19.)

*And to stand before the congregation to minister unto them?*] See chap. viii. 11. 19.

Ver. 10. *And he hath brought thee near to him, and all thy brethren, the sons of Levi, with thee.*] Or, *though he hath brought thee* (speaking unto Korah) thus near to him, and all the rest of the Levites thy brethren. (See chap. viii. 10. 11. 15. 19.)

*And seek ye the priesthood also?*] Will it not content you that you alone are chosen to minister unto the priests, (chap. iii. 6.) but you must be advanced to minister unto God in their office?

Ver. 11. *For which cause both thou and all thy company are gathered together against the Lord.*] By whose order Aaron and his sons were appointed to serve him in the office of priests; as was declared when the Levites were taken to minister unto them, (chap. iii. 3. iv. 15. 19, 20.) And therefore, to rise up against them, was to rise up *against the Lord*, and oppose his authority, who made them his priests.

*And what is Aaron.*] Or, *and Aaron, what hath he done?* Wherein is he faulty?

*That ye murmur against him?*] For taking upon him the office of priesthood; into which he did not intrude himself, but was chosen and appointed by God to do him that service; who would have been angry with him if he had refused it.

Ver. 12. *And Moses sent to call Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab.*] To summon them to the place where Moses now was; which the Jews say was the court of judgment. This shews, that either these men (as I said, ver. 2.) did not openly appear with Korah and his company against Moses: (ver. 3.) or, if they did, they retired to their tents, before he rose up from his prayer, to give them an answer.

What became of On we are not informed: for he is neither mentioned here, nor in the following part of this narrative, concerning their sedition; nor any where else in the Holy Scripture.

*Which said, We will not come up.*] They bade the messenger, who summoned them to appear before Moses, to tell him plainly that they denied his authority. For that is the meaning of this language, *He hath no authority to command us, who are none of his subjects; and therefore will not obey him.*

Ver. 13. *Is it a small thing with thee that thou hast brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness?*] Though they would not come to him, yet they returned him this message; Have we not suffered enough by being brought out of a rich and plentiful country, abounding with all good things, into a barren wilderness, where we are ready to starve? Nothing could be more insolent and ungrateful, than to describe Egypt in the very same language wherein God himself had often spoken of the land of promise; particularly when he sent Moses to tell them, he would *bring them out of the affliction of Egypt*, under which they groaned, (Exod. iii. 16, 17.)

*Except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?*] Unless we allow thee to make what laws thou thinkest good, and impose what thou pleasest upon us? A most rude and insolent speech; signifying, that they had not shaken off the yoke of bondage, but only exchanged it; and instead of the rich and wealthy oppression of Pharaoh, were come under the poor and hungry tyranny of Moses. For so the next verse imports.

Ver. 14. *Moreover, thou hast not brought us into a land that floweth with milk and honey*, &c.] Or, certainly, this



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is not the good land into which thou didst promise to conduct us. It seems to be a sarcastical speech; upbraiding him, as if he had put a cheat upon them, and fed them only with good words, to which they would no longer trust.

*Or given us inheritance of fields and vineyards.*] But told us it shall be bestowed forty years hence, when we are all dead. This still shews they took him for a deluder of them with deceitful promises.

*Wilt thou put out the eyes of these men?*] Some of them spake this in the name of the rest, who were now with Dathan and Abiram; and the meaning is, Dost thou think to blind us so, that none of us shall discern this imposture? or, shall we suffer thee to lead us about like blind men, whither thou pleasest; sometimes towards Canaan, and now back again towards the Red Sea and Egypt?

*We will not come up.*] A peremptory resolution, not to own his authority, which they denied at the first, (ver. 12.)

Ver. 15. *And Moses was very wroth.*] For such behaviour and language was so provoking, that it was no wonder it incensed the meekest man upon earth, (chap. xii. 3.) Yet the LXX. translate the words, as if he only *took it very heavily,* ἐβαρυθύμησε σφόδρα, *it made him exceeding sad.*

*And said unto the Lord, Respect not their offering.*] He calls the incense which they were about to offer by the name of *mincha,* which commonly signifies a *meat-offering;* but sometimes any inanimate thing that was consumed in honour of God, as incense was; and must so signify in this place, for they offered nothing else. And when Moses desires it may not be accepted, he means a great deal more, that God would give some sign of his dislike to it. Hence it seems plain to me, that Dathan and Abiram, as well as Korah, quarrelled at the confining the priesthood unto Aaron's family; for Moses calls this *their offering:* by the acceptance or rejection of which this controversy was to be decided.

*I have not taken one ass from them.*] This seems to be an appeal to God against their unjust charge, that he acted arbitrarily, and did with them what he listed, (ver. 13.) From which he was so far, that he declares before God he had not *taken, i. e.* received by way of gift or reward (so the LXX. and the Vulgar understand it), the smallest thing (for such a single *ass* was), much less extorted any thing from them.

*Nor have I hurt any one of them.*] None can say that I have done any kind of evil to them; but contrarily, all good offices. For, that he did not seek himself, appeared in this, that he had not advanced his own family to the priesthood, but left them in the number of the other Levites, upon the same level with Korah and his company.

Ver. 16. *And Moses said unto Korah, Be thou and all thy company before the Lord,* &c.] He repeats what he had said to him before, (ver. 6, 7.) only adding, that he would have Aaron also there, together with them. So it follows, *Thou, and they, and Aaron to-morrow.*

*Before the Lord.*] *i. e.* In the court of the tabernacle, see ver. 7. where, by an extraordinary commission from the Divine Majesty, this trial was to be made. And therefore Aaron himself did not now go into the sanctuary to offer incense (which was the proper and only place allowed by the law), but stood with them without: as in another great necessity he offered incense in *the midst of the congregation,* (ver. 46, 47.) Both which were done by a dispensation from him that made the law.

Ver. 17. *Take every man his censer, and put incense in them, and bring ye before the Lord every man his censer.*] Let every man of them stand before the Lord, at the door of the tabernacle, to do the office of priests; to which they pretended as good a right as Aaron and his sons.

*Two hundred and fifty censers.*] This shews that the incense being offered by so great a number, (as it appears it was, ver. 35.) they did not offer it in the sanctuary; which would not contain so many persons.

*Thou also, and Aaron, each of you his censer.*] This seems to signify, as if Korah was commanded to stand by Aaron, since he pretended to be his equal; which made the hand of God the more remarkable upon him, when he was struck with lightning, and no harm came to Aaron, who stood by him: but it may be doubted, what way Korah perished.

Ver. 18. *And they took every man his censer.*] That is, the two hundred and fifty men did as they were commanded; but Korah went first to muster up as many as he could get together against Moses, (ver. 19.) and then seems to have gone to his tent, (ver. 24.) Herein these men submitted to the way of decision which Moses propounded, though they had so boldly denied his authority. For they could not but think, that God, whom they owned to be among them, (ver. 3.) would approve of them, if they were in the right, and make good their allegation, that *all the congregation were holy,* by accepting their incense, as much as Aaron's: to whom they did not deny an equality with themselves; but only a superiority.

*And put fire in them.*] From the altar of burnt-offering, which stood in the court, at the door of which they were placed, (Lev. i. 5.) for Aaron durst not take it from any other place; his sons having lost their lives for offering with strange fire: the remembrance of which, it is likely, deterred these men from doing otherwise; who did not as yet put in the fire, but only took their censers, and put incense in them (which is all that is ordered in the preceding verse), and put fire in afterward.

*And stood in the door of the tabernacle of the congregation with Moses and Aaron.*] As if they were nothing inferior to them.

Ver. 19. *And Korah gathered all the congregation against them.*] The LXX. translate it, *Korah gathered all his congregation, i. e.* all the men of his faction. But the Hebrew words import that he gathered all the congregation of Israel, at least all the great men; who are sometimes called by the name of *all the congregation,* (chap. xiv. 1.) whom he got together, that they might be witnesses, at least, of the issue of this trial; though their coming together with Korah and his company, rather than with Moses and Aaron, is too plain an indication that they were inclined, if not to throw off, yet to doubt of their authority.

*Unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Where they themselves stood, (ver. 18.) And so did Moses and Aaron; but the Israelites that Korah had gathered together stood on his side, as appears from the foregoing words, and from ver. 24.

*And the glory of the Lord.*] The Schechinah, or Divine Majesty, came forth out of the most holy place, where it usually resided.

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*Appeared unto all the congregation.*] Openly shewed itself in the sight of all the people; and, it is likely, in such an amazing manner, as it had done before, (chap. xiv. 10.) But where it appeared, we are not told: I suppose in the cloud, which was just over the ark of the testimony, (chap. ix. 15.) not in the door of the tabernacle, for there Korah and his company stood. (See Exod. xvi. 10.) And the end of the Lord's appearing was to give sentence in this case; and to declare, by a visible token, whom he accepted as his priests. Thus the glory of the Lord appeared the first time that Aaron and his sons offered sacrifice, (Lev. ix. 6. 23.)

Ver. 20. *And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, saying.*] A little before they put fire in their censers.

Ver. 21. *Separate yourselves from this congregation.*] *viz.* From Korah and his company, and the people they brought along with them; who seemed to favour them, (ver. 19.)

*That I may consume them in a moment.*] As he did Korah and his companions.

Ver. 22. *And they fell on their faces, and said.*] To pray to God, as they had done before, (ver. 4.)

*O God.*] The most mighty.

*The God of the spirits of all flesh.*] Who hast created the souls of all mankind, (so *flesh* often signifies *all men*, Gen. vi. 13.) and therefore searchest into their most secret thoughts and inclinations. So these words signify, chap. xxvii. 16.

*Shall one man sin.*] Korah, who was the chief incendiary and contriver in this sedition.

*And wilt thou be wroth with all the congregation?*] Many of which he thought might, through weakness, be seduced into this faction, having no malice at all in their hearts: which God knew perfectly; and therefore he begs of him that he would make a distinction between such as these, and the men that misled them.

Ver. 23. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] He bade him rise up, having granted his petition.

Ver. 24. *Speak unto the congregation.*] Whom Korah had gathered together, and brought along with him to the door of the tabernacle, (ver. 19.)

*Get ye up from about the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.*] Which, it seems, was not far off; or wheresoever it was, there a great number of people was gathered together to see what would be the conclusion of this contest. The word *tabernacle* is in the singular number; but includes all the tents belonging to these men, as appears from ver. 26. Or, perhaps, they had set up one great tabernacle, (for the word here is *mischcan*, which may be thought to signify more than *ohel*, a *tent*, ver. 26.) unto which abundance of people resorted, as the place that Korah and the rest had appointed for the general rendezvous (as we now speak) of all their party. For here Dathan and Abiram, it is evident, (ver. 27.) were with him; but there is no mention at all of On; which makes it probable he had forsaken them, as Moses wished all the people to do; on which condition God promised to pardon them.

Ver. 25. *And Moses rose up, and went unto Dathan and Abiram.*] To try, I suppose, if he could reduce them to their obedience, and prevent their ruin. He seems to have had no hopes of Korah, but looked upon him as incorrigible.

*And the elders of Israel followed him.*] Either the seventy elders, who were lately chosen out of the rest, (chap. xi. 16.) or the whole body of those who were called by that name, and were men of authority, attended upon him, to make this action more solemn, and to let Dathan and Abiram see how much Moses was reverenced by better men than themselves, who refused to come to him, (ver. 12. 14.)

Ver. 26. *And spake unto the congregation, saying.*] It seems Dathan and Abiram refused to hear him, as they did to come to him: for here is no mention of any thing he spake to them; but only to the congregation, who were gathered about their tents.

*Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men.*] I suppose now they were gone to their own tents, where their families were; from which he beseeches the people to remove with all speed. And he doth not mean merely that they should remove their persons from them, but their tents, and their goods, and cattle.

*And touch nothing of theirs.*] Because all belonging unto them was under an anathema which God had passed upon them; that is, was devoted to destruction, and therefore not to be touched, (Deut. xiii. 17.)

*Lest ye be consumed in all their sins.*] Destroyed with them; who had sinned so grievously, as to fall under the curse beforementioned.

Ver. 27. *So they gat up from the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.*] Where the greatest number of people were gathered together, as I observed, ver. 24. For here is the same word *mischcan* again, in the singular number, denoting some spacious habitation, where perhaps they held their consultations, and unto which there was the greatest resort.

*On every side.*] From which we may conclude, that the people had come from all quarters of the camp to these rebels; either to join with them, or out of curiosity to see how things would go.

*And Dathan and Abiram.*] With Korah also, it may be thought, because he is mentioned in the beginning of the verse. Yet this conclusion cannot be drawn from thence, for it is not said he was now there; but that it was *the tabernacle of Koran, Dathan, and Abiram;* where they used, I suppose, to meet.

*Came out.*] From the tabernacle beforementioned.

*And stood in the door of their tents.*] Of their own tents, where they commonly dwelt.

*And their wives, and their sons, and their children.*] With their whole families. This was the highest degree of audacious and hardened infidelity; whereby they declared that they feared not what Moses (who had given the greatest proof he was a man of God) could do unto them.

Ver. 28. *And Moses said.*] Unto all the people of Israel; or to the elders, and as many as could hear him.

*Hereby you shall know.*] I will now give you an evident demonstration.

*That the Lord hath sent me to do all these works.*] That I have been commissioned by God to do all the things with which those men find fault; particularly to take upon me the government of them, and to put Aaron and his family into the priesthood, and make the Levites only their ministers, &c. (See ver. 2, 3. 13, 14.)

*For I have not done them of my own mind.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *and that not out of my heart.* It was



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none of my own device or contrivance: I did it not out of an ambitious desire to be great myself, nor out of private affection to my brother.

Ver. 29. *If these men die the common death of all men.*] In the Hebrew it is, *as die all mankind:* that is, a natural death, as we now speak.

*Or if they be visited after the visitation of all men.*] *i. e.* Such judgments of God come upon them, as are usual and common in the world; *viz.* a pestilence, the sword, or famine.

*The Lord hath not sent me.*] Then look upon me as an impostor.

Ver. 30. *But if the Lord make a new thing.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *if the Lord create a creature; i. e.* do something that was never seen nor heard of in the world before. The Jews, in several of their books (particularly in Pirke Avoth), say, there are ten things which God created after the world was perfected: and they mention *the mouth of the earth* for one of them; that is, the gaping of the ground, to swallow up these wicked people: which is said to be *created,* as Aben Ezra well observes, because by this miracle God altered the course of nature, and did a thing extraordinary.

*And the earth open her mouth, and swallow them up with all that appertain unto them.*] *i. e.* On a sudden; when there is no earthquake, but all is calm and still; and it swallow up none but them alone.

*And they go down quick into the pit.*] Be buried alive, when they are in perfect health. By this place it is apparent, that the Hebrew word *sheol* doth often signify the *grave;* which Bellarmine and others most earnestly contend never signifies so, but *hell;* which, from hence, he asserts to be in the centre of the earth, (lib. iv. de Christo, cap. 10.) not observing, that if it signify *hell* in this verse, and ver. 33. then the houses of these men, and their household-stuff, and all that appertained to them, went down thither, which is very absurd. It is hard also to think that all their little children went down into *hell* for their fathers' sin, though they did into the *grave.*

*Then ye shall understand that these men have provoked the Lord.*] You shall be sufficiently convinced that they have unjustly accused me, and brought this destruction upon themselves.

Ver. 31. *And it came to pass, that as he had made an end of speaking all these words, that the ground clave asunder that was under them.*] He had no sooner done speaking, but immediately what he said was verified, which made it the more remarkable.

Ver. 32. *And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up.*] *viz.* Dathan and Abiram beforementioned, (ver. 27.) who stood in the door of their tents outfacing Moses.

*And their houses.*] *i. e.* All their family; or, as Moses himself hath explained it, (Deut. xi. 6.) *Their households, and their tents, and all the substance that was in their possession.*

*And all the men that appertained unto Korah.*] We are not told what became of Korah himself: for it is not said he was swallowed up, but all that appertained to him; *i. e.* all that were at that time in his tent: his whole family, except his sons, who escaped, (chap. xxvi. 11.) taking warning, I suppose, from what Moses said: (ver. 26.) which hath made some think that Korah was at the head of his two hundred and fifty men, who were the great abetters of his faction: who, if he had forsaken them at this trial that was made who were in the right, we may well think would have withdrawn themselves also, and not have stood to it without their chieftain, as we find they did, (ver. 35.) Yet he is not mentioned there as perishing with them by fire from the Lord: and Moses seems to say, (chap. xxvi. 10.) that Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up *together with Korah;* who had as much reason, or more perhaps, to think it necessary to be with that other company which he had gathered against Moses, (ver. 19.) and to encourage them to persist in their resolution, than to be with the two hundred and fifty men, who were men of such authority, (ver. 2.) that they may be thought to have needed none to support them. It may be added also, that the word *appertaineth* is not here in the Hebrew (which makes these words sound as if the meaning were only those that were of Korah's family), but simply *all the men* that were to Korah; *i. e.* were gathered to him, and were at that time with him: which seems to be an indication that they and he were swallowed up together. How many there were that stayed with him there is not certain; but the generality left him, ver. 27. where it is expressly said, "they gat up from the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram," as Moses had commanded, (ver. 24.) Which may be taken for a further indication, that he was swallowed up in the tabernacle where he was, or in his own tent after he came out of that tabernacle. But those places, I observed before, may be otherwise understood: that place also, which is the main foundation of this opinion, (chap. xxvi. 10.) may likewise receive another interpretation, as I shall shew when I come thither. And they that are of the other opinion, think his tabernacle, and his family, and all his household-stuff, might be swallowed up, though he himself was not with them, but was burnt by fire with the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense; for Moses bade him take his censer as well as them, (ver. 17.) Which, since they did, and put fire and incense therein, why should it be thought he did not do the same? It seems to me highly probable that he did, otherwise he would have seemed to distrust his cause: but it must be confessed that it is obscure which way he perished, and therefore it is not fit to contend about it.

*And all their goods.*] All their household-stuff and cattle, and whatsoever was in or about their tents.

Ver. 33. *They, and all that appertained to them.*] See Deut. xi. 6.

*Went down alive into the pit.*] As Moses had foretold, (ver. 30.)

*And the earth closed upon them.*] This made it the more wonderful, that the earth, having swallowed them all up, had no cleft remaining in it, but closed up again and was as firm as before.

*And they perished from among the congregation.*] Were never more seen.

Ver. 34. *And all Israel that were round about them fled at the cry of them.*] Though they were at a distance from their tents, (whence they had removed on all sides, ver. 27.) yet they heard them shriek so loudly, as they sunk down into the ground, that it put them into a great fright, and made them fly still further off.

*For they said, Lest the earth swallow us up also.*] Some of them were conscious to themselves that they had favoured

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this wicked faction; and all of them knew how highly they had lately offended God, by their unbelief and murmuring, (chap. xiv.) which might make them justly fear the same fate with their brethren.

Ver. 35. *And there came out a fire from the Lord.*] From the glory of the Lord, which appeared unto all the congregation, (ver. 19.) as ready to decide the controversy: this fell out either at the same time the earth swallowed up Dathan and Abiram, or immediately after it.

*And consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense.*] Which was a plain declaration that they usurped the office of priests; and, therefore, were thus punished by God himself for their presumption. It is not certain, whether they were devoured by the fire, or only struck dead, as men are sometimes on a sudden by lightning; and perhaps scorched, as they likewise sometimes are. The latter seems most probable from what follows, (ver. 37.) and from the like punishment *by fire from the Lord,* which is said to devour Nadab and Abihu, and yet their bodies remained entire, (Levit. x. 2. 4.) This was the more astonishing, because Moses and Aaron, who stood with them at the door of the tabernacle, (ver. 18.) had no hurt.

Ver. 36. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Immediately after the death of those men.

Ver. 37. *Speak unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest.*] Who it is likely stood by them, as next successor to Aaron, in the office which was disputed; and therefore, perhaps, employed in what follows rather than Aaron, that his succession might be confirmed. Though others will have it, that it was below the dignity of Aaron to perform such a mean office: and besides, he might have been in danger to be polluted by the dead bodies of the men that were burnt.

*That he take the censers out of the burning.*] Out of the place where the men were burnt, as some understand it: or (which differs not much) from among the dead bodies, which were burnt: *burning* being put for *bodies burnt,* as *captivity,* (chap. xxi. 1.) for those that were *carried captive,* or *made prisoners,* as we there translate it. But there is no need of either of these additions; *burning* signifying the fire which burnt in them, which he orders Eleazar to throw out, that the censers might be brought away.

*And scatter thou the fire yonder.*] The men were burnt as soon as ever they put fire to the incense in their censers, (ver. 18.) which, flaming at the door of the tabernacle where they stood (near the altar from whence they took the fire), God commanded to be thrown away without the camp; into that place, I suppose, where they were wont to throw the ashes; (Lev. vi. 11.) or rather, into some unclean place, where they threw the dust scraped from the walls of leprous houses, (Lev. xiv. 41.) For it was to shew that God abhorred their offering.

*For they are hallowed.*] Or had fire from the altar put into them; which some think sanctified them. But the plain reason is given in the next verse, because *they offered them before the Lord: i. e.* they had been employed to a holy use, and that by God's command, (ver. 6. 17.) and therefore God would not have them hereafter serve for any other.

Ver. 38. *The censers of these sinners against their own souls.*] Who have brought destruction upon themselves, by their presumption.

*Let them make of them.*] Either Aaron or Eleazar was to cause them to be beaten into such plates as here follow.

*Broad plates for a covering of the altar.*] Of *burnt-offering,* which was covered with brass; (Exod. xxvii. 12.) but these plates were to be laid upon that covering which it had already, for the end mentioned in the conclusion of this verse. And hereby also the proper covering of the altar lasted the longer.

*For they offered them before the Lord.*] Presented them before the Lord, when they offered incense in them, (ver. 35.)

*Therefore they are hallowed.*] Or holy; that is, I will have them separated, for this reason, to my use alone, and no other. It is a thing worthy to be taken special notice of, that the impiety of the men that offered incense, did not discharge their censers of the discriminative respect (as our famous Mr. Mede speaks) due unto things sacred; as these in some sort were, by being presented to the Lord, which made it unlawful to employ them to common uses. For as the Lord himself is that singular, incommunicable, and absolutely Holy One, and his service and worship therefore incommunicable to any other, so should that also which is consecrated to his service, be in some proportion incommunicably used, and not promiscuously and commonly, as other things are. (See Book i. Discourse 2. p. 18.)

*And they shall be a sign unto the children of Israel.*] That God accepts no sacrifice which is not presented by the hands of the sons of Aaron. This the Levites were to remember, who attended upon the priest, when they saw these plates laid upon the altar of burnt-offering every day.

Ver. 39. *And Eleazar the priest took the brazen censers,* &c.] By this it appears these censers were made of the same metal (though it was not said before) that Aaron's censer was of, and wherewith the altar was overlaid. He took them up out of the burning, no doubt, immediately upon the foregoing commands; and as soon as the mutiny was quite quelled, they were employed as Moses had directed.

Ver. 40. *To be a memorial unto the children of Israel.*] This explains what is meant by a sign, (ver. 38.) *viz.* to put them in mind; or rather, to keep in their memory.

*That no stranger.*] Though he were an Israelite, nay a Levite, if he were not (as it here follows) of the seed of Aaron, he was reputed a *stranger* to this office.

*Come near to offer incense before the Lord.*] Presume to execute the office of a priest in the sanctuary.

*That he be not as Korah, and his company.*] Destroyed in a dreadful manner. By this it appears that Korah perished as well as the two hundred and fifty men; and it is likely, as they did, by fire from the Lord.

*As the Lord said unto him.*] *i. e.* To Eleazar.

*By the hand of Moses.*] See ver. 36, 37.

Ver. 41. *But on the morrow.*] An astonishing instance of the incurable hardness and insensibility of some men's hearts; which were not in the least altered by God's terrible judgments and singular mercies; but instantly forgot both.

*All the congregation of the children of Israel.*] Not merely the rulers of the people (as this phrase sometimes signifies), but all the people in general, (ver. 47.) who were incited, it is probable, by that lewd route which Korah had ga-

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thered together against Moses and Aaron, (ver. 19.) some of which were swallowed up, but most of them remained still alive to do more mischief.

*Murmured against Moses and against Aaron.*] In such a mutinous and threatening manner, as demonstrated the contagious nature of a seditious humour, beyond all example: for, from a discontented party, who grumbled that they were not preferred suitably to the opinion they had of themselves, it spread itself into the whole body of the people, and so infected them as to kindle a new flame, as soon as the former had been extinguished, by such a terrible vengeance, as one would have expected should not have left the smallest spark of this mutinous humour in them.

*Saying, Ye have killed the people of the Lord.*] So they impudently call those men, whom God himself had declared, by a visible token, to be presumptuous sinners against their own souls. Some imagine they quarrelled with Moses and Aaron, because they had not prevailed with God to pardon them; which they could as well have done as procured this judgment upon them. But the displeasure which God here expresses against this new murmuring, shews this not to be a true excuse for them.

Ver. 42. *And it came to pass, when the congregation was gathered against Moses and against Aaron.*] Their murmuring presently proceeded to an insurrection.

*That they looked towards the tabernacle of the congregation.*] *i. e.* Moses and Aaron implored help from God, which is implied in their looking towards his dwelling-place.

*And, behold, the cloud covered it.*] One would think by this that it had for some time withdrawn itself from the tabernacle, when the dead bodies of Korah's company lay at the door of it.

*And the glory of the Lord appeared.*] To comfort them in this distress; and to shew he was ready to support and vindicate them.

Ver. 43. *And Moses and Aaron came before the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Perhaps for safety and security; or, to hear what directions God would give them.

Ver. 44. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Out of the tabernacle; before which he stood, waiting for the Lord's orders.

Ver. 45. *Get ye up from among this congregation.*] He speaks to Aaron and Eleazar, I suppose, as well as unto Moses.

*That I may consume them as in a moment.*] As he was inclined to do before, (ver. 21.) and now had a greater reason.

*And they fell on their faces.*] To beseech God not to punish the people as they deserved, (ver. 22.)

Ver. 46. *And Moses said unto Aaron.*] By God's direction.

*Take a censer, and put fire therein from off the altar.*] Near to which they now were, (ver. 43.)

*And put on incense.*] Upon the fire; but not till he came into the midst of the congregation, (ver. 47.)

*And go quickly unto the congregation.*] With the incense, which regularly was to be offered only at the golden altar within the sanctuary; but now, in this extraordinary case, by God's special order, Aaron is sent with it into the camp, that they might all be witnesses of his power with God, and that, by his authority, he was settled in the priesthood.

*And make an atonement for them.*] Which was usually performed by the blood of a sacrifice: but there was not time for that; and therefore now it was made by the incense, wherewith their daily sacrifices, morning and evening, were concluded; and was accompanied by the prayers of the people, while the priest, as he offered it, made intercession for them, (Psalm cxli. 2.) Thus, as St. Jerome glosses, "Currens ira Dei, sacerdotis voce prohibebatur;" *the Divine anger, coming with full speed upon them, was stopped by the voice of the priest:* which was a notable type of the power of our great high-priest and intercessor with God, the Lord Jesus.

*For there is wrath gone out from the Lord.*] Who would not wholly grant their prayer for a pardon, (ver. 45.) but inflicted some punishment upon them.

*The plague is begun.*] A pestilence, in all probability, of which several immediately died.

Ver. 47. *And Aaron took as Moses commanded.*] A censer, and fire from the altar, with incense ready to be put upon it, (ver. 46.)

*And ran.*] According to the command of Moses, (ver. 46.) who bade him *go quickly.*

*Into the midst of the congregation.*] Perhaps into the midst of each of the four camps, of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and Dan (mentioned in the second chapter), it being broke out every where.

*And, behold, the plague was begun among the people.*] He saw people die on all sides of him.

*And he put on incense.*] Whereupon he put incense upon the fire, which he brought along with him from the altar, (ver. 46.)

*And made an atonement for the people.*] Interceded with God for them, and obtained what he desired.

Ver. 48. *And he stood between the dead and the living.*] This seems to intimate, that the plague began in the skirts of their camps, and was proceeding into the heart of them, where Aaron stood, as a mediator for those who were not yet smitten.

*And the plague was stayed.*] A stop was put to its progress; which was a further evidence of Aaron's right to the priesthood, by God's appointment; who not only preserved him when he offered incense together with Korah's company, (ver. 17.) but now makes him an instrument of preserving others from destruction.

Ver. 49. *Now they that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred.*] Who, it is likely, were of the forwardest men to associate themselves with Korah, (ver. 19.)

*Besides them that died about the matter of Korah.*] Whose just number is not known; for besides the two hundred and fifty men, (mentioned ver. 25.) the whole families of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were swallowed up.

Ver. 50. *And Aaron returned unto Moses unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] To carry back his censer.

*And the plague was stayed.*] Or rather, *for the plague was stayed;* and so, having done his business, he returned to the tabernacle.

## CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Not long after the plague was stayed. For though there had

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been enough done to satisfy the people that Aaron was advanced to the priesthood by God's appointment, and not by Moses's affection to his kindred; yet their minds had been so poisoned by Korah and his complices, with the contrary opinion, that it was necessary to do still more to root it out. Which was the occasion of what follows.

Ver. 2. *Speak unto the children of Israel.*] Order them to bring what I require thee to take of them.

*And take of every one of them.*] *i. e.* Of every tribe.

*A rod.*] Or a *staff*, as the Hebrew word *matteh* is often translated: which some take for an ordinary walking-staff, or for the staff which was the badge of their authority, as princes of the several tribes; neither of which seems to me to be true. For what reason have we to think that every man's staff which he commonly used was made of the wood of an almond tree? as these were, one may probably conclude from the eighth verse. And therefore, I take it, they were now all cut off from some tree of that kind, and it is likely from one and the same tree, that none might fancy there was any difference between them. For the miracle was great enough (which here follows), without supposing, as some do, that these rods were all of some other common wood; and yet Aaron's rod produced almonds, which were not the proper fruit of it: though it must be confessed, that if they were not of the wood of an almond tree, the wonder was greater that his rod should bring forth almonds; and struck their minds more strongly.

*According to the house of their fathers.*] In the Hebrew it is *father*, in the singular number; denoting the principal person or patriarch (as we call them), of whose house or family he was to take one rod.

*Of all their princes, according to the house of their fathers.*] This explains the meaning more fully, that the prince of every tribe, who was the head of the house of their fathers, should bring these rods. Their names we have in the first chapter of this book, (ver. 5, 6. chap. vii. 2. 12, &c.)

*Twelve rods.*] Besides Aaron's; for so many tribes there were besides that of Levi. And too great a number of every tribe, in all likelihood, had joined with Korah in their discontented murmurings, at the confinement of the priesthood unto Aaron's family alone; to which they all fancied they had as much right as he. Which is the reason of taking a rod from every tribe; that they might all be convinced that none of them, but he and his family alone, were owned by God for his priests: (see chap. xvi. 3.)

*Write thou every man's name upon his rod.*] Either by an incision into the very wood; or with such ink as they wrote withal in those days, (v. 22.) This he did in the presence of the princes; that they might not afterward suspect any fraud, when they came to take their rods again; but be satisfied they were the very same which they saw noted with their names.

Ver. 3. *And thou shalt write Aaron's name upon the rod of Levi.*] Because God had made him the prince of that tribe, by giving him the high-priesthood. And he would have them see, that as no other person in any of the twelve tribes, so no other Levite ought to pretend unto that high office, which he had invested him withal, and him alone.

*For one rod shall be for the head of the house of their fathers.*] One rod was sufficient, because the head of the tribe comprehended the whole tribe, who were all excluded from the priesthood, by the exclusion of him who represented them.

Ver. 4. *And thou shalt lay them up in the tabernacle.*] In the most holy place.

*Before the testimony.*] *i. e.* Before the ark; called in many places *the ark of the testimony*, (Exod. xl. 3.) because therein Moses put the testimony (or, two tables of stone), and the mercy-seat above it, ver. 20, 21. where the Divine Glory resided. Therefore, to lay the rods *before the testimony*, was to lay them before the Divine Majesty; who intended by them finally to determine the present controversy.

*Where I will meet with you.*] There he promised to meet with Moses, Exod. xxv. 22. by whom he communicated his mind unto the people. For he neither met with them, nor with Aaron, there, any other way, but by Moses. And therefore the Vulgar Latin here translates it, minding the sense rather than the words, *Where I will speak to them.* And so the LXX. *By which I will be made known to thee there.* And indeed *meeting with them* here, is nothing but declaring, or making known his mind to them all, by what was done there upon Aaron's rod. So it follows in the next verse. And for this reason the tabernacle of the Lord is called *ohel moed*, the *tabernacle of meeting;* not of men's meeting there (as is commonly supposed, by our translating it *the tabernacle of the congregation*), but of God's meeting there with men: for so the Lord himself gives the reason of the name, both here and in Exod. xxix. 42. xxx. 36. where I have noted the same out of Mr. Mede.

Ver. 5. *And it shall come to pass, that the man's rod whom I shall choose shall blossom.*] The rods being laid before me, I will tell you whom I have chosen to minister to me in the priesthood, by making the rod upon which his name is written to blossom, when all the rest remain as they were before, without any alteration. This was a kind of new choice (as the words import), whereby God confirmed the choice he had formerly made of Aaron to be high-priest.

*And I will make to cease from me the murmurings of the children of Israel, whereby they murmur against you.*] And hereby stop all their mouths from murmuring any more about this matter; unless they will oppose me directly, who declare beforehand how I intend to give judgment in this case, and put an end to this dispute.

Ver. 6. *And Moses spake unto the children of Israel.*] Told them what God had said, that they might be all consenting to this way of decision.

*And every one of their princes gave him a rod a-piece.*] For they could not refuse such a fair proposal.

*For each prince one, according to their fathers' houses, even twelve rods.*] Observing herein the commands of Moses; who wrote, no doubt, every man's *name upon his rod*, as he was also commanded, ver. 2.

*And the rod of Aaron was among their rods.*] Not one of the *twelve*, as the Jews fancy; but besides the twelve rods for the twelve tribes (as was directed, ver. 2. and obeyed by them, as the foregoing words tell us), his rod was put among them with his name upon it, as their names were upon their rods. And therefore the Vulgar translates it, having regard to the sense only, *there were twelve rods besides the rod of Aaron:* which the LXX. intended in their

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translation, Καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν ἀναμέσον τῶν ῥάβδων αὐτῶν; *and the rod of Aaron in the midst of their rods.* And if it were cut from the very same tree with theirs, the miracle became the more remarkable.

Ver. 7. *And Moses laid up the rods before the Lord.*] Who was by them to declare his choice, (ver. 5.)

*In the tabernacle of witness.*] In that part of the tabernacle where the ark was, which had in it the *witness* or testimony which God gave Moses, (Exod. xxv. 21.) who alone could go into that place.

Ver. 8. *And it came to pass, that on the morrow.*] It is likely God told him he would forthwith shew whom he had chosen.

*Moses went into the tabernacle of witness.*] The most holy place, where the rods were laid up by God's order.

*And behold, the rod of Aaron.*] Which had his name written on it.

*For the house of Levi.*] Or, *to the house of Levi, i. e.* whom God had made head of the Levites.

*Was budded, and brought forth buds, and blossomed blossoms, and yielded almonds.*] In some places of the rod, I suppose, there was an appearance of buds coming forth; in others, the buds were fully thrust out; and in others, they were opened and shot forth into blossoms; and those blossoms, in other parts, knotted and grown into almonds. Μέγιστον καὶ τοῖς ἀπίστοις θαῦμα, &c. as Gregory Nyssen speaks in the Life of Moses, (p. 185.) *The greatest miracle even in the judgment of unbelievers;* who now acknowledged that which before they opposed, (ver. 12, 13.) For, that in one night, a dry stick (as some suppose them all to have been) should produce buds, and flowers, and fruit, when all the rest, which perhaps were cut from the same tree, were as dry as they were before, could not but be very amazing; and, unless they would shut their eyes, make them see the distinction which the Lord made between Aaron, whose name that rod bore, and all the rest of the children of Israel, whom the other rods represented.

The heathen did not think such things incredible, as Huetius hath shewn in his Quæstiones Alnetanæ, (lib. i. cap. 12. n. 24.)

Ver. 9. *And Moses brought out all the rods from before the Lord unto all the children of Israel.*] Before whom they were exposed to open view, that they might see the difference God had made.

*And they looked, and took every man his rod.*] Viewed them, and, taking them into their hands, examined them; and found they were the very same rods which they had delivered unto Moses with their names on them, without any alteration.

Ver. 10. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Bring Aaron's rod again.*] Which either Moses held in his hand, or delivered it to Aaron (as he did the rest to the several princes of the tribes), who shewed it to the children of Israel, with the buds, blossoms, and almonds, upon it: after which God commanded it to be returned unto him.

*Before the testimony.*] To be laid up in the place where it was before it was thus changed, (ver. 4. 7.)

*To be kept for a token against the rebels.*] That it might be produced as a sufficient conviction of their impiety, if any presumed hereafter to rebel against Aaron's authority: or rather, that it might prevent all insurrections against it for the future. For it remained, we find, in the most holy place for some time; as appears both from the apostle, (Heb. ix. 4.) and from the reason of its being put here, that it might be preserved as a sign or proof of Aaron's authority, and suppress all opposition to it. But how long it continued we cannot tell, (for it is not mentioned when the ark was brought into the temple of Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 9.) nor is it certain whether it continued in that verdure wherein it now appeared, with the buds, blossoms, and fruit, though it is highly probable it did; because it was to be a testimony that the honour of the priesthood should continue to Aaron's family alone, through all generations.

There are those who take this rod which blossomed, and was laid up in the most holy place, to have been the rod of Moses, wherewith he wrought so many miracles in Egypt and at the Red Sea: concerning which the Jews tell very many incredible things; as, that it came from a branch of the *tree of life,* which an angel gave to Seth, who planted it in the wilderness, where Moses found it grown to a tree, and cut this rod from it. For when they came to Marah, and could not drink the waters, because they were bitter, God shewed them this tree, that with it he might make them sweet. Upon which tree he afterward placed the brazen serpent, by looking on which the people were healed, &c. Thus the cabalists generally tell this tale; but some of them much otherwise; who say it was given to Adam, and by him to Enoch, and so on till it came to Joseph, in whose house the Egyptians found it when he died, and brought it to Pharaoh; from whom Jethro stole it, &c. with a great deal of such-like stuff: which Abarbinel saith is to be understood mystically. But all the ground they have for this fancy, of the rod here laid up being Moses's rod, is from chap. xx. 8, 9. where it is said, that *Moses took the rod from before the Lord,* wherewith he brought water out of the rock; and this rod is said (ver. 11.) to be Moses's rod. Dr. Owen, upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, follows this conceit, and endeavours to find many mysteries in it. But it is evidently false: for as there is not the least intimation here that it was the rod of Moses, but, quite contrary, it is called *the rod of Aaron,* ver. 6. so it had not been a sufficient argument to convince the infidelity of the Israelites, if Aaron's rod had not been of the same kind with all the rest. For they might have ascribed what came to pass to the singular quality or virtue of that rod, especially if it were Moses's rod (wherewith wonders used to be wrought), and not to a special hand of God appearing to establish the authority of Aaron. And besides, a rod full of blossoms and fruit had been very unfit to be used to smite the rock withal; for which purpose that rod (which seems to have been his pastoral staff) wherewith he smote the rock in Horeb was most proper, (Exod. xvii. 5, 6.)

*And thou shalt quite take away their murmurings from me.*] *i. e.* Silence all their cavils against Aaron and his family; which the Lord here declares he would no longer bear, if they continued in them after this demonstration of his will and pleasure. For here were a great many miraculous things concurred together to convince them, that to oppose Aaron was to oppose God himself. The Jews reckon up eight. First, that Aaron's rod should bring forth buds, blossoms, and fruit, all in one night, when the other rods, which were of the same nature, brought forth nothing. And then, secondly, that the buds brought forth leaves; for so

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they interpret those words, (ver. 8.) the rod of *Aaron was budded, i. e.* brought forth leaves; for the next words speak of its *budding*, which followed after. And thirdly, that it thrust out leaves before the blossoms, which is contrary to the nature of the almond tree. And next, that it put forth blossoms all the rod over; as they interpret those words; *bloomed blossoms*. And then, that a dry stick (as they understand it) should produce fruit, and this fruit almonds, which such trees (they think), as that rod was taken from, did not bear. And further, that it produced *ripe almonds*, as the Hebrew word *schekedim* imports. And lastly, that Moses shewed the people all these at one view, the leaves, buds, blossoms, and fruit in perfection. By which multiplicity of miracles the dignity of Aaron was so demonstrated, that we do not find they at any time hereafter adventured to rise up against him. For, besides all those wonders now mentioned, it may be, that it was not the season of the year for almonds, nor so much as for the budding of that tree; which made it the more astonishing. But the greatest thing of all was, the continuing of this miracle to future ages; which might well make them afraid to open their mouths again in murmurings against Aaron.

*That they die not.*] Be not consumed in a moment, as God had more than once formerly threatened, (chap. xvi. 21. 45.) and now declared, if they did not mend their manners, and cease their murmurings about this matter, he would instantly execute.

Ver. 11. *And Moses did so: as the Lord commanded, so did he.*] Both brought the rod again to him, and laid it up before him; and told the children of Israel the reason of it, which occasioned what follows.

Ver. 12. *And the children of Israel spake unto Moses, saying, Behold, we die, we perish,* &c.] Moses having told them that he laid up the rod for this end, to be a witness against them, that (if they murmured any more) they deserved to be all cut off, as they should certainly be, it moved them to make this doleful complaint, wherein they seem to be convinced of their guilt, and to bewail their miserable state. For the sense of these two verses is, *Some of us died before, and now lately more have perished, and we are all in the same danger; surely we shall never have done dying, till we be all consumed.*

*Behold, we die.*] This seems to relate to those judgments which had passed upon them heretofore.

*We perish.*] And this to what had very lately happened to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with their company, and to those that murmured the next day after, (chap. xvi. 49.)

*We all perish.*] This will be the fate of the whole congregation.

Ver. 13. *Whosoever cometh any thing near unto the tabernacle of the Lord.*] Who was not a priest, and yet approached nearer than God allowed.

*Shall die.*] So Moses had threatened; and they now believed him, and were afraid withal they should some time or other incur God's displeasure by their rashness.

*Shall we be consumed with dying?*] They seem to be afraid, lest, for their late murmurings and insurrection, after such a heavy punishment for that sin, (chap. xvi. 41, 42.) God should further plague them, as by this new sign he convinced them they justly deserved; and therefore beg of Moses to entreat God to spare them, and not to go on utterly to destroy them.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord said unto Aaron.*] By the hand of Moses, it is most likely, unto whom God was wont to communicate all that he would have delivered, either to Aaron or to the people, (chap. xvii. 4.) And having done more miracles than one to establish Aaron in the priesthood, he now lets him know that the honour he had done him was an office of great weight and burden, wherein he was to behave himself with great care and circumspection: and withal, he again declares what the duty of the Levites was, together with the *priests*, from ver. 1. unto ver. 8. And from thence he proceeds to tell them what maintenance he had settled upon both, for their encouragement in doing their duty; as I shall observe in the proper places.

*Thou, and thy sons, and thy father's house with thee.*] You and the Levites (whom he calls his *father's house*), who had the charge of the sanctuary.

*Shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary.*] If the sanctuary were profaned, through the negligence of the Levites, who were to keep strangers, and people in their uncleanness, from entering into it; and if the priests were remiss, and did not take care to see the Levites do their duty, the punishment of such profanation, he tells them, should fall upon them.

*And thou and thy sons with thee.*] *i. e.* Aaron and the priests alone.

*Shall bear the iniquity of the priesthood.*] Suffer the punishment of it; if they permitted any person who was not of the line of Aaron to offer incense, or perform any part of the priest's office; or if they themselves should minister in their uncleanness, or having any blemish, or did any thing contrary to the rules of their office.

This was some comfort to the people, who were afraid they should die for every error committed in their approaches to the sanctuary, (chap. xvii. 12, 13.) for which he assures them he would punish the priests and the Levites, and not them. And it also served to remove the people's envy to the priest, whose dignity they saw accompanied with such great danger.

Ver. 2. *And thy brethren also of the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father.*] This also was a comfort to the Levites, and designed to make them more contented than they had been, in their inferior offices, that the priests were to look upon them as their brethren.

*Bring thou with thee.*] Into the tabernacle.

*That they may be joined with thee.*] As assistants to thee there.

*And minister unto thee.*] In such things as I have mentioned: (see upon chap. iii. 6.)

*But thou and thy sons with thee shall minister before the tabernacle of witness.*] The words *shall minister* not being in the Hebrew, some think he still speaks of the Levites, and translate the words thus, *both to thee, and to thy sons with thee* (they shall minister, as was said before) *before the tabernacle of witness.* But they that are of this opinion do not consider what is meant by *the tabernacle of witness*, which signifies the most holy place, (see chap. ix. 15. and x. 11.) before which the Levites did not minister; but before the *tabernacle of the congregation*, as Moses expressly speaks, chap. iii. 7. (see there,) where they attended upon



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the priests in the court of the sanctuary, in which the priests only could minister; as Aaron alone did, upon one certain day only, in the most holy place.

Ver. 3. *And they shall keep thy charge, and the charge of all the tabernacle.*] Of the outward part of it; (see chap. iii. 7, 8.) and carry the vessels belonging to the inward part, *viz.* the sanctuary, (chap. iv. 15.)

*Only they shall not come nigh the vessels of the sanctuary.*] They were not to touch them when they carried them, (chap. iv. 15.) nor to see when they were covered by the priests, (chap. iv. 19, 20.)

*And the altar.*] I take this to be meant not only of the *altar of incense*, but also of the *burnt-offering*; unto which they were not to approach, nor touch it, while they attended upon the priests, who only could minister there. This is justified from Exod. xxix. 37. where this altar is said to be *most holy*, and whosoever touched it is required to *be holy*.

*That neither they nor you also die.*] They for presuming to go beyond the bounds of their office, and the priest for permitting them.

Ver. 4. *And they shall be joined unto thee.*] He would have the priests look upon the Levites as part of that sacred body of men that waited upon God in the tabernacle, though in an inferior office. And, indeed, the very name of Levi imported as much: and denoted them to be adjuncts to some other persons. Accordingly we find, in aftertimes, that as the Levites were a guard on the outside of the temple, so the priests watched within it.

*And keep the charge of the tabernacle of the congregation, for all the service of the tabernacle.*] See chap. iii. 7, 8. The heaviest part of their service, which is called their burden, is mentioned particularly chap. iv. 3, 4. and the rest of that chapter.

*A stranger shall not come nigh unto you.*] This seems to relate both to the priests and to the inferior ministers: that none should presume to perform the office of the former, but only the family of Aaron; nor of the latter, who were not of the tribe of Levi. But the Hebrew doctors, particularly Maimonides, by *zar* (a *stranger*), understand in this place every one that was not of the seed-male of Aaron: so that the sons of his daughters should not minister. For the sons of Aaron, saith he, (Biath Hammikdash, cap. 9.) are appointed, and none other, to lay things in order for sacrifice, (Lev. i. 5.) and to burn the fat of the peace-offerings upon the altar, (Lev. iii. 8.) His daughters were incapable of it; and so were all those that descended from them. The same may be said of the Levites.

Ver. 5. *And ye shall keep.*] That is, the priests were bound to do what follows.

*The charge of the sanctuary.*] Where, as they alone were to minister, so they were to take care of all the holy things therein contained, (the shew-bread, lamps, &c.) and to cover them when they were to be removed, (chap. iv. 5, 6, &c.)

*And the charge of the altar.*] Of burnt-offering; where they only were to offer sacrifice, and to take care of every thing belonging to it, (chap. iv. 3. 14.)

*That there be no wrath any more upon the children of Israel.*] That you may by your care and constant admonitions prevent the children of Israel from running into such profanations, much more from such intrusions into the sacred offices, as may bring God's most high displeasure again upon them.

Ver. 6. *And I, behold, I have taken your brethren the Levites from among the children of Israel.*] See chap. iii. 12. 41. 45. and viii. 6. 16. 18. The Levites are again called their *brethren*, that the priests might not despise them because they served in a lower condition, but treat them with kindness and brotherly affection.

*To you are they given as a gift.*] See chap. iii. 9. but especially chap. viii. 19.

*For the Lord.*] To assist you in your ministry to the Lord.

*To do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] This hath been repeated very often, (chap. iii. 7, 8. iv. 3, 4. 23, &c. viii. 19. 22. 24.) and here is mentioned again that the Levites might be possessed with this opinion, that they were but ministers to the priests, and therefore ought not to presume hereafter to aspire, as Korah did, to the office of priesthood.

Ver. 7. *Therefore thou and thy sons with thee shall keep your priest's office.*] Preserve it to yourselves, and suffer no other person to invade it.

*For every thing of the altar.*] These words, and the following, briefly declare what is meant by the priest's office. First, to offer sacrifice at the altar of *burnt-offering*, and sprinkle the blood, &c.

*And within the veil.*] Next, to perform all the service of God within the sanctuary. For in the Hebrew the words are, *and for within the veil*, which is a short form of speech, importing both all that was to be done in the sanctuary by the sons of Aaron (as, burning incense, putting on the shew-bread, and lighting the lamps), and likewise all that was to be done in the most holy place, by Aaron himself, on the day of atonement. For the word *paroceth* always signifies the *inner veil*, before the most holy place; the *outward veil* being constantly called *masack;* and therefore the exactest translation of the Hebrew words *lemibbeth laparoceth* is this, *for within the house* (*i. e.* the holy place) *for the veil; i. e.* within the veil, in the most holy place.

*And ye shall serve.*] In these places ye alone shall serve, and employ nobody else.

*I have given your priest's office unto you as a service of gift.*] He would have the Levites to know, that Aaron and his sons had not arrogantly usurped this office of ministering alone at both the altars; but he had freely bestowed it upon them, and appropriated it unto them.

*And the stranger.*] Though a Levite, if he be not of the family of Aaron.

*That cometh nigh.*] Presumes to offer sacrifices at the altar of *burnt-offering*, or incense at the golden altar.

*Shall be put to death.*] This is repeated, by reason of the late rebellion of Korah and his complices, who, aspiring to the priesthood, came to a fearful end. (See chap. iii. 10.)

Ver. 8. *And the Lord spake unto Aaron, saying.*] Having told him in the foregoing part of the chapter (particularly in the foregoing verse) what should be the work of him and his sons, he proceeds to tell him what recompence he should have for his service at the altar of *burnt-offerings* and in the *sanctuary*. Of which he gives him a large account (from this verse to the twentieth), that he might want no encouragement to care and diligence in his employment.

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*Behold, I also, I have given thee the charge.*] He bids him observe the large grant which he now makes him, as well as the work he had laid upon him: for by *giving him the charge* of what follows, he means bestowing them upon him for his own use; with a charge to let none have them but himself.

*Of my heave-offerings of all the hallowed things of the children of Israel.*] See Lev. vii. 34. and below, ver. 11. of this chapter.

*Unto thee have I given them, by reason of the anointing.*] Because thou art consecrated, by being anointed with the holy oil to the office of a priest, (Lev. viii. 12.)

*And to thy sons by an ordinance for ever.*] See Lev. vii. 34.

Ver. 9. *This shall be thine of the most holy things.*] He begins with those things which might be eaten only by the priests themselves.

*Reserved from the fire.*] From the altar of burnt-offering: for there were some things called *most holy*, which were their portion, that came not from thence, but out of the sanctuary; *viz.* the *twelve cakes*, which were taken off the table, and given to Aaron and his sons every sabbath-day, (Lev. xxiv. 5—9.)

*Every oblation of theirs.*] In the Hebrew, *all their korbans:* which is a larger word than *zebach;* comprehending not only such sacrifices as were killed at the altar (which are properly called *zebachim*), but all the *minchas*, or *meat-offerings* (as we translate it), which were of things inanimate; and the sacrifices of birds also, whose blood was never poured out at the altar. And therefore *korban* seems here to be a general word, comprehending all the particulars which follow; especially if all be translated exactly, as the words are in the Hebrew.

*Every meat-offering of theirs,* &c.] In the Hebrew the words are, *for all their meat-offerings;* which makes the sense plainer, if the whole be thus translated, *All their korbans* (or oblations) *for all their meat-offerings, and for all their sin-offerings, and for all their trespass-offerings;* of all which the priest had a part. Concerning the *meat-offerings*, or rather the *bread-offerings* (for so *mincha* may most fitly be translated, the sacrifices being flesh, which were not eaten without bread and drink, that were their concomitants), see Lev. ii. 3. 10. vi. 15, 16. where the flesh of the sin-offerings, except those whose blood was brought into the most holy place, is given also unto them, (ver. 26.) and so are the trespass-offerings also, in the next chapter, (Lev. vii. 6, 7.) As for burnt-offerings, they were wholly the Lord's; and peace-offerings were not accounted things *most holy*, but reckoned amongst the *less holy;* as appears from ver. 11. of this present chapter.

*Which they shall render unto me.*] These words relate only to the trespass-offerings, immediately before named; which were attended with a recompence of the wrongs done, either unto the Lord, (Lev. v. 15, 16.) or unto their neighbours, (Lev. vi. 5. Numb. v. 8, 9.)

*Shall be most holy for thee, and for thy sons.*] To be used by none else; as it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 10. *In the most holy place shalt thou eat it.*] *i. e.* In the place where they performed their sacred office (in that part of the tabernacle next the sanctuary), which is called *most holy*, in comparison with the rest which were further off, because none might enter into it but the priests alone: see note upon Lev. vi. 16. where it is said expressly, *it shall be eaten in the holy place, in the court of the tabernacle of the congregation.* And see ver. 26. and chap. x. 12, 13.

*Every male shall eat it.*] And none else, as the places beforementioned expressly limit it, (Lev. ii. 3. 10. vi. 18. 29. vii. 6.)

*It shall be holy unto thee.*] Peculiarly separated from the use of all other persons, but only Aaron and his sons.

Ver. 11. *And this is thine.*] Now he mentions the *less holy* things, as before the *most holy;* which he bestowed upon him and his whole family.

*The heave-offerings of their gift, with all the wave-offerings of the children of Israel.*] That is, the breast of their *peace-offerings* (which are here called their *gift*), which was *waved* before the Lord, and the right shoulder *heaved;* and then given to the priest for his portion, (Lev. vii. 30—34.) And so was the right shoulder of the ram, which was offered for the Nazarite, (Numb. vi. 19, 20.)

*I have given them unto thee, and unto thy sons, and to thy daughters with thee,* &c.] These were not confined to the males only, but might be eaten by their daughters also, (Lev. x. 14.)

*Every one that is clean in thy house shall eat of it.*] Not only their wives, and their daughters that were not married, but those who were divorced or widows, and returned to their father's house without children; or had children begotten by a priest, (see Lev. xxii. 13.) together with their servants also, whether bought with their money, or born in their house; though not hired servants, or mere sojourners, (Lev. xxii. 10, 11.) But these things were to be eaten in a clean place, (Lev. x. 14.) somewhere within the camp, as afterward in Jerusalem: (Deut. xii. 6, 7. 17, 18.) and no unclean person permitted to eat of them, (Lev. vii. 20, 21. xxii. 4.) And besides, when any Israelite killed an ox, a sheep, or a goat for his own use, he was bound to give the priest the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw; as the Jews understand, Deut. xviii. 3.

Ver. 12. *All the best of the oil, and all the best of the wine,* &c.] The Greek translates the Hebrew word *cheleb (fat)* by μυελὸς, *marrow*, Gen. xlv. 18. but here ἀπαρχὴ, *the first-fruits of the oil,* &c. signifying these first-fruits were to be of the very best of all the things here mentioned; which were to be brought in the beginning of the vintage, and of the harvest: the precise quantity of which is no where determined; but, they say, it was at least the sixtieth part of the whole: see Exod. xxii. 29. xxiii. 19. Deut. xviii. 4. where he speaks of the first-fruits which every private man was to offer; beside which there was a first-fruit offered in the name of the whole congregation, (Lev. xxiii. 10. 17.) All which belonged to the priests as a reward for their service.

*The first-fruits of them, which they shall offer unto the Lord, them have I given thee.*] Our Mr. Thorndike thus distinguishes the two sorts of first-fruits mentioned here, and in other places: the one was to be taken by the priests at the barn and wine-press, as he thinks that here spoken of was: the other was to be brought to the sanctuary, *viz.* those mentioned Exod. xxii. and xxiii. Deut. xxvi. 1, 2. The quantity of either of them being in the moderate account, a fiftieth part, as St. Jerome determines upon Ezek. xlv. which is agreeable to the Jewish constitutions in Mai-



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monides, of First-fruits, cap. 2. and of Separations, cap. 3. But the Scripture (Ezek. xlv. 13.) requires only the sixtieth part. (See Rights of the Church in a Christian State, p. 210.)

Ver. 13. *And whatsoever is first ripe in the land, which they shall bring unto the Lord, shall be thine.*] Some take this to signify the *first-fruits* of all other things besides corn, wine, and oil, mentioned in the foregoing verse. But it being a different word from that which we translate *first-fruits* (*viz. biccurim*, not *reshith*), it is most likely, he here intends, either the things *first ripe* (as we translate it) before the rest of the harvest and vintage, or those voluntary offerings of this sort which any one pleased to make; which seem to be intended in these words, *which they shall bring unto the Lord; i. e.* of their own good will, over and above the ordinary first-fruits.

The Jews generally understand by *biccurim* such things as are ripe before the rest, either in the field or elsewhere; whether they were wheat, barley, or any other sort of grain; or figs, grapes, pomegranates, olives, or dates; which they bound about with a rush, and said, *let this be for the first-fruits:* which every man might bring in what measure he pleased, none being appointed by the law.

*Every one that is clean in thy house shall eat of it.*] The whole family of the priests, if they were under no pollution: (see ver. 11.)

Ver. 14. *Every thing devoted in Israel shall be thine.*] Of those things which the Hebrews call *cherem* (a thing devoted), Moses speaks in Lev. xxvii. 21. 28. And they were either simply devoted, in such words as these, *let this thing be a cherem;* or with an addition (determining it to a certain use), *let this be a cherem offered by me for holy uses.* The first sort was wholly the priests'; but the latter was employed about the temple, or the vessels of it, or the priests' garments. And these devoted things, which became the priests' portion, differed in this from free-will-offerings, that every thing which was offered as a *cherem* might be eaten only by the priests in the holy place; but other free-will-offerings by the whole family in any clean place.

Ver. 15. *Every thing that openeth the matrix in all flesh, which they bring unto the Lord, whether it be of men or beasts, shall be thine.*] That which first came out of the womb of any creature was to be the priests', if it were a male. If a female were the first-born, and a male followed next, that was not the priests', because it did not open the womb, as the Hebrews expound it. (See Exod. xiii. 2.)

*Nevertheless the first-born of man shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of unclean beasts shalt thou redeem.*] See Exod. xiii. 13. xxxiv. 20.

Ver. 16. *And those that are to be redeemed.*] *viz.* Of the first-born of men mentioned before, (not of unclean creatures, which were to be redeemed by a lamb, Exod. xiii. 13.) and that after they were eight days old, (Exod. xxii. 30.)

*From a month old shalt thou redeem.*] Then the money was due, but they commonly stayed till the fortieth day, when the woman was purified.

*According to thy estimation.*] Some think this relates not to what follows, that the priest should set a value upon them (for that was a set rate, *five shekels* for every one), but to what goes before, that, after a child was a month old, the priest should appoint a day for the payment of the redemption-money; either immediately after the woman had lain in a month, or on the fortieth day, that she might be purified and the child redeemed both together But it rather refers to what follows: for though the price be determined, yet so it is in another case, (Lev. xxvii. 3, 4.) and notwithstanding is said to be by the estimation of the priest; because he was to take this money, not according to the quality of the person, but as much of a poor man as of a rich, and not more of a rich man than of a poor.

*For the money of five shekels,* &c.] Which was the price set upon the first-born, when they were exchanged for the Levites, (chap. iii. 46, 47.) This redemption of every first-born was a matter of great importance, and therefore so often mentioned, as a very learned friend of mine, Dr. Alix, observes, in his Reflections on the four last Books of Moses, chap. 3. For as the separation of the tribe of Levi to God's service instead of the first-born, whom God spared and preserved in Egypt (of which we read in the third chapter of this book), made every Levite become a living memorial of that great miracle wrought at the Israelites going out of Egypt; so this law concerning the redemption of the first-born made a further impression upon their minds, of that mighty hand of God which compelled Pharaoh to let the Israelites depart out of his country.

Ver. 17. *But the firstling of a cow, or of a sheep, or a goat, thou shalt not redeem.*] For they were clean creatures; and only unclean beasts were to be redeemed, (ver. 15.)

*They are holy.*] Separated by my appointment for a holy use; *viz.* to be offered in sacrifice; not redeemed, nor put to any other use.

*Thou shalt sprinkle their blood upon the altar, and burn their fat,* &c.] Just as they did with their peace-offerings, (Lev. vii. 31. 33.)

Ver. 18. *And the flesh of them shall be thine.*] The whole body of the beasts (not merely some part of them), after the fat was burnt, became the priests' entirely.

*As the wave-breast and the right shoulder are thine.*] As these parts of the peace-offerings were the priests', (see ver. 11.) so that all their family, who were clean, might eat of the flesh of these firstlings, as they did of those parts of the peace-offerings.

Ver. 19. *All the heave-offerings of the holy things, which the children of Israel offer unto the Lord.*] He repeats what he had said in the beginning of this discourse, (ver. 8.) that he had given him all the heave-offerings; which comprehend those mentioned chap. vi. 19, 20.

*Have I given thee, and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, by a statute for ever.*] Settled upon the priests and their whole family for their support, by an unalterable law. (See ver. 11.)

*It is a covenant of salt for ever before the Lord unto thee,* &c.] *i. e.* An everlasting covenant, never to be revoked. (See upon Lev. ii. 13.) And these things being to be eaten *before the Lord,* there was a place in the court of the women where they feasted upon them; as L'Empereur observes upon Middoth, cap. 2. sect. 6.

Ver. 20. *And the Lord spake unto Aaron, saying.*] See ver. 1.

*Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land.*] *i. e.* In the land of the children of Israel, whom he speaks of in the foregoing verse: where, having told him what reward he

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and his family should have for his service, he bids them be satisfied therewith, and not expect any more. And indeed it was so very liberal a provision, that their desires could not reasonably extend any further. For as they had two sorts of first-fruits (as I observed ver. 12.) so, after a tithe of that which was given to the Levites, there was another tithe of what remained to be spent in sacrificing at Jerusalem; that is, for the most part, upon the priests and Levites, unto whom, and unto the poor, it wholly belonged every third year, (Deut. xiv. 22. 28. Exod. xxiii. 19. xxxiv. 20.) Add hereunto the first-born, all the sin-offerings, and their share in the peace-offerings, and the skins of the sacrifices (which alone, as Philo observes, were a great revenue), and it will appear it could not be so little as a fifth part of the fruit of the country that came to the priests for their maintenance, as Mr. Thorndike observes in the Rights of the Church in a Christian State, p. 211.

*Neither shalt thou have any part among them.*] When the land was divided, no fields, or vineyards, &c. were to be given to the priests, nor to any of the tribe of Levi. And, as the Jewish doctors say, they were to have no part among their brethren in the spoil. So Jarchi upon this place, and Maimonides, and others, who endeavour to answer the objection which may be raised against this from the thirty-first chapter of this very book, ver. 28, 29. where a tribute was taken of the prey they got from the Midianites, and given to Eleazar and the Levites. This tribute, say they, was offered because the spoil came by executing God's vengeance upon a land that was not theirs, (chap. xxv. 17.) But of the land of Sihon and Og (which God bestowed upon them, as he did the land of Canaan), nothing was given to the priests and Levites; for they were admonished to the contrary (as they understand them) by these words, *neither shalt thou have any part among them;* no, not of the spoil.

Certain it is, that of the land of the country they were to have no part, God having otherwise provided for them, that they might attend wholly to his service, and not spend their time in tilling the ground, or feeding cattle, which would have taken up their thoughts very much from their sacred employment. Yet the Levites had certain cities and their suburbs assigned to them, chap. xxxv. 2, &c. (which was executed by Joshua, as God commanded, Josh. xxi. 2, 3.) whereby they were dispersed among the tribes of Israel, that they might the better instruct the people in the Divine law, (Deut. xxxiii. 10. 2 Chron. xxx. 22. Malachi ii. 4, 5, &c.) By accident also the priests came to have some land. (See Lev. xxvii. 20, &c. and my notes there.)

*I am thy part, and thine inheritance among the children of Israel.*] For they were maintained in his house, and lived upon his altar, and fed from his table; as it is explained in Josh. xiii. 14. "The sacrifices of the Lord God of Israel made by fire are their inheritance, as he said unto them:" which is given as the reason why Joshua gave them no inheritance. And see ver. 33. of that chapter, where the *Lord God of Israel* is said to be *their inheritance:* who, it appears by the foregoing part of this chapter, and other places, made such an ample provision for them, that if he had given them any part of the land of Canaan together with it, there had been too great an inequality between them and the rest of the tribes of Israel. For without any share in the land, their portion was far richer than that of any other persons whatsoever. I have said enough to prove this already; but it may not be amiss to set it before the reader again a little more distinctly. As they had yearly the first-fruits of the whole country, which were at least the sixtieth part of the fruits it produced; and the tenth part of the tithe given to the Levites, (as it follows below, ver. 26.) and all free-will-offerings; together with the money which arose out of persons and things devoted unto God; and all the firstlings of cows, sheep, and goats, and the redemption-money for the firstlings of such creatures as were unclean: so they had all the meat-offerings, offerings for sin, and trespass-offerings; together with the breast and shoulder of all peace-offerings, and the skins of all burnt-offerings; and the loaves made of the first dough, and the shew-bread, and (as Josephus and others expound Deut. xviii. 3.) a considerable part of every beast that was killed for private use; besides the cities and land about them which were assigned to the Levites: which, if well weighed, there will appear a vast difference between the priests and the rest of the people. For the first-fruits alone, if they were not less than the sixtieth part of the product of the country, might seem sufficient, especially if the firstlings be added, the priests not being the sixtieth part of the people; no, nor the hundredth part, as learned men have computed. (See Bonfrerius.)

Ver. 21. *And, behold.*] Now he gives the Levites notice of the recompence he would make them for their service, as he had told the priests what they should have for theirs. And Aaron hath the delivery of this grant made to them from God, that they might see he did not mind himself, and the interest of his own family only.

*I have given the children of Levi all the tenth in Israel.*] See Levit. xxvii. 30. and 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6. where they are distinctly mentioned. Aben Ezra thinks the *tenth* rather than any other part was assigned, because it was a perfect number; ten being in simple numbers the highest to which we can arise, without repeating the numbers under it. For it is (as he speaks) the beginning of the second combination, and the end of the first, whereupon all numbers do depend: which our Mr. Mede hath expressed, in my judgment, far better; who looks upon it as God's favourable dealing with men, in requiring but *the tenth,* which is in truth the least part of their goods, according to the first division. For when we proceed beyond ten, we begin to make a new division, as eleven is ten and one, &c. But we need not have recourse to such niceties. (See upon Genesis xxviii. 22.)

*For an inheritance.*] Instead of a share in the land of Canaan, which other tribes had divided among them. And a larger inheritance this was than any other tribe possessed; for this was the smallest tribe of all, as appears by comparing the account which is given of them in the beginning of this book. For all the males of this tribe, from a month old and upward, were but two-and-twenty thousand; (chap. iii. 29.) whereas in the tribe of Judah alone there were above threescore and fourteen thousand men of war: (chap. i. 26, 27.) and yet the Levites had a tenth part of the product of the whole country; and the twelve tribes had only the other nine parts among them. Such a care had God of those who were peculiarly devoted to his service.

*For the service which they serve,* &c.] As a reward of their service; of which see chap. iv.

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Ver. 22. *Neither must the children of Israel henceforth come nigh the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Or rather, *Therefore the children of Israel must not come nigh*, so as to perform any of the offices belonging to the priests and Levites; who were appointed to do every thing belonging to the service of God there, and had their reward for it also appointed.

*Lest they bear sin, and die.*] Be punished with death; which is often threatened to such presumption.

Ver. 23. *But the Levites shall do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] It was their work, and nobody's else; and therefore no other persons were to meddle with it: that is, they alone guarded the tabernacle, and afterward the temple; opened the gates of it, kept out all strangers (*i.e.* all but priests and Levites), carried the tabernacle, and its vessels, when they were to be removed, &c.

*And they shall bear their iniquity.*] They shall die for it, if they permit any one else to come there and do their work, (see ver. 1.)

*It shall be a statute for ever throughout their generations, that among the children of Israel they have no inheritance.*] As all other persons were excluded from serving in the tabernacle, so they who served there were shut out from having any inheritance among their brethren. This was made an unalterable law, which provided another separate maintenance for them, by the tithes of all the land; as here it again follows.

Ver. 24. *But the tithes of the children of Israel, which they offer as a heave-offering unto the Lord.*] That the people might not grudge to pay them the tithes for their service, he represents them as a heave-offering which they offered to God, in gratitude to him, of whom, as the supreme landlord, they held their land. Not that they were heaved up or waved before the Lord: but they were of the same nature with those things that were so offered to him, *i. e.* holy things, separate to his uses; all which are called by this name of *terumah*, (ver. 8.) And particularly all the offerings which God required to be freely brought, for the building him a sanctuary, are called by this name of *terumah*, or heave-offering, (Exod. xxv. 2. See there.)

*I have given to the Levites to inherit.*] The Israelites gave them to God; and he gave them to the Levites for their inheritance; who had as much right to them, as the other tribes had to their land. Which was the reason he ordered they should have no portion of the land of Canaan with the other tribes, as it here follows; *therefore have I said unto them, Among the children of Israel shall they have no inheritance*: for he had given them the tithes to inherit. But R. Solomon Jarchi observes also, that the Levites themselves had no right to them, till they had taken out the tenth part from their tenth, and given it to the priests; as is here immediately directed.

Ver. 25. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] In all the foregoing part of the chapter, (ver. 1. 8. 20.) the Lord spake unto Aaron (though by Moses), but here his order is particularly directed to Moses; because that which follows would better come from him, than from Aaron; who was employed in acquainting the Levites with the donation God had made of the tithes to them, (ver. 21.) but it would not have been so proper for him to tell them what was to be given out of the tithes to himself and to the priests.

Ver. 26. *Thus speak unto the Levites, and say unto them, When ye take of the children of Israel the tithes, which I have given you from them for your inheritance.*] In these words Moses confirms the report which Aaron had made to them, that the tithes of the land should be theirs, and their brethren the children of Israel have no right to them.

*Then shall ye offer up a heave-offering for the Lord.*] As the Israelites made their grateful acknowledgments to God by offering their tithes to him, for the use of his servants the Levites, (ver. 24.) so it was but fit that the Levites should be so grateful as to offer to him the tithe of their tithes (as it here follows), for such uses as he should appoint.

*Even a tenth part of the tithe.*] For the tenth part which God reserved to himself out of the land which he gave the children of Israel, was a kind of rent paid to him their supreme Lord: and he assigning this rent over to the Levites for their maintenance, thought good notwithstanding to reserve a tithe of this tenth part to himself; that thereby he might, as it were, hold his possession, and keep *seisin* (as the lawyers speak) of his own inheritance.

Ver. 27. *And this your heave-offering shall be reckoned unto you.*] Be accepted by God, as the offerings heaved up to him in the sanctuary are, (ver. 24.) though it be but the hundredth part of the whole fruit of the land.

*As though it were the corn of the thrashing-floor, and as the fulness of the wine-press.*] As if you paid such a tithe, as the Israelites do to you, out of all their own fields and vineyards: that is, they were to believe their offering of this small part to be as acceptable to God, as that of all the tribes of Israel; and that they should have the same right to what remained, when they had done this, as the people had to all the rest of the fruits of the earth, when they had paid the tenth part to the Levites.

Ver. 28. *Thus you also shall offer a heave-offering unto the Lord of all your tithe s which ye receive of the children of Israel.*] He would have them know that he ordered this, because he would not have the Levites alone offer nothing to him, from whom they received so much; but they also should make him a grateful acknowledgment as well as others.

*And ye shall give thereof the Lord's heave-offering.*] It is called so often the *Lord's heave-offering*, that they might the more willingly pay it, out of a thankful sense of what they owed to him, the donor of all.

*To Aaron the priest.*] This tithe is thought by some to have been designed for the high-priest alone. Two great men in their time were of this opinion, *viz.* Nicolaus Lyra, and the famous Alphonsus Tostatus. And another very learned person of our own (bishop R. Montague), thinks it not altogether improbable, that such a provision as this might be made for the high-priest and his family, state and dignity; he being a man of great power and might, only less than the kings of Israel; and the inferior priests having a noble maintenance, without this, from the first-fruits and offerings of the people.

But there is nothing to support this, but the mere letter of the text: for Josephus expressly says the contrary, (lib. vi. Archæolog. cap. 4.) and so do the generality of the Jewish writers, and St. Jerome also, that all the priests had their share in this tenth paid by the Levites: which, till it was paid, the Levites might not spend, to their own use, any

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part of their tithe. And to secure this, "the priest was to be with the Levites when they took tithes," (as we read Nehem. x. 37, 38.) to take care that they set out a tenth part of them for the priests. Where by *the priest the son of Aaron*, I cannot think is meant the high-priest himself (for that had been below his dignity), but some priest, I suppose, appointed by him, who took care of the concerns of the whole order of priesthood, and particularly of the high-priest's interest; who, it is probable, had a principal share among the rest in this revenue; perhaps a tenth part out of their tenth. But for this I have no authority: though I take it for certain, that when he saith this tenth should be given *to Aaron the priest*, the meaning is, that, as it was not for himself alone, but all his sons had a share in it, so he himself was not excluded from an honourable portion of it.

It may seem strange, perhaps, that there is no particular portion set out for the high-priest by himself, if this be not it. But it is to be considered, that all the forenamed provision (from ver. 8. to ver. 20.) was made for him in the first place, and for the priests together with him. For so the words run, *unto thee have I given them, and to thy sons*, (ver. 8, 9, &c.) And he had this privilege also, that he did not minister by lot, as the other priests did in their several courses, but when he pleased; and might take to himself what sacrifices he thought good to offer, (ver. 9, 10.) as Maimonides tells us, in Cele Mikdasch, cap. 5. where he speaks concerning the high-priest's prerogatives.

Ver. 29. *Out of all your gifts.*] Not only out of their tithes, but out of all their other possessions, which God gave them; their fields, for instance, which were in the suburbs of their cities.

*Ye shall offer.*] Make a present to the priests.

*Every heave-offering.*] Some portion of every thing God gives you to possess.

*Of the Lord.*] As a thankful acknowledgment of the Divine bounty to you, upon whom he hath bestowed so many good things. (See ver. 28.)

*Of all the best thereof.*] And that not of the refuse, but of the best of the tithe, and other things that were given them: by which is not to be understood, that they were bound to pick out the very best, wheat suppose, and separate it from the worse (which would have been to have given them more than a tenth part), but they were to give the priests as good as they left for themselves. For that was the rule, (Lev. xxvii. 32, 33.) And it was but reason the priests should have this honourable provision made for them above the Levites, their vocation being more honourable, and their service more noble, in the very sanctuary itself: for which cause this tenth of the tithe of the land was assigned them; which, they being but few in comparison with the Levites, made the allowance to every one of them much greater than to any of the Levites. And yet, as an augmentation to it, they had the first-fruits and their fees, as I said before, out of the sacrifices and other things wholly to their own use.

*Even the hallowed part thereof, out of it.*] The sacred part was the tenth part, which they might not use; it being taken by God for his part, (Lev. xxvii. 30.) By which all the rest was sanctified to the use of the owner, when this part was taken out of it, which may possibly be here also intended.

Ver. 30. *Therefore thou shalt say unto them.*] Tell them the reason why this tenth part must be separated from the rest.

*When ye have heaved the best thereof from it.*] Taken out the tenth part as an offering to the Lord.

*Then it shall be counted to the Levites as the increase of the thrashing-floor, and as the increase of the wine-press.*] Then the remainder may be as freely used by them as the corn or the wine of any man's land in Israel, when he had paid his tithe: but till then it was unlawful for him to enjoy it, because God was first to be served. This is made more plain in the next verse.

Ver. 31. *And ye shall eat it.*] After the hallowed part was taken out (ver. 29.) all the rest was theirs, to be enjoyed as men do that which is their own.

*In every place.*] This seems to be said to distinguish these from the holy things given by God to the priests; which, being offered at the altar, were to be eaten only in the holy place; but the tithes, though they were a kind of offering to the Lord, yet not being presented at the altar, might be eaten any where, after the tenth part was given to the priests.

*And your households.*] All their family, servants as well as others, might eat of them, whether they were clean or not. And more than this, they might sell them to strangers, to buy other necessaries with the money they yielded, or exchange them for other commodities.

*For it is your reward for your service in the tabernacle of the congregation.*] See ver. 21.

Ver. 32. *And ye shall bear no sin.*] Suffer no punishment.

*By reason of it.*] For eating it, with your households.

*When ye have heaved from it the best of it.*] When they had taken out the tenth part as sacred to God's uses, (ver. 28.) they might safely use the rest themselves as they pleased: for God had given it to them for their support, and therefore would not punish them for eating it, as he did those that did eat holy things which did not belong to them.

*Neither shall ye pollute the holy things of the children of Israel.*] Nor would there be any danger of polluting the holy things (which God had reserved to himself) by turning them to a common use, as there would have been if they had eaten the tithes, or other gifts, before the tenth part, which was God's, was taken out of them.

*Lest ye die.*] In the Hebrew it is, *nor shall ye die;* as those did who meddled with the holy things, which God reserved for his ministers alone.

## CHAP. XIX.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying.*] They were both concerned in what follows; Moses to deliver the command, and Aaron to see it executed.

Ver. 2. *This is the ordinance.*] Or, *the constitution.*

*Of the law which the Lord hath commanded.*] Which is now passed into a law by God's command; who had ordered this water of purification to be made some time before, as appears from chap. viii. 7. but now sets down a rule for all posterity to observe in the making of it. It is the rather mentioned now after the foregoing history, to free the people from that great fear they were in of perish-

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ing in their uncleanness, (chap. xvii. 12, 13.) by shewing them a way how to be purified from the greatest pollution, before they approached to the tabernacle.

*Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring thee.*] At the common charge of the people, because it was for their common benefit.

*A red heifer.*] The Hebrew word *parah*, which we translate *heifer*, signifies a *young cow*; as *par* signifies a *young bullock*, not above two or three years old at most, as Kimchi and others observe.

*Without spot.*] This the Jews refer to the word *red*, which goes before, and take it to signify *perfectly red*, without the mixture of any other colour: for as to any other imperfections, they are provided against in the next words, *without blemish:* insomuch that Maimonides, in his treatise on this subject, saith, that if this cow had two hairs black or white, it was unfit for this use. From whence other nations, particularly the Egyptians, derived the custom of sacrificing red oxen, as Plutarch tells us in his book de Iside et Osiride, τῶν βοῶν τοὺς πυῤῥοὺς καθιερεύουσιν, &c. And he saith they searched them so very narrowly, that if they found one hair black or white, they counted it ἄθυτον, *unfit to be sacrificed:* see Bochartus, par. i. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 39. where he shews, this was the most common colour among that sort of creatures in some countries.

*Wherein is no blemish.*] See Lev. xxii. 20—22.

*And upon which never came yoke.*] Had never been employed in ploughing the ground, or any other work: for according to the common sense of all mankind, those creatures which had been made to serve other uses, became unfit to be offered to God. Whence Diomedes promises Pallas a cow of a year old,

————ἣν οὔπω ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνήρ.

*Which no man hitherto had brought under the yoke.* (Iliad. K.) And so doth Nestor, Odyss. 1. and the like Bochartus observes out of Virgil, Ovid, and others, in his Hierozoicon, (par. i. lib. ii. cap. 33.)

All this is very plain; but why a young cow, rather than a bullock (which is commonly appointed in sacrifices), and why one perfectly red, is not so easy to understand. If we had any reason to believe that those superstitions were among the Egyptians in the days of Moses, which were when Plutarch or Herodotus lived, we might very probably say (as some men of learning have), that this precept was given to preserve the Israelites from their religion. For they abhorred to offer a cow, whom they honoured as sacred to Isis. So Herodotus; they sacrificed males, both old and young, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφιν ἔξεστι θύειν· *but it is not lawful for them to offer females,* (lib. ii. cap. 41.) And therefore God, it might be thought, ordered a cow to be burnt rather than a bullock: and for the same cause one perfectly red, because that was a colour odious and abominable to the Egyptians; who fancied Typhon (the author of all evil in their account), to be of that colour; and therefore offered him red oxen, as hateful to them as red men and asses were. Thus Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus. In opposition to which it may be thought, that a cow of this colour was acceptable to God, because hated and abhorred by those idolaters: but I look upon what such late writers say as of no authority in this matter. And as there is no proof of any such customs among the Egyptians in Moses's time, so there is a high probability that the whole fable of Typhon was framed out of the story of Moses, as Bochartus hath most ingeniously endeavoured to make out, by many observations out of that book of Plutarch, and other authors, (Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 34. p. 340, 341, &c.)

But supposing the antiquity of those superstitions among the Egyptians to have been as great as some fancy them, I cannot think, that if Moses had had any respect to them, he would have ordered such a great number of sacrifices, as we read of in his law, without the least consideration of the colour of any one of them, and only mention the colour of this cow, which was no sacrifice. I rather think this perfect red colour was chosen because of its rarity; it being hard to find a cow without any the least mixture of other hair. And though it were not a sacrifice, yet being designed to the same end, there was a respect herein to that great expiation which was made by the sacrifice of Christ: with whose blood, though the apostle did not compare the blood of this heifer (because it was not offered), yet he doth compare it with the ashes of this burnt heifer, put into the water of purification. See Heb. ix. 13. where, after the blood of bulls and goats, he mentions the *ashes of this heifer sprinkling the unclean.* For they were a more extraordinary sort of purification than any under the law; of which we no where read, but in this place; nor of any command for the repeated burning of such an heifer to ashes (as there is for the anniversary sacrifice on the day of atonement), but only of the use of the water made of these ashes as oft as there was occasion. But of this it will be more fit to treat in the following part of the chapter.

Ver. 3. *And ye shall give her.*] They who brought her in the name of the whole congregation were to bring her to Moses, as the foregoing verse directs: and he and Aaron were to deliver her to Eleazar.

*Unto Eleazar the priest.*] It is commonly thought that Aaron might not be employed in the following work, because it would have defiled him, and made him unfit to minister before God for a season; which he was bound to avoid, even when natural affection seemed to require it: (Lev. xxi. 11, 12.) yet a vulgar priest was not entrusted with this service, but it was committed unto the very next person to Aaron, who was to be his successor, because it was of very great weight and importance.

*That he may bring her forth without the camp.*] As a thing exceeding unclean; more impure than any common offering for sin. For the greater the impurity was that was laid upon any sacrifice, the further still off from the sanctuary it was carried. The bullock, for instance, which was offered for a sin committed by the priest, or the whole congregation, was in part offered at the altar, but the far greater part was to be burnt without the camp, (Lev. iv. 12. 20.) And so was the bullock and goat, offered for all the sins of the people, on the great day of expiation: (Lev. xvi. 27.) and the scape-goat, which was designed for the same purpose, was not so much as burnt, but banished into a land not inhabited, nobody knows whither. All which more particularly represented Christ in his sufferings, as the apostle observes, Heb. xiii. 11, 12. and so did this in part; having something of the nature of a sacrifice in it. For though it was not a sacrifice brought to be slain at the

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altar, yet it was intended to be used to the same purpose, for the cleansing of the people from the greatest legal defilement.

*And one shall slay her before his face.*] Some person appointed by Eleazar (for it was not necessary a priest should do it) was to kill her without the camp. Where it is plain from ver. 5. 8, 9. there were more than one concerned in this office. But it could not be slain unless Eleazar was there; and it was to be done in his presence, who was the chief of the priests, to shew that it was intended for God's service, though not offered as sacrifices were at the tabernacle before the Lord. And this is the reason, perhaps, why the care of this heifer is committed to Eleazar, and not to Aaron, because he officiated only at the tabernacle.

Ver. 4. *And Eleazar the priest shall take of her blood with his finger.*] As they did in expiatory sacrifices, (Lev. iv. 6.)

*And sprinkle of her blood.*] In the sprinkling of the blood, as the Jews observe, consisted the very essence of an expiatory sacrifice. Therefore, though this was not a sacrifice, yet it had something of that nature in it, and may be called a *piaculum*, an expiatory thing; though nothing was called *korban, a sacrifice*, but what was offered at the altar, as our Dr. Outram hath most judiciously observed against Abarbinel, who calls this red cow *an offering for sin.*

*Directly before the tabernacle of the congregation.*] This rite of sprinkling the blood was never used but in sacrifices slain at the altar, in the presence of God; and in this red cow, which was slain in the prospect of the sanctuary; towards which the priest was to look steadfastly while he sprinkled it; otherwise, the Jews say, it was in vain: which shews that the validity of this act, and of the purification to be made by it, was to be expected from the sanctuary. For the blood of that heifer, whose head was cut off to cleanse a city, near to which a man was found slain by an unknown person, was not sprinkled; being slain, not in sight of the sanctuary, but in a valley near that city, (Deut. xxi. 3, 4, &c.) And in this the Jews were so curious, that after the temple was built, this blood being to be sprinkled directly before the porch of it, they took care the gate Shushan, which was before it, should have lower battlements than any other gate of the temple had, that the priest might see the face of the porch of the house of God.

*Seven times.*] This signifies the perfection of the expiation that was to be made by this red cow, on whose ashes the Jews thought so much depended, that they took care the priest, who was to see her burnt, should be put apart in a chamber of the temple (called *the house of stone*), that they might be certain he was free from all pollution by a grave, or a dead corpse. For the ashes of this burnt cow being the great and only cleanser for that defilement, they took suitable care that he should not be defiled who went to burn her. See Dr. Lightfoot's Temple Service, chap. 17. sect. 2. where he describes, out of Maimonides, and others, how solemnly the priest was attended when he went about this work. And the apostle had reason to mention the ashes of this heifer, wherewith the water was made for sprinkling the unclean, as the principal thing that *sanctified to the purifying of the flesh, i. e.* taking away bodily defilements: with which he compares the blood of Christ, as infinitely more powerful for the *purifying of the conscience from dead works.* (Heb. ix. 13, 14.) In which words, *dead works*, there is a respect (as our Dr. Jackson observes) to the main intention of these ashes, which were for the purification of those defiled by dead bodies. And he seems to me also not to be led by fancy, but by a solid judgment, when he considered these ashes also as a notable figure of the everlasting efficacy of Christ's blood, of which the apostle there discourses. For, if the frequent occasion for the use of the water of purification had not spent all the ashes of the heifer now slain and burnt by Eleazar, they might have been preserved for this purpose, without any danger of putrefaction, for a longer time than the law of ceremonies lasted. For ashes, being well kept, never perish; and therefore are an emblem of immortality. But it must be considered, that the frequent use of these ashes might exhaust the whole stock of them made at this time, and make it necessary the priests should burn another heifer for the same end; as the Jews say they did, though so rarely (as I shall note below), that this burning of a red heifer was not reiterated, if we may believe them, till the destruction of Solomon's temple. Which makes them a more notable figure, though not a perfect one (for no such can be found), of the power of Christ's blood to purify us for ever, without the repetition of it continually; which was the imperfection of the legal sacrifices, that they must be often offered.

Ver. 5. *And one shall burn the heifer in his sight; her skin, and her flesh, and her blood, with her dung, shall he burn.*] There was a great pile of wood (to which they set fire immediately after he had done sprinkling), in which this heifer was more entirely burnt than any public expiatory sacrifice beforementioned, ver. 2. (for here the remainder of the blood is ordered to be burnt), because this was of all other things the most unclean, and to be utterly consumed at a distance from the sanctuary.

Ver. 6. *And the priest shall take cedar-wood, and hyssop, and scarlet.*] These three things composed that instrument which the priest made use of for sprinkling of leprous persons, or houses, when they were to be cleansed, (Lev. xiv. 6, 7. 49, 50, &c. where see what I have noted.) And the apostle mentions two of them, as used by Moses himself, when he sprinkled the book of the covenant, and all the people, with the blood of the sacrifice; (Heb. ix. 19.) which, though not mentioned in Exodus, yet the apostle knew was the ancient way of sprinkling. And therefore these things which were used of old as cleansers, either of inward or outward filth, are ordered here to be thrown into the fire, while the heifer was burning in it, whose ashes were to be the great means of men's purification from the highest pollutions.

*And cast it.*] He speaks as if these three things being bound together became one.

*Into the midst of the burning of the heifer.*] To denote the great virtue which the water, made of the ashes of all these things, should have to cleanse those who were sprinkled with it; one of these things (*viz.* hyssop) being ordered to be dipped into the water for that purpose, (ver. 18.)

Ver. 7. *The priest shall wash his clothes, and shall bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp.*] Though we do not find that Eleazar was employed, either in killing or in burning this heifer, which was only to be done in his presence, yet, having touched her blood, he became unclean; and therefore was to use these cere-



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monies for his cleansing, before he returned to the camp; as Aaron did when he had offered the great sacrifice of expiation, on the day of general atonement, (Lev. xvi. 24.)

*And shall be unclean until the even.*] So as not to come into the camp, I suppose, much less to the sanctuary, until sun-set; which was but a short time, considering the greatness of this heifer's impurity; this being the common time of remaining unclean for the smallest defilements, (Lev. xi. 24, 25. 27, &c.)

Ver. 8. *And he that burneth her shall wash his clothes in water,* &c.] This was a general maxim among the Jews, that the bodies of those beasts whose blood was carried into the holy place, polluted those that touched them: which is justified by Lev. xvi. 28. And therefore he that burnt this heifer, whose blood was sprinkled towards it, was to do the same as he that carried the scape-goat into the wilderness was also bound to do, (Lev. xvi. 26.)

Ver. 9. *And a man that is clean.*] Free from any legal defilement.

*Shall gather up the ashes of the heifer.*] They were the principal ashes, though the ashes of the cedar-wood, hyssop, and scarlet-wool, were also mingled with them; which, being taken up, were pounded and sifted, as the Jews tell us.

*And lay them up without the camp in a clean place.*] The Jews say that the heifer, in aftertimes, being burnt on the pitch of Mount Olivet, which was over against the temple, they laid up some part of the ashes in a place near that mount, for the sprinkling of the people; and another part was delivered to the twenty-four courses, for the sprinkling of the priests; and another third part laid up for a memorial in the inclosure of the court of the temple. (See Dr. Lightfoot in the place beforenamed.) But there is no certainty of this, and it contradicts in part what is here commanded, that they should be laid up without the camp. (See ver. 12.)

*And it shall be kept.*] Laid up, εἰς διατήρησιν, as the LXX. translate it, *to be reserved* and kept for the use of those who had defiled themselves by the dead; unto whom it was delivered when they had occasion for it. And this word *reserved,* or *kept,* imports, that these ashes were not for the use of that generation only, but for all posterity. And as manna (which was commanded in the same form of speech to be *kept* or *reserved* in the ark) was a type of Christ, as he was the food of life, or the bread that came down from heaven: so were these ashes kept as an emblem of the everlasting efficacy of his sacrifice. For there is no bodily substance under heaven (as Dr. Jackson speaks, book x. chap. 55.) which can be so true an emblem or model of incorruption, as ashes are; for being the remainder of bodies perfectly dissolved or corrupted, they are not capable of a second corruption.

*For the congregation of the children of Israel.*] This one heifer, being slain, and its blood sprinkled, and body burnt, afforded ashes enough to season as many vessels of water as the whole people of Israel should need. Wherein it was a notable representation of Christ's blood, shed for the whole world, *to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.* Yea, they were sufficient for all the people, for many generations, though they had frequent occasion to use them for legal purification; wherein still they more lively represented the virtue of Christ's one sacrifice, which continues for ever. For the Jews say, this red heifer was killed but *nine* times, while their state lasted. First, by Eleazar here in the wilderness; which was not repeated till after the destruction of Solomon's temple, *i. e.* not during the space of more than a thousand years. The second time it was burnt by Ezra, after their return from the captivity of Babylon; and but seven times more, till the destruction of the second temple. Since which they have not adventured to make these ashes, but expect it to be done the tenth time by the king Messias, who, indeed, came to put an end to this and all other legal rites; not after the legal manner, but by offering himself *once for all,* instead of all other sacrifices or ways of purification.

*For a water of separation.*] To be put into spring-water (which was always accounted more pure than other), by which those *persons* were to be cleansed, who for their pollutions were separated from the congregation; and those *things* also which had been defiled were restored to their common use. Ashes, all know, are of great use in scouring things polluted; and the ancient gentiles used them much in their lustrations, as appears from Virgil, Ovid, and many other authors. But the water into which they put them was prepared with magical rites, and, for the most part, was drawn out of some pretended sacred fountain; and sometimes it had a burning torch, taken from the altar, quenched in it; and in some places they put sulphur, and spittle, and other cleansing things, into it. In which, I suppose, at first they imitated this rite prescribed by Moses; but in process of time added many superstitions of their own to it.

*It is a purification for sin.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *it is sin;* and we add, *a purification,* to explain the sense. For it was not a proper sacrifice for sin, (as this phrase *for sin* sometimes imports, Lev. iv. 24.) but had something of that nature in it (as I observed before), and may be properly said to purify or cleanse men from their sin, *i. e.* from such legal defilements as are mentioned afterwards. And it may, in a less proper sense, have the name of a *sin-offering,* inasmuch as the body of it was burnt without the camp (as the great sin-offering was on the day of atonement), and its blood sprinkled seven times towards the sanctuary, though not shed at the altar; whereby it became a more complete representation of the sacrifice of Christ, especially if we consider, that this *purification* here mentioned doth not signify only one, or a few acts of purification, but a *continued purification;* the ashes being to be laid up as a treasure or storehouse (to use Dr. Jackson's words) for making as many purifications, or waters of sprinkling, as the Israelites should have occasion to use. For therein consisted the excellence of this *purification,* that the ashes were not to be made by burning a heifer every time the people had occasion for them; but the ashes of this one sacrifice (as we may call it) was sufficient for the use of many generations. Accordingly the apostle saith our Lord Christ, καθαρισμὸν ποιησάμενος, *having made a purification of our sins,* (Heb. i. 3.) *sat down at God's right hand:* which word *purification,* in that place, doth not signify one act or operation, but implies that by this one act of sacrificing himself, he was consecrated to be a perpetual fountain of purification, being still *the propitiation for our sins.*

Ver. 10. *And he that gathereth the ashes of the heifer shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.*] This

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is one of the strange things which the Jews say Solomon himself did not understand, (and Maimonides professes he could find no reason of, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 47. and the author of Sepher Cosri also ascribes purely to the will and pleasure of God, of which he could give no account, par. iii. sect. 53.) that the same thing should both cleanse and pollute, as these ashes did, which polluted him that gathered them, and made those that used them clean from the highest legal pollutions. But this is not strange to those who consider that all those great sacrifices which were offered for sin, (which I mentioned ver. 7.) though they purified those for whom they were offered, were very impure themselves, because the sins of men were laid upon them, as all our sins were upon Christ; who, therefore, is said to be *made sin for us,* (2 Cor. v. 21.) *that we might be made the righteousness of God, i.e.* freed from all sin.

*And it shall be unto the children of Israel, and unto the stranger,* &c.] All proselytes to their religion were to have the benefit of this purification, as well as the Jews, by an unalterable law; by which was figured the propitiation Christ made for the sins of the whole world.

Ver. 11. *He that toucheth the body of any dead man shall be unclean seven days.*] This long uncleanness by touching a dead body, was the ground of those strict injunctions to the priests about mourning for their dead relations; which is forbidden, lest they should be hindered too long in their ministration. (See Lev. xxi.) He that touched the carcass of any unclean creature, was defiled only until the even, (Lev. xi. 24.) nor was he longer who touched the bed of him that had an issue, or his seat, &c. (Lev. xv. 5—8.)

Ver. 12. *He shall purify himself with it.*] With the *water of separation,* mentioned ver. 9. Which seems here to be designed chiefly, if not only, for the purging of this great impurity, by touching any man's dead body.

*On the third day.*] Then he was to begin his purification, by being sprinkled with it; which makes it probable that these ashes were kept in more places than the Jews mention *without the camp* (as afterward near Jerusalem), and, it is most likely, in all the cities of the country. For it had been too hard for all the people, nay, impossible for those who were remote, to go to Jerusalem the third day after they were defiled to fetch these ashes; which, therefore, were kept in several clean places, where every body might easily have them to put into water, and be sprinkled with it. For as there was no sacrifice, so no priest required to make this purification; but any clean person might sprinkle the water, (ver. 18, 19.)

*And on the seventh day he shall be clean.*] Then his purification was perfected; but not without a new sprinkling on this day, (ver. 19.)

*But if he purified not himself the third day, then the seventh day he shall not be clean.*] If he did not begin his purification on the third day, his sprinkling on the seventh would not make him clean. But it is very probable, that, though he omitted it on the *third* day, yet, if he purified himself on the *fourth* or *fifth,* or any day following, that being reckoned as if it had been the *third,* when he had made up the number *seven,* his cleansing might be completed.

Ver. 13. *Whosoever toucheth the dead body of any man that is dead, and purifieth not himself.*] With the water of separation, in the manner before prescribed, (ver. 12.)

*Defileth the tabernacle of the Lord.*] If he approach unto it without this purification.

*And that soul shall be cut off from Israel.*] He was to die for it if he did it presumptuously.

*Because the water of separation was not sprinkled upon him.*] Because he neglected the means of his purification.

*He shall be unclean.*] Remain in his uncleanness.

*His uncleanness is yet upon him.*] Not to be purified now by this water of separation, but cut off from the body of the people. This still concerns those that came to the tabernacle presumptuously, being unpurified. If they did it ignorantly, a sacrifice was admitted for their atonement, (Lev. v. 3. 6. 17, 18.)

Ver. 14. *This is the law.*] Concerning such defilements as these, by the dead bodies of men.

*When a man dieth in a tent.*] Wherein they now lived during their stay in the wilderness; and the same law obliged them, when they came to dwell in houses, in the land of Canaan.

*All that come into the tent, and all that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days.*] The meaning seems to be, that every person who came into the tent while the dead body lay there (or before the tent was purified), as well as they who were in it when the person died, should be unclean. For all the goods of the house were not made unclean; but only all open vessels.

Ver. 15. *And every open vessel which hath no covering bound upon it is unclean.*] Because the air in the house, which was supposed to be tainted by the dead body, came as freely into such vessels as it did to the dead body. Tho. Aquinas fancies, that this law was made to prevent idolatry: for the ancient idolaters thought, that if a mouse, or a lizard, or such-like thing, which was dedicated unto their idols, fell into a vessel, or into water, they became thereby very acceptable to their gods. And he saith this superstition continued till his days; in which some women were wont to leave their vessels uncovered on purpose, in observance of the nocturnal deities, whom they called Janos. (See Prima et Secunda Quest. 102. artic. 5.) To abolish which superstition God required, he thinks, all vessels left uncovered, where the dead lay, should be polluted; *i. e.* not acceptable unto God, nor employed to holy, no, nor common uses. If such customs had been in Moses's days, this might be better applied to what we read in Lev. xi. 32, 33.

Ver. 16. *Whosoever toucheth one that is slain with the sword in the open fields.*] Or killed any other way, it appears by the words following.

*Or a dead body.*] Of a man that falls down dead of a sudden, or is executed for his crimes.

*Or a bone of a man.*] Taken out of a grave, or the grave itself where the dead body lies; as the next words are.

*Shall be unclean seven days.*] As long as if he had touched the dead body itself.

Ver. 17. *And for an unclean person.*] *i. e.* For the cleansing of one defiled any of these ways.

*They shall take of the ashes of the burnt heifer of purification for sin.*] It is not said what quantity, therefore, I suppose, whether it were little or great it would serve the turn. It is observable, that the ashes of the burnt heifer are here called *chattah (sin),* which shews they had the virtue of a sin-offering in them. (See ver. 9.)

*And running-water shall be put thereto in a vessel.*] The



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ashes being put into a vessel, they were to put pure spring, or at least river water upon them; which became the *water of separation.*

Ver. 18. *And a clean person.*] It is not said a priest; and therefore I suppose any other person, who was not unclean, might do this: as any such person might slay the heifer, and burn her, (ver. 8. 5.) But in this the Jews were so curious, that their tradition made this extend, not only to a person that was at present clean, but that never had been defiled by a dead corpse in all his life; and therefore tell us what devices they had to keep persons thus clean, for this very end and purpose. (See Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, chap. 17. sect. 2.)

*Shall take hyssop.*] When the priests sprinkled the lepers, or their houses, with the blood of a bird killed over running-water, he dipped hyssop, cedar-wood, and scarlet-wool in them, (Lev. xiv. 4. 6, 7. 49, 50, &c.) But here the sprinkling being made by some neighbour, hyssop alone sufficed; which every one knows was a cleansing herb, and easily procured: instead of which the gentiles, in their superstition, used branches of laurel, or of olive; as we learn from Juvenal and Virgil.

*And sprinkle it upon the tent, and upon all the vessels, and upon the persons that were there,* &c.] For the purifying of all the things, and all the persons abovementioned, (ver. 14—16.)

Ver. 19. *And the clean person shall sprinkle upon the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day.*] Here he explains what was not so distinctly delivered, ver. 12. And I suppose both persons and things were to be sprinkled on both days, because he saith in general, *upon the unclean;* which seems to relate to all that is mentioned in the foregoing verse.

*And on the seventh day he shall purify himself,* &c.] This seems to be meant of the clean person who sprinkled the unclean, and by coming near them, was in some sort defiled. But he was not to be purified by the *water of separation;* but only *by washing his clothes, and bathing himself in water;* and his uncleanness lasted but till *the even,* as it here follows in the rest of this verse. (See ver. 21.)

Ver. 20. *But the man that shall be unclean.*] By a dead body, a bone, or a grave, &c.

*And shall not purify himself.*] By the water of separation appointed for that purpose.

*That soul shall be cut off from among the congregation.*] As a contemner of this law of God.

*Because he hath defiled the sanctuary of the Lord,* &c.] This and the following words are only a repetition of what was said ver. 13. for the greater confirmation of it.

Ver. 21. *And it shall be a perpetual statute unto them, that he that sprinkleth the water of separation shall wash his clothes.*] Be reputed unclean, until he hath washed his clothes; which I suppose comprehends his body also, ver. 19.

*And he that toucheth the water of separation.*] As a man might chance to do, when he mingled the water and ashes together, (ver. 17.)

*Shall be unclean until even.*] And wash his clothes, it must be supposed from the foregoing words. For mere staying *till even* purified nobody, without some rite of cleansing. And there was more reason for him that touched the water, immediately to wash his clothes, than for him who only sprinkled with it.

Ver. 22. *And whatsoever.*] Or *whomsoever.*

*The unclean person toucheth shall be unclean.*] He doth not mean, by the *unclean person,* him who was made unclean by touching the water of separation (for his uncleanness was so slight, that any one would think he should make nobody unclean by his touch), but the unclean person spoken of all along in this chapter; who was defiled by touching a dead body. He whom such a person touched was made unclean, and therefore was to wash his clothes, and not be thought clean until the even.

*And the soul that toucheth it.*] Or toucheth him.

*Shall be unclean until the even.*] Not only he whom the unclean person touched, but he who touched the unclean person, or any unclean thing, was to be unclean till the even, and wash his clothes (as I said before) for his cleansing. No other cleansing was necessary for such kinds of uncleanness as these. For sacrifices were required only for the uncleanness of lepers, and of a childbed woman, and of a flux of blood, or seed: all others were purged without sacrifice.

By this nice care, which is here taken, about the smallest bodily defilements, God intended (I make no doubt) to make them sensible how necessary it was to preserve inward purity; without which they could not be acceptable to God, though they approached to his sanctuary. For these laws, extending to what was done at home, as well as abroad, were a plain instruction, both that it was not sufficient to be pure in the eyes of men, and that nothing could be concealed from the Divine Majesty, who sees what passeth in secret.

## CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1. *THEN came the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, into the wilderness of Zin.*] From Rithmah, or Kadesh-barnea, they came at last into this wilderness, after many removals to other stations, of which Moses gives an account in the thirty-third chapter, from ver. 19. to ver. 36. For God led them, by the cloud, quite back again to the Red Sea, (chap. xiv. 25.) and from thence brought them into this wilderness of *Tzin;* which is quite different from that mentioned Exod. xvi. called *Sin:* for this lay on the confines of Idumea, as appears from ver. 14, 15.

*In the first month.*] Of the fortieth year after they came out of the land of Egypt. For Moses gives an account of the transactions only of the two first years after they came from thence, and of the last: the rest he passeth over in silence, being spent in tiresome journeys; whereby all above twenty years old were consumed, by one disease or other. In those travels he shews how, at several removals, (mentioned chap. xxxiii.) they were led back from Kadesh-barnea unto Ezion-Geber (that is, from the north to the south of the shore of the Red Sea), in which journey they compassed the land of Edom many days, (Deut. ii. 1.) that is, many years. For, from the time they left Kadesh-barnea till they returned back again was thirty-eight years, (Deut. ii. 14.)

*And the people abode in Kadesh.*] Not in Kadesh-barnea, which was their fifteenth station, and in the confines of the south part of Canaan, (chap. xxxiv. 4. Josh. xv. 3.) but another Kadesh on the confines of the land of Edom, towards the Red Sea, (chap. xxxiii. 36. Deut. ii. 8. Judges xi. 17.)

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*And Miriam died there.*] Four months before her brother Aaron, (chap. xxxiii. 38.) and eleven months before Moses; being elder than either of them. For she was near a hundred and thirty years old, as may be gathered from Exod. ii. 4. 7. where it appears she was not a child when Moses was born.

*And was buried there.*] In Kadesh, where she died. But we read of no mourning for her, as there was for Aaron a little after, (ver. 29.)

Ver. 2. *And there was no water for the congregation.*] The water that hitherto followed them from the rock in Horeb now failed. Which happening just at the death of Miriam, the Jews have a foolish conceit, that as her piety procured it for them, so she being dead, it was taken from them, and was restored again for the piety of Moses and Aaron. It is more reasonable to think, that God suffered the water to be discontinued for a time, that he might try the faith of this new generation, whether they were any better than their rebellious fathers, and withal, to convince them that the water out of the former rock was not contained in it, if he had not produced it, who could bring forth water out of any other place as well as that. Or, they being now going towards Canaan, and near a country where water might be had for money (or they might have found it by digging for it), God thought fit to let the miracle cease; that they might see he would shortly provide for them otherwise. For it is very likely, that, in their last station, where they were before this, at Ezion-Geber, (chap. xxxiii. 36.) the water that had followed them in all their journeys thither fell there into the Red Sea, and so was swallowed up; they being, as I said, to return towards Canaan, by places where water might be procured without a miracle. For being upon the edge of the land of Edom, when Aaron died in their next removal, (ver. 28. chap. xxxiii. 37.) we read expressly that they presently after came to a *land of rivers of water*, (Deut. x. 7.) And, indeed, not long after they removed from Mount Hor, when Aaron died, we find, in the next chapter to this, that they came to Oboth, (chap. xxi. 10.) which signifying *bottles*, it is no unreasonable conjecture, that here they met with water, with which they filled their empty bottles. And, next to that station, they came to Jie-Abarim, (ver. 11.) *heaps of fords;* or, as the Chaldee expounds it, *the ford of those that pass over:* and then to the valley of Zared, (ver. 12.) or to the brook Zered, as it is in Deut. ii. 13, 14. And then to the river Arnon, (ver. 13.) and thence to Beer, where they digged a famous well, (chap. xxi. 16—18.) which, perhaps, they might have done before in other places, if they had made experiment; for Kadesh, where they now were, was in the border of a country inhabited.

*And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron.*] Just as their fathers had many times done; particularly upon such an occasion as this, (Exod. xvii. 2, 3.)

Ver. 3. *And the people chode with Moses.*] Instead of condoling with him, and comforting him, for the death of his sister and their prophetess (as Abarbinel observes), they came in a rude manner to scold at him.

*And spake, saying, Would God that we had died, when our brethren died before the Lord!*] By a sudden death, rather than linger away by thirst. They allude to the strokes upon their brethren, chap. xi. 1. 33. xiv. 37. xvi. 32. 35. 46. which one would have thought should have affrighted them from uttering such very discontented language, (chap. xix. 2.) But nothing will alter those, who will not lay to heart, and preserve in mind, God's mercies and judgments.

Ver. 4. *And why have ye brought the congregation of the Lord into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there?*] The very words of their fathers, presently after they came out of Egypt, (Exod. xvii. 3.)

Ver. 5. *And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt.*] They speak as if it had not been their own desire, but that they were persuaded to it by Moses to leave Egypt; who was sent to tell them God heard their sighing, groans, and cries, and would deliver them, (Exod. ii. 23, 24. iii. 17.) But in a discontented fit, nothing of this was remembered.

*To bring us unto this evil place?*] They do not speak of returning to Egypt, as their fathers did, (chap. xiv. 3, 4.) but they repented that they were come out of it. So shamefully forgetful they were of all God's benefits, who had in a wonderful manner redeemed them from the heaviest slavery, and hitherto provided for them miraculously in the wilderness, which was a better place than such an ungrateful people deserved!

*It is no place of seed.*] *i. e.* Of corn.

*Or of figs, or of vines, or pomegranates,* &c.] Now they complain for want of other things, as well as water: wherein they still imitate their unbelieving fathers, (chap. xvi. 14.)

Ver. 6. *And Moses and Aaron went from the presence of the assembly, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] To pray to God to pardon their sin, and to supply their wants.

*And they fell upon their faces.*] As they had often done before, on other such-like occasions; particularly chap. xiv. 5.

*And the glory of the Lord appeared unto them.*] Unto all the people, it is likely; as it had done several times, to silence their murmurings, (see chap. xiv. 10. xvi. 19. 42.)

Ver. 7. *And the Lord spake unto Moses.*] From that glory which appeared upon the tabernacle.

Ver. 8. *Take the rod.*] That famous rod wherein Moses had wrought so many miracles in Egypt, and at the Red Sea, &c.

*And gather thou the assembly together.*] This word *edah* signifying sometimes only the assembly of the elders, not of the whole people, it would be uncertain which of them he is bid to gather together, (for it is a different word from that which we translate *assembly*, ver. 6.) if the tenth verse had not determined that it was the *kahal*, or congregation of the people, as the word *edah* also signifies just before, (ver. 8.)

*Thou and Aaron thy brother.*] For the people were gathered together against Aaron, in a mutinous manner, as well as against Moses, (ver. 2.)

*And speak ye unto the rock before their eyes.*] To the first rock you meet withal (saith Nachmanides), and that is within their sight. For this is not the same rock out of which the former water flowed, as the Jews fancy; but quite different. Their very names are different; that being called Tzur, this Selah. That was in Rephidim, this in Kadesh; two very distant places. Thus Chaskuni; some think this the same with that in Exodus: "but it is not the

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same history. For the former was in Horeb, this in Kadesh; which is in the extremity of the land of Edom." But whether God pointed him to a rock, which was then in their sight, (as he did at Horeb, Exod. xvii. 5, 6.) or left him to choose any stony place, is not certain. But it is a mere fancy of some of the Jews, that, because God here bade them speak to the rock, Moses offended God *in smiting it.* For to what purpose should he take *the rod,* if he was not to smite the rock with it, as he had done formerly? Just such another conceit there is in Schalschelet Hakkabala; where R. Gedaliah saith, that he had given an account of this sin in another book, which he gathered out of various writers, and found there were twenty-eight different opinions about it: but he preferred this before any of them; that whereas God bade Moses gather the *edah* together, that is, the assembly of the people, (ver. 8.) he gathered the *kahal, i. e.* the congregation of the princes and elders (as he will have it), whose faith needed no confirmation: (see Hottinger in his Smegma Orientale, cap. 8. p. 451.)

*And it shall give forth his water.*] The Jews puzzle themselves about this expression, which sounds, they think, as if the water was contained in the rock; and Moses only made a gap for it to gush out: but it seems to be spoken in opposition to the waters issuing out of the former rock, which had supplied them hitherto, but now ceased to flow; it being as much as if he had said, This shall give forth water as that did before: now it shall be called the water of this rock; not that of Horeb.

*And thou shalt bring forth to them water out of the rock?*] Renew the former miracle.

*So thou shalt give the congregation and their beasts drink.*] So that they and their cattle (which they fear will perish, ver. 24.) shall be as plentifully provided for as ever.

Ver. 9. *And Moses took the rod from before the Lord, as he commanded him.*] From hence some conclude, that this was the rod of Aaron which blossomed; because he is said to take it *from before the Lord,* where Aaron's rod was laid up, (chap. xvii. 10.) But this rod is so expressly called *Moses's rod,* ver. 11. which was the instrument of bringing the former water out of the rock in Horeb, that I cannot but think this was the very same rod; which being there called *the rod of God,* (Exod. xvii. 9.) as it is at the first mention of it, (Exod. iv. 20.) it is very probable, that by God's order it was laid up somewhere before him in the sanctuary; though not before the ark of the testimony. For having been employed in doing so many wonders, it was not seemly it should lay in his own tent, as a common staff; but in the house of God, as a sacred wand. This, indeed, is no where mentioned, no more than many other things, which notwithstanding are plainly intimated.

Ver. 10. *And Moses and Aaron gathered the congregation before the rock.*] As God had commanded, ver. 8.

*And he said unto them.*] Moses, who was the chief actor, said unto them.

*Hear ye now, ye rebels.*] The Talmudists fancy that this is the great sin for which Moses and Aaron were denied to go into Canaan, because he called God's people *rebels:* from whence they have framed this maxim, *He that treats the church contemptuously, which ought to be honoured, is as if he blasphemed the name of God.* But they subvert the truth, who build it upon no better foundations. For Moses, the great minister of God, only uses God's own language to their fathers, chap. xvii. 10. where he bids him lay up Aaron's rod, *as a token against the rebels.* And if this were a sin, Moses committed it again not long after this, and in a higher strain (which nobody can think he would have done, if it had cost him so dear), when he saith, Deut. ix. 24. "Ye have been rebellious against the Lord ever since I knew you."

*Must we fetch you water out of this rock?*] In these words, also, some of the Jews (particularly Nachman) think they find the sin of Moses and Aaron; who here (they fancy) ascribe to themselves that which they ought to have acknowledged the work of God alone. But this is without any ground; for the plain meaning of the words is quite contrary; *Is it in our power to bring water out of a rock?* So the Vulgar Latin translates it; it being a speech of those that wonder, like that 1 Kings xxi. 19. "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" As if Moses had said, *Strange! that you should think it possible for us to bring you water out of a rock, which is the work only of an omnipotent power!*

Ver. 11. *And Moses lifted up his hand, and with his rod he smote the rock twice.*] It seems the water did not gush out at the first stroke; which made him repeat it.

*And the water came out abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their beasts also.*] So that their present necessity was supplied; and they also filled their vessels when they left this place, to serve them till they met with the convenience of water; as they did, I shewed upon ver. 2.

Ver. 12. *And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, Because ye believed me not.*] Here interpreters have been much troubled to find what it was for which God was offended at Moses and Aaron: for though the text tells us expressly it was for their unbelief (whereby they gave great scandal, and did not *sanctify him* as they did formerly, before the Israelites), yet it doth not clearly appear wherein this unbelief declared itself. Abarbinel hath collected several opinions of the Jewish doctors about this matter, which are no less than *ten;* after which he delivers his own, which seems to *me* as unsatisfactory as the rest were to *him;* for it is far-fetched, with too much nicety and subtilty, and relies also upon uncertainties. The plainest account of it, I think, is this, which none of them take notice of; that the water now ceasing at the same time that Miriam died, Moses was very sad both for her death, and, perhaps, for the ceasing of the water; and being unexpectedly assaulted by the people, who ought to have had a greater reverence for him, in a time of mourning especially, it was the occasion of a greater commotion of anger and indignation than was usually in him: which gave him such a disturbance in his mind, and so disordered his thoughts, that when God bade him take his rod, and go and speak to the rock, he fell into some doubt, whether God would grant them the favour he had done before; either, because they were so wretched a people, that it was not fit God should do any thing for them; or because he thought, perhaps, water might be otherways procured for them. And because of this doubting, I suppose, it might be, that upon the first striking of the rock no water came forth (God also, perhaps, so ordering it, that he might try him); and hereupon his diffidence increased into unbelief, and a settled persuasion they should have no water. His anger also at such a

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rebellious generation, it is likely, made him the more distrustful, that God would do nothing for them. For both these are mentioned by the Divine writers that touch upon this history, that he *did not believe;* and that his spirit was so provoked, that *he spake unadvisedly with his lips,* (Psal. cvi. 32, 33.) which was when he spake those words, ver. 10. *Must we fetch you water out of this rock?* i. e. *is that a likely matter?* They being words of the same sort with those of Sarah, Gen. xviii. 13. *Shall I of a surety have a child, who am old?* that is, *I cannot believe it.* And when he saw the water did not come out at the first stroke, he might be so rash as to say, *Now it is plain God will give you none, but let you perish:* or words to that effect.

I know nothing more probable than this; unless the reader likes the opinion of Joseph Albo better, which is the ninth opinion mentioned by Abarbinel. That Moses and Aaron having had such long experience of God's goodness to this people, and of his readiness to help them, ought not to have gone and made their complaints to God about the want of water, (ver. 6.) but immediately, of themselves, gone to the rock (being confident of God's power and mercy, which had never failed them), and called for water to come out of it. For now the tabernacle was built, and they had God dwelling among them (which they had not when he smote the rock at first), which ought to have bred in them the highest assurance that God would supply them. Dr. Lightfoot hath another conjecture (which I shall propound, that the reader may judge which is most likely), that Moses and Aaron began to distrust God's promise of entering into the promised land, at the end of forty years; imagining, that, if they brought water again out of the rock, it must follow them as long as the other had done. For this he makes the sense of their words, "*What, ye rebels! must we bring water out of a rock,* as we did at Horeb? Are all our hopes and expectations of getting out of the wilderness come to this? We never fetched you water out of a rock but once; and that was because ye were to stay a long time in the wilderness, &c. Now that is gone, must we fetch water out of another rock? O ye rebels, have ye brought it to this pass by your murmurings, that we must have a new stay in the wilderness? Are we to begin our abode here again, when we thought we had been at the end of our travels? At this rate we shall never get out." Whereupon he presently smote the rock twice in a fume; whereas God bade him only speak to it, (ver. 8.)

*To sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel.*] *i. e.* Openly to assert me to be *the Holy One of Israel,* faithful to my promises (as well as infinite in power), of which they had given the Israelites occasion to doubt, by declaring some distrust of what God said to them, (ver. 8.) For these words plainly shew that their sin did not consist only in an inward diffidence, but in such outward expressions of it in their anger and impatience, as might be apt to breed unbelief in the Israelites; who were already too prone thereunto. And it is no improbable conjecture of a Jewish doctor (in his book of the Death of Moses), that the Divine Glory not appearing now upon this rock, as it did at Horeb, (Exod. xvii. 6.) which perhaps they expected; it gave some occasion to their unbelief: which, he thinks, was not so great a sin in itself, as to have deserved the following punishment, had not God, in passing this sentence, had a respect to the excellency and dignity of their persons; in whom a fault of this nature was far more grievous than in an ordinary man.

*Therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them.*] They brought them into the land of Sihon, and of Og; but not into Canaan, which was properly the land promised to them.

Ver. 13. *This is the water of Meribah.*] Called Meribah-kadesh, Deut. xxxii. 51. to distinguish it from that Meribah mentioned Exod. xvii. 7. where the Israelites are guilty of the same crime.

*Because the children of Israel strove with the Lord.*] Expostulated with him most undutifully, and accused him of unkindness to them, (ver. 3, 4.)

*And he was sanctified in them.*] The Hebrew doctors differ very much in their opinions about this also, whether he was sanctified in the waters, or in the people of Israel, or in Moses and Aaron. Some fancy it is meant of the waters; *viz.* that God did himself great honour in bringing waters again out of a rock: and therefore the name of the place was called Kadesh, from his being sanctified there. Thus Chaskuni. But it seems to have been called so before this, being a place well known to the Edomites, (ver. 16.) The common opinion is, that he speaks of Moses and Aaron: for God's name, saith R. Solomon, is much revered when he doth not spare even his holy ones, (Lev. x. 3.) But Nachmanides expounds it of the Israelites, before *whose face* (as he expounds sanctified *in them*) God's power, and faithfulness, and goodness appeared: and who alone are mentioned in this verse; not Moses and Aaron. But all three opinions in the issue concur in this one, that God made his power, &c. appear in the eyes of all the Israelites, by bringing water out of a rock; and at the same time demonstrated his holiness and impartial justice in punishing his greatest friends for their unbelief.

Ver. 14. *And Moses sent messengers.*] By God's order, as his words seem to import, in Deut. ii. 2—4.

*From Kadesh.*] On the confines of the king of Edom's country.

*Unto the king of Edom.*] When the Israelites came out of Egypt, Moses speaks of Edom as governed by dukes, (Exod. xv. 87.) for the successors of Esau at first had no higher title, (Gen. xxxvi. 15, &c.) Not long after, it seems, their posterity became kings; and now (nine-and-thirty years after the Israelites' coming out of Egypt) they were still under kingly government. And this king, to whom Moses now sends messengers, the great primate of Ireland takes to have been Hadar, the last of those that Moses mentions Gen. xxxvi. 39. who, for his inhumanity to the children of Israel, was shortly after punished with death; and the kingdom turned again into the government by dukes. For Moses (as he thinks) writing the book of Genesis in the latter end of his life (or then adding what was necessary to what he had written before), reckons immediately after Hadar several dukes reigning all at one time, in several parts of the country which they had shared among them. (See Usser. Chronolog. Sacra, cap. 11.)

*Thus saith thy brother Israel.*] In the language of those times, all that were near of kin called one another brethren: and these two nations descended from two twin-brothers.

*Thou knowest.*] For they could not but have received intelligence before this time of such public things.

*All the travel that hath befallen us.*] How we, and our

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fathers before us, have travelled from place to place, without any certain habitation. (See Psal. cv. 13.)

Ver. 15. *How our fathers.*] After several removals from one part of Canaan to another.

*Went down into Egypt.*] Which was so public a thing (they being invited by Pharaoh, who sent carriages for them), that the Edomites could not be ignorant of it.

*And we have dwelt in Egypt a long time.*] See Exod. xii. 40, 41. and what I have observed there.

*And the Egyptians vexed us and our fathers.*] See Exod. i. 11—13, &c.

Ver. 16. *And when we cried unto the Lord, he heard our voice.*] See Exod. ii. 23—25. iii. 7, 8.

*And sent an angel.*] See Exod. iii. 2, &c. Maimonides here by *angel* understands Moses himself; for the prophets are sometimes called *angels, i. e.* messengers sent from God, (Judg. ii. 1.) This he asserts in the first part, and more than once in the second part, of More Nevochim. But it is very unreasonable to think, that Moses would thus magnify himself to the king of Edom, who understood not such language; and could not but be the more moved to hearken to his embassy, if he believed the Israelites were under the conduct of a heavenly minister, who, as other Jews think, was Michael, the prince of the heavenly host, whom they commonly understand by the angel here mentioned. But many great men, particularly Masius, think this is short of the truth, unless we understand by Michael, the eternal Son of God, who was, as he speaks, *the perpetual prince and director of the people of God.* For though he was then properly made the *messenger* of the Father, when he took on him our flesh, and dwelt here among us, yet from the beginning it was his constant care to reconcile men to God, and preserve religion among them. So that he might be called *the angel of God* before he became a man, because God the Father by him communicated with men about all things necessary for their good. And the Jews seem to have had some obscure notion of this: for what else could Moses Gerundensis mean, when he saith, the angel whom Moses saw in the bush was the same whom Jacob calls *the God of Bethel,* and whom he calls *the angel Redeemer?* of whom Moses, he saith, speaks in this place, and in Deut. vi. 12. *The Lord brought us out of Egypt.* Certain it is, that thus the ancient Christians understood such places, taking the *angel* here spoken of to be the eternal *Logos,* or *Word,* as St. John calls the eternal Son of God: whose sense no man, I think, hath better explained than our Mr. Thorndike; who, though he confesses it to be plain by the Scriptures, that it was always an angel that appeared under the Old Testament, who is sometimes called by the proper name of God (Jehovah), yet this is no prejudice to what the fathers of the church teach, concerning the appearing of the eternal Word; who was that Lord who then assumed some angelical nature, wherein he might appear, to deal with men for a short time; after which he dismissed it, when he had done that business for which he assumed it.

*And hath brought us forth out of Egypt.*] See Exod. xiii. 22. xiv. 19.

*And, behold, we are in Kadesh.*] Near to *Kadesh;* for it is not likely they were admitted into the city itself, which gave its name to the adjacent country.

*A city.*] Or town; for it doth not seem to have been a walled place.

*In the uttermost of thy borders.*] In the confines of the king of Edom's country; and belonging, it is likely, to his dominion.

Ver. 17. *Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country.*] In our way to the land of Canaan; which God hath promised to give us.

*We will not pass through the fields, or through the vineyards.*] They engaged not to turn aside, as they went along, into any private man's grounds. (See chap. xxi. 22.)

*Neither will we drink of the water of the wells.*] Which any private person had digged for his own use; but only of the rivers, which are common to all creatures.

*We will go by the king's highway.*] Keep in the common road, which is made for all passengers, by the king's allowance.

*We will not turn to the right hand or to the left.*] Out of the road, but go straight on.

*Until we have passed thy borders.*] Got to the other side of the country of Edom.

Ver. 18. *And Edom said unto him.*] This sounds as if the whole country had joined in the following answer.

*Thou shalt not pass by me.*] Go through our country, (ver. 20.)

*Lest I come out against thee with the sword.*] The king bids them not attempt it, for he would oppose their passage with all his forces. He was afraid, no doubt, lest they should seize his country, or spoil it, and therefore would not trust their declarations which they made to the contrary.

Ver. 19. *And the children of Israel.*] Who were sent upon this message, (ver. 14.) Or else some new ambassadors, whom Moses dispatched with new entreaties after he understood his denial.

*Said unto him.*] Gave him new assurances of their honest intentions.

*We will go by the highway.*] Believe us, we will not step out of the common road.

*And if I and my cattle drink of thy water.*] Out of the wells beforementioned, (ver. 17.) which private men had digged, and therefore had a propriety in them.

*Then will I pay for it.*] For water was commonly sold in those dry countries, where it was very scarce.

*I will only, without doing any thing else.*] The Hebrew words *ein dabar* (which we translate, *without doing any thing else*), literally signify in our language, *it is no word, i. e.* not mere fair promises, but we will perform what we say.

*Go through on my feet.*] Go through, as fast as we can travel on foot.

Ver. 20. *And he said, Thou shalt not go through.*] He persisted in his resolution; and would not rely on their most solemn asseverations. Yet he consented (as appears by Deut. ii. 28, 29.) to furnish them with necessary provisions, both of meat and drink, for their money.

*And Edom came out against him with much people, and with a strong hand.*] For fear they should press into his country, he raised a great and powerful army to oppose them; and shewed himself ready to fight them if they moved that way.

Ver. 21. *Thus Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border.*] Which Grotius censures in his second book De Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 2. sect. 13. as contrary to the law of nations; by which the highways, as well as the sea and

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the rivers of all countries, ought to be free for all that have a mind to pass through them upon just occasions. And he gives many examples of such permission out of heathen story; and therefore looks upon the denial of this as just ground of war with Sihon and Og (mentioned in the next chapter, where I shall consider it), as it might have been with Edom and Moab, had not God prohibited it. Nor doth the fear, he thinks, which the Edomites, it is likely, had of letting such a vast number of people pass through their country, alter the case; for no man's fear is to take away another man's right: and there might have been means contrived to remove this fear, by letting them pass through in small companies at a time, or unarmed. He had better have said, in my opinion, by giving hostages on both sides for the performance of conditions: for it might have put the Israelites in as great fear to have gone through in small parties, or if they should have disarmed themselves. But, when all is said, it seems not clear that all men have such a right, as that great man thinks they may claim. For no man can challenge a passage through a private man's ground without his leave; and every prince hath the same dominion in all his territories that a private man hath in his land. There are many examples also, as Gronovius hath observed, of countries which have suffered extremely by granting this liberty (which shew that princes have reason to deny it for their people's security), and the examples of those who have granted it, are examples of fact rather than of right; and of such as were not in a condition to refuse what was demanded. (See Selden's Mare Clausum, lib. i. cap. 20.)

*Wherefore Israel turned away from him.*] By God's command; who ordered them also to buy what they wanted of the Edomites, (Deut. ii. 5, 6.) For they stayed some time in Kadesh, by their consent, before they removed; that they might furnish themselves, as they offered, with necessaries, (Judges xi. 17.)

Ver. 22. *And the children of Israel, even the whole congregation.*] For they might not divide into several bodies, lying in several places; but all march together, when the cloud moved, in the order God appointed, (chap. x. 13, 14, &c.)

*Journeyed from Kadesh, and came to Mount Hor.*] Another place upon the edge of the Edomites' country, chap. xxxiii. 37. where they pitched in a part of that mountain which was called Mosera, (Deut. x. 6.) Whether Mount Hor gave the name of Hori to him, who was the ancestor of Seir, and the first planter of the country, which was afterward conquered by Esau, (Gen. xxxvi. 20. 30. Deut. ii. 12.) or had its name from him, cannot be determined. But Hori, we are sure, was the first possessor (of whom there is any memory) of this mountain Hor, which was afterward called Seir (from one descended from him), and afterward Edom.

Ver. 23. *And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in Mount Hor.*] At the foot of the mount, as appears from ver. 25.

*By the coast of the land of Edom.*] See chap. xxxiii. 37.

Ver. 24. *Aaron shall be gathered unto his people.*] Shall die, (ver. 26.)

*For he shall not enter into the land which I have given unto the children of Israel.*] See ver. 12. A manifest token that the earthly Canaan was not the utmost felicity at which God's promises aimed; because the best men among them were shut out of it.

*Because ye rebelled against my word at the water of Meribah.*] By this word *rebelled*, it appears there was something of obstinacy in their unbelief, mentioned ver. 12.

Ver. 25. *Take Aaron and Eleazar his son.*] Speak to them in my name. For it is expressly said, (chap. xxxiii. 38.) that they went up "at the commandment of the Lord."

*And bring them up unto Mount Hor.*] This shews that they pitched their tents at the bottom of it, in a place called Mosera. See Deut. x. 6. where this seems also to have been the name of the whole hill, as well as Hor.

Ver. 26. *And strip Aaron of his garments.*] *i. e.* Of his priestly robes (as Josephus rightly expounds it, τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν), mentioned Exod. xxviii. 2, 3, &c. wherewith he was clothed when he was anointed to the office of high-priest, (Lev. viii. 7—9.) which he put on, I suppose, in the camp, and went up in them to Mount Hor, that he might die gloriously; not in his robes, but immediately after he put them off to be put upon his son. For this stripping him of his robes was in effect the divesting Aaron of his office, that it might be conferred upon his son; which was done as follows.

*And put them upon Eleazar his son.*] Which was the investing him with the office of high-priest, in which he now succeeded in his father's stead, and was by this ceremony admitted to it. The Talmudists say the manner was, first to put on the breeches, then the coat; which being bound about with the girdle, then the robe, upon which was the ephod, and then the mitre and golden crown. (See Selden de Succession. in Pontif. lib. ii. cap. 8.)

*And Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and die there.*] This was said before, in short, ver. 24. but now the time of his death is expressly declared (immediately after he laid down his office, and had the satisfaction to see his son inaugurated in his room), and the place of it, upon Mount Hor. Of this phrase, *gathered to his people*, see Gen. xxv. 8. 17.

Ver. 27. *And Moses did as the Lord commanded: and they went up into Mount Hor, in the sight of all the congregation.*] That they might all be witnesses of the succession of Eleazar to the office of his father.

Ver. 28. *And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son.*] This Moses did as the minister of God; who now translated the priesthood to another.

*And Aaron died there in the top of the mount.*] And was buried also there, (Deut. x. 6.) For great and heroic persons were in ancient days usually buried in high places. So Joshua was, (chap. xxiv. 30. 33.) and Eleazar, (Judges ii. 9.) and Cadmus and Harmonia; who lived near the time of Joshua, as Bochartus observes in his Canaan, lib. i. cap. 23.

*And Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount.*] After they had seen him laid in his grave by those that attended them.

This fell out in the fortieth year after they came out of Egypt, on the first day of the fifth month; when Aaron was a hundred and three-and-twenty years old, as we read chap. xxxiii. 38, 39. in the new moon of the month, which the Athenians called *Hecatombæon*, the Macedonians *Lous*, and the Hebrews called *Sabba*, as Josephus glosses. But



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that last word should be *Ab*, not *Sabba*, as Jacobus Capellus observes, (in his Histor. Sacra et Exotica ad An. 2542.) which answers, he thinks, to the nineteenth of our July. And so the Hebrews say in Seder Olam, "Aaron died on the first day of the month Ab;" upon which there is a fast in their rituals, in memory of it.

Ver. 29. *And when all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead.*] *i. e.* Understood (as the word *see* is used Gen. xlii. 1.) that God had taken him out of the world, as Moses and Eleazar told them; who also came down from the mount with him.

*They mourned for Aaron thirty days.*] Till the end of the month. For so long their mourning seems, in those days, to have been continued for great persons, (as it was for Moses, Deut. xxxiv. 8.) though a week sufficed for private persons.

*Even all the house of Israel.*] Both men and women.

## CHAP. XXI.

Ver. 1. *AND when king Arad the Canaanite.*] In the Hebrew the words are thus placed, *when the Canaanite king Arad:* and so they are in the LXX. and the Vulgar: and Arad may as well signify a place as a person: nay, there seems more reason to translate the words thus, *the Canaanitish king of Arad:* because there was such a city in Canaan, mentioned Josh. xii. 14. and Judges i. 16. One of the sons of Canaan being called Arad, (as both the LXX. and the Vulgar translate the Hebrew word *Arvad*, Gen. x. 18.) who it is likely gave his name to this part of the country; the chief city of which was also called after him.

*Which dwelt in the south.*] In the south part of the land of Canaan, towards the eastern angle of it, near the Dead Sea. (See chap. xxxiii. 40.)

*Heard that Israel came by the way of the spies.*] Which were sent by the king Arad (as many suppose) to bring him intelligence which way the Israelites marched. For it being eight-and-thirty years since the spies sent by Moses went that way; or rather, they going so secretly, that it was not known which way they went, it is thought not probable that Moses speaks of them in this place. But there is no necessity of taking the Hebrew word *Atharim* to signify *spies;* but it may as well be the name of a place, as the LXX. understood it, by whom it is translated Ἀθαρείμ. And, if the situation would agree to it, one might probably conjecture the place was so called from the spies that went from thence by Moses's order to survey the country. For that was a thing so memorable, that, as it could not well slip out of the minds of the people of Canaan, so they found, I make no question, after they were gone, which way they came into their country (though for the present they passed unobserved), and ever after called it *the way of the spies.*

*Then he fought against Israel.*] He marched out of his country with an army; and fell upon the Israelites as they passed that way.

*And took some of them prisoners.*] He attacked, it is likely, at first, only the skirts of their camp, where he surprised some of them, and carried them away *captive*, as the words are in the Hebrew.

Ver. 2. *And Israel vowed a vow unto the Lord.*] It was resolved, it seems, that they should engage them; but the Israelites being afraid of them, because they were unexperienced in war, implore the Divine aid by this solemn vow.

*If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand.*] Give us the victory over them.

*Then will I utterly destroy their cities.*] They vow to reserve none of the spoil to their own use; but devote it all to destruction. For such was the nature of this vow called *cherem.* (See Lev. xxvii. 29.)

Ver. 3. *And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Israel.*] He approved their vow.

*And delivered up the Canaanites.*] The Israelites vanquished their army.

*And they utterly destroyed them and their cities.*] Utterly devoted them to destruction, according to their vow. For they did not now actually destroy them, they remaining when Joshua came to Canaan, who executed this *cherem*, or curse, upon them, (chap. xii. 14.) which, if it had been executed now, they must have entered into the land of Canaan at this time; from whence we cannot imagine they would have returned, to march further about before they got into it; but have gone on to prosecute their victory, by subduing the country, as they had begun.

*And he called the name of the place Hormah.*] From the *cherem* (or *herem* as some write it) which was pronounced against it; which, when it was put in execution, this name became more proper to it, (Judges i. 17.)

Ver. 4. *And they journeyed from Mount Hor.*] Where their camp was pitched, when the king of Arad assaulted them; and whither they returned, after they had overthrown him.

*By the way of the Red Sea.*] Towards Ezion-Gaber, as we read Deut. ii. 8.

*To compass the land of Edom.*] Which extended itself unto the Red Sea.

*And the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way.*] The word we translate *discouraged*, signifies two things; to *faint*, and to *breathe short*, through the anguish and bitterness of one's spirit, (Exod. vi. 9.) And secondly, to be angry at, or at least impatient, by reason of some trouble. And so it may be best taken in this place, (as Buxtorfius observes, in Histor. Serp. Æneï, cap. 1.) not simply for their being tired, with a tedious, long, and troublesome march; but that accompanied with no small indignation and wrath: which did not only burn within, but broke out into words of great impatience, as appears by what follows. Whence the Hebrew words *ketzar-ruach (short of spirit)* signify *angry*, or *hasty*, Prov. xiv. 29. and in Job xxi. 4. we translate it *troubled*, and Zach. xi. 8. *loathed;* where it had better been translated, *I was angry with them.* Now that which made the people thus fret, or faint (if we will have it so interpreted), was the way wherein they were now led, which was about the land of Edom. For when they were come towards Canaan, in the middle of the fortieth year (at the end of which they were promised to enter in and possess it), they are carried back again towards the Red Sea, whither God had sent their fathers after they had brought a false report upon the land, (chap. xiv. 25.) This made them think, perhaps, that they should never come to Canaan; or, at least, it was tedious to march such a great way about, after they had

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been kept so long from their inheritance, and were lately in such hopes of it, when Moses demanded a passage into it through the country of Edom.

Ver. 5. *And the people spake against God and against Moses.*] This shews they were in a very great rage, which made them so forgetful of their duty, as to charge God himself with ill conduct: whereas their fathers were wont only to murmur against Moses and Aaron.

*Wherefore have ye brought us out of Egypt.*] The Hebrew word *heelithunu (made us to go up)* is a strange word (as Dr. Lightfoot calls it) in this language; declaring the great fume they were in when they uttered it.

*To die in the wilderness.*] As if they had said (so Abarbinel explains it), What can we expect or hope for but death from this long stay in the wilderness?

*For there is no bread, neither is there any water.*] For we want the most necessary things for the support of life (as he also well explains it), which they spake in a rage; for they had both, by a miraculous providence over them. They themselves immediately confess they had manna; and that they lately received water out of a rock. But nothing would satisfy, unless they were brought to a country where bread and water were to be had without a miracle. For the meaning of their complaint was, that God did not deal with them as he did with other people, who (to speak in our phrase) do not live from hand to mouth, as the Israelites did, who had bread given them only to suffice for one day, and no more; and that such bread as they despised. It is likely, also, they began now to want water again, which did not follow them, as formerly, out of the rock: and what they had in their vessels, perhaps, was near spent.

*And our soul loatheth this light bread.*] As for the bread God bestowed upon them, they were so far from being satisfied with it, that they loathe it, and call it by the scornful name of *light bread.* So we translate the Hebrew word *hakkilkel:* which, being the doubling of a word which signifies *light* or vile in that language, imports as much as very despicable, exceeding vile; or, as the LXX. translate it, *very empty;* having no substance in it to fill their stomachs. So Abarbinel expounds this passage, *We are tired with long journeys, which require more solid bread than this to support us.*

Ver. 6. *And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people.*] So most of the Jews translate this place; taking *seraphim* for an adjective (as grammarians speak), and consequently rightly translated *fiery.* But there are those who take it to signify a peculiar sort of serpents; being added to *nechashim (serpents)* by way of apposition (as they speak), and signifying such serpents as the Greeks call Πρηστῆρες and Καύσωνες, whom Pliny reckons among the *sceleratissimi serpentes, most pernicious serpents,* (lib. xxiv. cap. 13.) Or, as others will have it, those called Διψάδες, because they made great inflammations in men's bodies, and an unquenchable thirst, being also of a flame colour. But the famous Bochartus hath alleged a great many arguments to prove that they were a sort of serpents, called *hydrus,* because in winter they lived in fens and marshes; which being dried up in summer they were called *chersydrus,* because then they lived in dry places, and in the hot season had a most sharp, stinging poison, which, as Nicander saith, made such inflammations as brought upon him that was stung by them, ἄλγεα μυρία, *innumerable griefs.* See Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. 13. where he shews also they were flying serpents, of which the prophet Isaiah speaks, chap. xix. 29. xxx. 6.; and that now was a hot season, wherein they were wont to be most venomous. For Aaron dying the first day of the fifth month (which answers to the nineteenth of our July), and they mourning for him thirty days; after which followed their encounter with the Canaanites, and then this murmuring, and this punishment; it must fall out in the latter end of August, when the dog-days were going out. (See Vossius de Orig. et Progressu Idolol. lib. iv. cap. 56.)

*And they bit the people.*] This Aben Ezra and others think was a punishment suitable to their sin, which was evil-speaking against the Lord, by calumniating his providence. For Solomon compares a calumniator to a serpent, which bites if it be not charmed, (Eccles. x. 11.)

It is a strange fancy of Fortunatus Licetus, that Moses here speaks of a disease bred in the body, which in children is called *dracunculus,* and not of the biting of serpents from without, (lib. de Ortu Spontaneo viventium, cap. 51.) For which there is no ground at all; and, on the contrary, nothing more certain, than that, in Arabia, and Egypt, and other countries of Africa, there are such serpents as are here described. Yet Bartholinus seems to think that this opinion may be defended against Ezekiel de Castro, who confuted it. (See Epistol. Medic. Centur. i. Epist. 32.)

*And much people of Israel died.*] The whole wilderness, through which the Israelites marched so many years, was full of fiery serpents and scorpions, as Moses's words import, Deut. viii. 15. which makes it the more wonderful, that we never hear of their being bitten and killed by them until now. But it is to be considered, that they were protected by the cloud from this, and from all other dangers (as the Hebrews well observe), which now withdrew its shadow from them, and let in the serpents upon them. Or rather (as Moses here expressly saith), God, who had hitherto kept them off, now *sent* them, and, perhaps, brought them from remote parts of the wilderness to infest the whole congregation.

Ver. 7. *Wherefore the people came to Moses, and said, We have sinned.*] It doth not appear whether they were immediately sensible of their sin, and confessed it, upon the biting of the serpents and the direful effects of it, or stayed till there had been a great mortality among them. It is likely they instantly made their addresses to him; but before a remedy was found out, by erecting the brazen serpent, many of them perished.

*For we have sinned against the Lord, and against thee.*] They make a particular acknowledgment of their guilt, as a token of the sincerity of their repentance.

*Pray unto the Lord that he take away the serpents from us.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *take away the serpent,* in the singular number; about which the Jews make a great many curious observations, as if there was one evil angel that governed them all. And if there be any truth in this observation, we Christians cannot but think these words point to *the old serpent, the devil,* who lost his sting by the lifting up of Christ on the cross; as the brazen serpent, it here follows, was lifted up for the cure of the biting of those serpents. But the simple truth is, that in this language the singular number is often used *collectively* for the



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plural. As in Exod. viii. 6. "The frog came up and covered the land," *i. e.* a vast multitude of frogs. And so Moses speaks in the place just now named, Deut. viii. 15. where he calls this wilderness wherein they travelled, *a place of a fiery serpent and scorpion; i. e.* saith Jonathan, full of such creatures.

*And Moses prayed for the people.*] Here R. Bechai and others observe the great meekness and charity of Moses, and thence draw this instruction: that *he of whom any one asks pardon for an offence, ought not to be hard-hearted, but ready to forgive.* Thus Abraham prayed for Abimelech, Gen. xx. 17. Job for his friends, chap. xlii. 10. It would be a sin to do otherwise, (1 Sam. xii. 19, 20. 23.)

Ver. 8. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] In answer to his prayer.

*Make thee a fiery serpent.*] The figure of one of those serpents which bite the people. Abarbinel thinks that upon Moses's prayer the serpents were removed; but still there remained many among the people sorely afflicted by the venomous effects of their biting, for whose cure God graciously gave this direction.

It is something strange, that any learned Christian should so much admire the Egyptian learning as not to forbear the mention of their *incantations* of serpents, when they speak of this relation which Moses makes concerning the brazen serpent which God ordered him to set up. Yet Sir John Marsham (in his Chronicon, sect. 9.) when he comes to treat of this station of the Israelites at Tsalmona, hath a long discourse to shew how famous the Egyptians and other nations were in this sort of magic; and thus concludes it, that Moses, putting this brazen serpent upon a perch, "non tam serpentes igneos incantabat ne nocerent, quam eorum venenum extinguebat," *did not so much charm these serpents that they should not hurt, as extinguish their venom.* This seems to me a scurvy intimation, that Moses had their practices in his mind, but went beyond them. He should have said, Moses abominated their wicked arts (if they had any such in those days), and directed the Israelites to look up to God for healing. So the Jews themselves, particularly Aben Ezra, who takes notice that some superstitious people fancied that this serpent was a *talisman*, made to receive I know not what influence from the stars. But God forbid, saith he, God forbid we should have any such thought! this was made by the Divine order; the reason of which let us not scrupulously search: they thought, that is, there was something extraordinary init, as Jonathan plainly declares in his paraphrase of the last words of this verse: *he shall be healed if he direct his heart to the name of the Word of the Lord:* where no Christian can forbear to think of our blessed Saviour, the eternal Word, who was prefigured (as I shall shew in the following verse) by the erecting of this serpent here mentioned upon a pole, that all might look upon him and live.

*And set it upon a pole.*] So high, that every one in the camp might see it. For the word signifies such a *pole* as made their ensign or banner, to which all the army was to resort. Concerning this word *nes*, see Bootius, lib. ii. cap. 4.

*And it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it.*] The Jews generally have so much understanding as to say, that the mere beholding of it did not cure them; but that they were to look up to God (as the Scripture speaks) when they beheld it, and expect a cure from him. So the author of the Book of Wisdom, chap. xvi. 7. "He that turned himself towards it, was not healed by the thing which he saw, but by thee, that art the Saviour of all." And therefore he calls it, in the foregoing verse, "A sign of salvation, to put them in remembrance of the commandment of the law."

*Shall live.*] Be cured, and restored to perfect health: which the Jews think the greater miracle, because naturally it would have made the inflammation greater. So Nachmanides: This rather would have increased the disease; for they who are bit by venomous beasts (according to the prescriptions of physicians), must not see the image of the beast by whom they are bitten: but this was commanded by God, that the Israelites might know both their disease and their medicine came from God, who made that whose aspect was hurtful to be the means of their cure.

Ver. 9. *And Moses made a serpent.*] Whence this place seems to have been called Zalmonah, (chap. xxxiii. 41.) which imports an *image*, similitude, or resemblance of a thing represented by it. And another place thereabouts, as Dr. Lightfoot observes, called Maaleh Akrabbim, seems to have had its name from the same thing, it signifying *the going up of scorpions*, Josh. xv. 3.

*Of brass.*] Polished, that it might resemble a serpent of a flaming colour; and being very glittering, it might be the better seen far and near. So several of the Hebrew writers, particularly Nachmanides and Abarbinel, who observe, that God did not bid him make a serpent of brass, but only *a saraph*, (ver. 8.) *i. e.* a resemblance of a flaming serpent: which could not be made so well of any other metal as of brass; those *saraphs* (which we render *fiery serpents*) being fiery red, like copper or brass: of which there was good store not far off from this place; for the next station to Zalmonah, where they now were, was Punon, or Pinon, as Moses tells us, chap. xxxiii. 42. a place belonging to the Edomites, (who had an ancient duke of this name, Gen. xxxvi. 41. 1 Chron. i. 52.) famous for mines of brass, as Bochartus shews out of several of the fathers; who speak of Χαλκοῦν μέταλλα ἐν φαινοῖ. From whence Moses, perhaps, had this brass, (Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iii. cap. 13.)

*And put it upon a pole.*] As he had been directed in the foregoing verse.

*And it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man.*] Which was not present death, but made an inflammation, and such ulcers (as some conceive) as were incurable.

*When he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived.*] Though naturalists say, the sight of brass was hurtful to those who were bitten, yet hence they received their cure: as the sight of Christ crucified naturally filled his crucifiers only with anguish, when they beheld him whom they had pierced, and were convinced he was their Messiah; but by the grace of God, became their only salvation through faith in him.

The Hebrews cannot but acknowledge a mystery in this brazen serpent, as Moses Gerundensis calls it; which our Lord Christ himself hath explained in his discourse with Nicodemus: (John iii. 14.) "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not

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perish," &c. Where he doth not compare himself to the brazen serpent (for what likeness can there be found between the serpent and the Seed of the woman; or how should light be foreshadowed by darkness? as Dr. Jackson speaks), but he compares the lifting up of this serpent on the pole, with his lifting up, or crucifixion on the cross; for so he himself expresses his death, and the manner of it, (John xii. 32.) "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." And their looking on the serpent in the wilderness, as evidently represented men's believing on Christ; and their cure, the powerful virtue of Christ's death to preserve all those that believe on him *from perishing* (as he speaks in the place named before), and procure for them *everlasting life*. For by his death, our Saviour "destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil," (as the apostle's words are, Heb. ii. 14.) which was notably represented in this brazen serpent put upon a pole; which was not a figure of Christ, but of the old serpent himself (the devil), as wounded, bruised, and dead, by the lifting up of Christ upon the cross; where he entirely disarmed him of all his power to hurt us.

I cannot tell whence Justin Martyr concluded this brazen serpent to have been made in the form of a cross, as he saith it was in his Second Apology; unless we conceive it to have been made with wings at the bottom of its neck, which might give it that figure. But his observation in his book against Trypho (p. 322. 338.) seems very considerable; that there must be some mystery in it, that God, who forbade all manner of images, should now command one to be made: of which, he saith, one of the Jews confessed he could never hear a reason from their doctors; who cannot understand it, till they believe in Christ and him crucified; whose victory over the devil, by his cross and passion, was herein most lively represented. I shall only add, that this *lifting up the brazen serpent*, was a thing so public and so well known to all neighbouring nations, that the fame of it, in all likelihood, went into India; where they still set up an idol in form of a writhed serpent, upon a perch six or seven feet high, which they solemnly worship; and carrying it along with them in their travels, set it up every morning for the company to pay their adorations to it. So Taverneir relates in his travels to that country, p. 28. And see the present Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's excellent treatise of Idolatry, p. 351, &c. with Huetius's Demonstr. Evang. p. 96. and his Quæstiones Alnetanæ, (cap. 12. n. 25.) where he shews the talismans, in all likelihood, were an imitation of this serpent: of which the Jews were so fond, that they *burnt incense to it* in the days of Hezekiah, and had done so we know not how long, (see 2 Kings xviii. 4.) Which may make it the less wonder, that the poor Indians should worship a *serpent* upon a pole, when they that should have understood better committed such a foul idolatry, as to do Divine honour to the figure of the greatest enemy of God and of mankind.

Ver. 10. *And the children of Israel set forward.*] After they had been at two other places; which Moses now omits for brevity's sake, because he intended hereafter to give an exact account of all their removals at one view; which he doth in the thirty-third chapter of this book: (see ver. 41, 42.)

*And pitched in Oboth.*] Where, it is probable, they found water; of the want of which they complained: (see chap. xx. 2.)

Ver. 11. *And they journeyed from Oboth, and pitched in Jie-Abarim.*] Not that Mount Abarim where Moses died, (chap. xxvii. 12.) but another place in the confines of Moab, as it here follows: (see what I have observed, chap. xx. 2.)

*In the wilderness which is before Moab.*] Called the wilderness of Moab, Deut. ii. 8.

*Towards the sun-rising.*] On the east part of it, as Jephthah observes, a great many years after this, that *they came by the east side of the land of Moab*, (Judges xi. 18.)

Ver. 12. *And from thence they removed.*] As they were about to remove from this last place, they received a command from God not to meddle with the country of Moab, (Deut. ii. 9.) which is the reason (as Abarbinel observes) that Moses here sets down briefly, whence and whither they went, and where they pitched; that it might appear they did not transgress that command.

*And pitched in the valley of Zared.*] Or, as some translate it, in Nachal-Zared; which is called Dibon-Gad, chap. xxxiii. 45. For this place had two names (as the same author observes), and it was just eight-and-thirty years since the spies went up to survey the country, from Kadesh-barnea till their passing this *brook*, as we translate it, Deut. ii. 14. But I take Dibon-Gad rather to have been a place which lay upon the brook Zered.

Ver. 13. *And from thence they removed, and pitched on the other side of Arnon.*] The Hebrew word *meheber* may be translated *on this side*, or *on the other side*. And some think they were now on this side of the river, and not yet gone over it. Nor did they immediately come hither from their former station; but first to Almon-Diblathaim, (chap. xxxiii. 46.) which is also called Beth-Diblathaim in the wilderness of Moab, Jerem. xlviii. 22. and Diblah, Ezek. vi. 13. And then, passing by Ar, in the confines of Moab, and approaching to the country of the children of Ammon, God commanded them not to invade the Ammonites, being descendants from Lot, as well as the Moabites, (Deut. ii. 18, 19. 37.) but to pass over the river Arnon, (Deut. ii. 24.) to that side of it which belonged to the Amorites. For this river, at that time, divided the Moabites from the Amorites, as it here follows.

*Which is in the wilderness, that cometh out of the coasts of the Amorites.*] Runs by the wilderness of Kedemoth, unto which the Amorites extended their dominion, (Deut. ii. 26.)

*For Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites.*] This river flowed from the mountains of Arabia, where it had its rise, and fell into the Dead Sea, (as Josephus saith, lib. iv. Antiq.) ὁρίζων τήν τε Μωαβίτην καὶ Ἀμορίτιν, *bounding the country of the Moabites, and of the Amorites;* the country of Moab lying on one side of it, and that of the Amorites on the other. For though the Moabites formerly possessed the country on both sides of Arnon, as far as Heshbon, yet the Amorites had driven them out of that part of it which lay next to them; and made the river the boundary of their two kingdoms, (ver. 26, 27.) This Moses recites the more exactly, that it might appear the Israelites invaded none of the Moabites' possessions, but what was now possessed by the Amorites: by which Jephthah defended the right of the children of Israel, in future

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times, against the Ammonites, who pretended this country belonged to them, (Judges xi. 13—15, &c.)

Ver. 14. *Wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the Lord.*] A proof of this Moses thought good to allege out of an authentic record in those countries, containing the history of all the wars that had been in those parts; which are here called the *wars of the Lord,* because he is the great Governor of the world (as Abarbinel interprets it), *from whom and by whom are all things,* who *putteth down one, and setteth up another* (as the Psalmist speaks) *at his good pleasure.* This book, he thinks, was written by some of the wise men of those nations (and so thinks Nachmanides), who, looking upon this conquest made by Sihon as a very memorable thing, put it down in their Annals; which, after the way of those countries, were written, he thinks, in a poetical manner. There are those who are of opinion, that this book was written by Moses himself; who left in it directions to Joshua how to proceed in the *wars of the Lord,* when he conquered Canaan. So Dr. Lightfoot conjectures; and Bonfrerius doth not much differ from him. But I take the former account to be the more probable, that Moses justifies what he writes concerning this conquest out of their own books; which he quotes just as St. Paul, in the New Testament, doth one of the Greek poets.

*What he did in the Red Sea.*] These are the words of the book, out of which he quotes a small fragment: and the marginal translation of them is most proper, *Vaheb in Supheh,* only the word *eth* is omitted; which makes the sense to be this, *against Vaheb in Supheh;* that is, he came (some such word must be understood) against *Vaheb* (a king of the Moabites), and overthrew him in *Supheh,* a place in the frontiers of Moab. (See Deut. i. 1.) Others understand by *Vaheb* the place where Sihon gave the Moabites this blow; which he did by falling upon them on a sudden, with a terrible fury. So Nachmanides understands these words *besuphah;* he stormed the city, and made a furious assault, when they thought not of it: for *Supheh* signifies a *whirlwind,* or *stormy tempest,* (Isai. v. 28.)

*And in the brooks of Arnon.*] The same Nachmanides takes the word *veeth,* which we translate *and in,* to signify rather *and with;* and these being still the words of the book beforementioned, the sense is this: In the same manner he smote the brooks or torrents of Arnon; upon which he fell like a tempest, and carried all before him.

Ver. 15. *And at the streams of the brooks.*] None, I think, hath given a better account of these words than the same Nachman, who by *esched hannechalim* (which we translate the *streams of the brooks*), understands either a cliff from whence the torrents flowed (as Aschdod and Happisgah, Deut. iii. 17. are the hills from whence the springs gushed), or the valley through which the torrents ran; where they made a great broad water, which is here called an *effusion of torrents,* as R. Levi ben Gersom interprets the Hebrew words, *esched hannechalim.*

*That goeth down to the dwelling of Ar.*] Which extends itself as far as Ar, a city of Moab, (ver. 28.) R. Levi ben Gersom takes the word *Schebet* (which we translate *dwelling*) to signify a place as well as Ar, towards which these torrents bent their course.

*And lieth upon the borders of Moab.*] Which leaneth or belongeth unto Moab, being in the border of that country.

Thus far are the words of the book of the *wars of the Lord:* and the meaning of them is, that the king of the Amorites took all these places by a sudden, furious invasion; which Moses therefore punctually recites, to shew that the country of the Moabites now reached no further than Arnon: all the brooks, or torrents, and all the effusions of water as far as Arnon (*i. e.* all the country about them), being taken from them by the Amorites, in whose possession it now was, and, perhaps, had been a long time. And therefore the Israelites took nothing from the Moabites when they conquered this country (as was said before), nor from the Ammonites neither; part of whose country the Amorites also had got from them, (Deut. iii. 11.) and the Israelites took from the Amorites, when they conquered Sihon and Og; and it fell to the share of the Gadites, (Josh. xiii. 25.)

Ver. 16. *And from thence they went to Beer.*] A place which took its name from the *pit,* or *well,* which was here digged by God's order, as the next words tell us.

*That is the well whereof the Lord spake unto Moses.*] That is, saith Abarbinel, that place was remarkable for the well that God gave us, of his own accord, without our petition; which he prevented by bidding Moses dig it for us.

*Gather the people together, and I will give them water.*] Which they now again wanted, being removed from the river Arnon; but did not murmur about it, as they had done formerly: and therefore God most graciously, when he saw their distress, provided it for them.

Ver. 17. *Then Israel sang this song.*] This extraordinary kindness of God, which prevented their prayers, and gave them water out of his own good pleasure alone (as Abarbinel speaks), transported them with such joy, that it made them express their thankfulness in this song.

*Spring up, O well.*] As soon as they saw Moses and the princes thrust their staves into the earth, and the water began to bubble up, they said, with a loud voice, *Come up, O well;* that is, let waters flow abundantly to satisfy us all.

*Sing ye unto it.*] Or, as it is in the margin, *answer unto it.* The manner of the Hebrews was anciently to sing their songs of praise alternately, as appears from Exod. xv. 20. And so one company having said, *Spring up, O well* (which it is likely they repeated often), they called to the rest to answer to them; which they did, I suppose, in the following words.

Ver. 18. *The princes.*] *i. e.* The seventy elders, and heads of the tribes.

*Digged the well.*] Very easily, only turning up the earth with their staves.

*The nobles of the people digged it.*] The other side of the choir, perhaps, took up the song again, repeating the sense of what the former company had said.

*By the direction of the lawgiver.*] Or, *together with the lawgiver,* who began the work, and whose example they followed.

*With their staves.*] With no more labour but only thrusting their staves into the ground and turning up the earth. For, as R. Levi ben Gersom takes it, the ground here being sandy and very soft, was easily penetrated, though they were not likely to find water in it. But they believing Moses, and following his direction, God sent it copiously unto them; and with no more pains than a scribe takes when he writes with his pen. For so he translates the

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Hebrew word *mechokek*, (which we render *lawgiver*) a *scribe*, or *doctor of the law*.

*And from the wilderness.*] Mentioned ver. 13.

*They went to Mattanah.*] This and the place following are otherwise named in the thirty-third chapter, as the forenamed ben Gersom understands it. But others think these were no stations (which alone Moses gives an account of in the thirty-third chapter), where the Israelites pitched their tents, but places through which they passed, till they came to the station from whence they sent to Sihon for leave to pass through his country.

Ver. 19. *And from Mattanah to Nahael*, &c.] This, as well as the place next mentioned in this verse, seems to have been on the borders of Moab.

Ver. 20. *And from Bamoth in the valley.*] Rather *from Bamoth* (which signifies a very high place) *to the valley*. Or, as it may be translated, *from Bamoth a valley* (that is, there is a valley) *in the field of Moab*, &c. unto which they came next; for some such thing must be understood.

*That is in the country of Moab.*] Or near to it.

*To the top of Pisgah.*] Or, *to the beginning* (as the Hebrew word *rosch* may be interpreted) of the high Mount Pisgah; that is, they pitched at the foot of it, where the mountain began: which mountain was a part of the mountains of Abarim, as appears from Deut. xxxii. 49. xxxiv. 1.

*Which looks towards Jeshimon.*] Or, *towards the wilderness*. For so R. Levi ben Gersom interprets it; to a land that was *shemumah*, untilled and desolate, *viz.* to the wilderness of Kedemoth: where they pitched and settled their camp; and from thence sent messengers to Sihon.

Ver. 21. *And Israel sent messengers to Sihon king of the Amorites.*] These messengers were sent from the wilderness of Kedemoth, which was in the skirts of his country, (Deut. ii. 26.) or lay just upon it: for there was a city of this name in that country, which was given to Reuben, in the division of the land, (Josh. xiii. 18.)

Ver. 22. *Let me pass through thy land.*] They do not seem to desire a passage through the midst of his country, but only the extreme parts of it; which would have shortened their journey to the fords of Jordan.

*We will not turn into the fields, or into the vineyards; we will not drink of the waters of the well*, &c.] This is the very same civil message which they sent to Edom, (chap. xx. 17.) By whose example they pressed Sihon to grant them, at least, as much as the Edomites and Moabites had done: (see Deut. ii. 28, 29.)

Ver. 23. *And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his borders.*] This shews that they asked only to pass through the skirts of his country: (see Deut. ii. 30.)

*But Sihon gathered all his people together.*] He not only refused to grant their request; but came in a hostile manner, with all the forces he could raise, to oppose their passage over Arnon.

*And went out against Israel into the wilderness.*] From whence they sent their friendly message to him, ver. 21. which Moses, in Deut. ii. 26. calls, *words of peace*.

*And he came to Jahaz.*] A city, it is probable, belonging to the Moabites; whither the Israelites, perhaps, retreated, when Sihon denied them a passage through his country. For Isaiah plainly mentions Jahaz, as a place either in the country of Moab, or near it, (chap. xv. 4.) and Jeremiah, also, calling it Jahazah, (chap. xlviii. 21.)

*And fought against Israel.*] Who had orders from God, not to decline the battle (as they did with the Edomites and the Moabites), and were assured of victory, (Deut. ii. 31.) For they were Amorites, whose country God promised to Abraham, (Gen. xv. 21.) being part of the Canaanites, whom they were commanded to destroy; for they were descended from one of the sons of Canaan: (Gen. x. 16.) which made this war with them to have a just ground; not because they denied the Israelites a passage through their country, against the right of nations, as Grotius thinks (which was but the occasion, not the ground of the war), but because they were one of the seven nations condemned by God to destruction, (whose land he bestowed upon the Israelites, Josh. iii. 10.) and because Sihon came out armed against them, beyond the bounds of his own dominions; and fell upon them, when they had given him no provocation.

Ver. 24. *And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword.*] Utterly overthrew his army; and, putting them all to the sword, made themselves masters of his country.

*And possessed his land.*] For they destroyed all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, (Deut. ii. 33, 34.)

*From Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon.*] This is a brief description of the extent of Sihon's country; which reached from the river Arnon, the bound of the Moabites' country on the south, (chap. xxii. 36.) unto Jabbok, which was the bound of the Ammonites' country on the north, (Deut. iii. 16. Josh. xii. 2. xiii. 10.) But they meddled with no place that lay upon the river Jabbok, which belonged to the Ammonites; for that God had forbidden, (Deut. ii. 37.) By which Jephthah (as I observed), two hundred and sixty years after this, justified the title of the Israelites to all the country here mentioned; which they took not from the Ammonites, or Moabites, but from the Amorites, who were the owners of it when they conquered it, (Judges xi. 13. 15. 22, 23.) For Sihon had got half of their country, as well as part of the country of Moab, as appears from Deut. iii. 11. and from Josh. xiii. 25. where it is plain, Joshua gave the Gadites half of the country of the children of Ammon, which was now taken from the Amorites, who had dispossessed them. Josephus describes it as lying between three rivers, like an island: for the banks of Arnon were the bounds of this region on the south side; and Jabbok on the north, which running into Jordan lost its name; and the western tract of it was washed by Jordan itself: and on the east part it was surrounded with the mountains of Arabia.

*For the border of the children of Ammon was strong.*] This is not mentioned here as a reason why the Israelites did not set upon their country, (for they were expressly forbidden to do it, Deut. ii. 19.) but why Sihon conquered none of the Ammonites' country beyond Jabbok (as he did all from Arnon thither), because their frontiers on that side of the country were very strong, by the fortifications, which it is likely they had made upon the river.

Ver. 25. *And Israel took all these cities.*] All the cities of that country which lay between Arnon and Jabbok; some of which are named, ver. 30.

*And Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites.*] Having destroyed the former inhabitants, as I noted before, Deut. ii. 34.

*In Heshbon.*] Even in their royal city.

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*And in all the villages thereof.*] In Hebrew *the daughters;* as villages and castles are called, which depend upon the metropolis, as daughters on their mother.

Ver. 26. *For Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites.*] He had made this the seat of his kingdom, after his conquest of this country: which Moses observes (together with what follows), that it might appear to posterity, they invaded no part of the Moabites' territories, or of the Ammonites', but what was in the quiet possession of the Amorites, who had taken this country from them, and, perhaps, in a just war, and long enjoyed it.

*Who had fought against the former king of Moab,* &c.] It is not certain that this Sihon, whom the Israelites now vanquished, had dispossessed the Moabites of this country; but more likely some of his ancestors, who were all called by the name of Sihon (as the kings of Palestine were all called Abimelech, Gen. xx. 2. xxvi. 1. and the kings of Egypt called Pharaoh), who had fought not with the present king of Moab, but with one of his predecessors, and conquered him and his country.

*The former king of Moab.*] These words are not to be understood as if he fought with the king of Moab who immediately reigned before Balak, but, as I said, with some of his predecessors. So the LXX. τὸ πρότερον, *that heretofore was* king of Moab: and in the Hebrew the words are literally, *the king of Moab, the first;* perhaps of the present race.

Ver. 27. *Wherefore they that speak in proverbs.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *wherefore the proverbialists;* that is, the poets, whose composures, in those days, were very sententious.

*Say.*] Have this song in their mouths: which seems to have been composed by some of the Amorites, upon the victory which Sihon got over the Moabites; particularly upon the taking of Heshbon, which, I suppose, he besieged immediately upon the routing of their army. This Moses thought good to insert in his history, as an evidence that this country belonged to the Amorites when the Israelites subdued it. Thus he quotes a common saying about Nimrod, to justify what he writes of his greatness: (see Gen. x. 9.)

*Come into Heshbon.*] The words either of Sihon calling to his people, or of the Amorites exhorting one another to go to Heshbon, and help to repair the ruins that had been in it by the war, that it might become the royal city of their country. For that is the meaning of the following words.

*Let the city of Sihon be built and prepared.*] Let that place which Sihon hath chose for his seat be built up again, and made fit for his reception.

Ver. 28. *For there is a fire gone out of Heshbon.*] Now the poet rises into a rapture, and prophesies the conquest of the whole country by the army of Sihon marching out of Heshbon. For in the prophetical language, the desolations made by war are compared to *fire* and to the *flames,* which consume all they come near, (Amos i. 7. 10. 12. 14. ii. 2. 5.)

*A flame from the city of Sihon.*] This is but a repetition (as the manner is) of what was now said in other words; expressing the certainty of this presage.

*It hath consumed Ar of Moab.*] He speaks as if he already saw the thing done which he foretold, though it never came to pass. For they did not conquer Ar, which remained in the possession of Moab in Moses's time, as appears from Deut. ii. 9. 18. 29. But, in his poetical heat (or fury, as they speak), he exults, as if they had actually taken the capital city of Moab. For so Ar was; and afterward called Rabbath, and Rabbath-moba, *i. e.* the great city of Moab, to distinguish it from Rabbath-Ammon, *i. e.* the great city of the Ammonites. For so we find in Stephanus (de Urbibus), Ῥαββάθμωμα (it should be Ῥαββάθμωβα, as Bochartus hath truly corrected it, in his preface to his Phaleg.) which he calls Πόλις τρίτη Παλαιστίνης ἡ νῦν Ἀρεόπολις. For Ar, as I said, was the old name of it, (Deut. ii. 29. Isa. xvi. 1.) from whence came the name of Ἀρεόπολις, which it retained in later ages.

*And the lords of the high places of Arnon.*] The *masters* or *owners* (as the word *baale* may be translated) *of the high places,* &c. *i. e.* those that dwell in the strongest forts of the country: or, as some fancy, the priests of the places are here meant; or, rather their temple where Baal was worshipped. For we find a place in this country called Bamoth-Baal, (Josh. xiii. 17.) *the high places of Baal.* And it is evident, this poet triumphs in this Ἐπινίκιον over their gods and their religion, as well as over them.

Ver. 29. *Woe unto thee, Moab!*] He goes on to foretell the calamity of the whole country.

*Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh!*] So he calls the Moabites, who served (as the Chaldee translates it) or worshipped Chemosh as their god: for so we read he was, Jerem. xlviii. 7. 13. 1 Kings xi. 7. Judges xi. 24. which St. Jerome thinks differs from Baal-Peor only in name. (See Vossius de Orig. et Progr. Idolol. lib. ii. cap. 8.) Some take Chemosh to be Saturn; particularly Scharastanius: the manner of whose worship see in Dr. Pocock's excellent annotations in Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 316. I shall only add, that as the Moabites are called *the people of Chemosh,* because they worshipped him as their god, so the Israelites are called *the people of the Lord* and *the people of God,* because they worshipped the Lord alone. (Judges v. 11. 1 Sam. xiv. 13.) For in the days of paganism, as Mr. Mede observes, every country, nay, every city, had its proper and peculiar gods, which were deemed as its guardians and protectors: from whence the nations themselves are expressed by the name of their gods. That is evident from this place; but it is not so plain, that when God threatens to deliver up Israel to serve other gods, he means giving them up into the hands of the people of strange countries; which he takes to be intended in Deut. iv. 28. xxviii. 64. Jerem. xvi. 16, &c. (See book iv. p. 977.) And so he thinks the words of David may be expounded, (1 Sam. xxvi. 19.) "They have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, saying, Go serve other gods;" *i. e.* banished me into the country of idolaters. See book iii. p. 823. where this is more largely explained.

*He hath given his sons that escaped, and his daughters, into captivity, unto Sihon king of the Amorites.*] This is a manifest triumph over their god Chemosh, who was not able to save his worshippers (whom he calls his *sons* and his *daughters, i. e.* his children) who were under his protection. No, he could not so much as preserve those that escaped the fury of the sword, but they were afterward taken captive, to make up part of the triumph of Sihon king of the Amorites.

Ver. 30. *We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even*

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*unto Dibon.*] The Hebrew words *vamiram abad Heshbon ath Dibon*, may as well, if not better, be translated, *their light is perished* (or taken away) *from Heshbon unto Dibon.* So Forsterus in his Lexicon, and the Tigurin version, and others. That is, their glory is gone from one end of the country to the other: for Heshbon and Dibon were two famous places in this territory, (Josh. xiii. 17.) And some think this is the place called Dibon-Gad, chap. xxxiii. 45. which was the more noted, because there Nebo, one of their gods, was worshipped: for in Isaiah xv. 2. Dibon is mentioned as one of their high places; and there Nebo is lamented, *i. e.* their god which was there worshipped; whence Hesychius saith, Δεηβὼν (which, no doubt, is this Dibon) τόπος ἔνθα ἵδρυται ἱερὸν Μοαβιτῶν, *a place where the Moabites had a temple.* (See Selden de Diis Syris, Syntagm. 2. cap. 12.)

*We have laid them waste even unto Nophah.*] Another place in that country, as appears by the words following.

*Which reacheth unto Medeba.*] That is, the territories of Nophah extended as far as Medeba, which was certainly a place in the country of Moab, (Isaiah xv. 2.) But the word *reacheth* is not in the Hebrew; and the words without it may be thus truly translated, *and as far as Medeba.* For so the Hebrew particle *ascher* is sometimes used, to signify simply *and,* as Eccles. vi. 12. *ascher mi, and who* can tell, &c. so here *ascher ad, and unto,* &c.

And here I think fit to note, that it is likely these verses were some part of the history of those countries: for a poetical way of writing was in use before prose, as Strabo tells us, lib. i. Geograph. p. 18. where he saith, ὁ πεζὸς λόγος ὅ γε κατεσκευασμένος μίμημα τοῦ ποιητικοῦ. Πρώτιστα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ, &c. *All set or artificial speech* (whether historical or rhetorical) *was but an imitation of poetical compositions,* the ancients knowing no other: Cadmus, and Pherecydes, and Hecatæus, being the first who brought in this form of writing now in use. (See Salmasius in Solinum, p. 841. and Cuperus in his Apotheosis Homeri, p. 55.) However, this is certain, that they who would instruct the people put their lessons into verse, as Strabo there shews; where he says, p. 15. Οἱ Παλαιοὶ φιλοσοφίαν τινὰ λέγουσι πρώτην τὴν ποιητικὴν εἰσάγουσαν, &c. *the ancients call poetry the first philosophy, forming our lives from tender years, teaching good manners, governing the passions and actions with pleasure:* for which cause the Greeks instituted their children in their cities by poetry, Οὐ ψυχαγωγίας χάριν δήπουθεν ψιλῆς ἀλλὰ σωφρονισμοῦ, *not merely for the sake of bare delectation, but to form them to sobriety.*

Ver. 31. *Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites.*] This he mentions again to make it the more observed, that this was the country of the Amorites, into which the children of Israel entered, not of the Moabites, who had been expelled out of it, as was notoriously known, there being a song in every body's mouth which continued the memory of it.

Ver. 32. *And Moses sent to spy out Jaazer.*] Another city formerly belonging to Moab, but now in the possession of the Amorites, which the Israelites did not take at the first; but after they had conquered all the country beforementioned, they sent some men to bring them intelligence which way it was best to attack that city also, and the country about it. It was not far from Mount Gilead, (2 Sam. xxiv. 5, 6. 1 Chron. xxvi. 31.) and both of them were famous for good pasture, and therefore given to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, who had much cattle, (chap. xxxii. of this book, 1. 3, 4. 35, 36.) After the ten tribes were carried captive from their own land, it fell into the hands of the Moabites again, as may be gathered from Jer. xlviii. 32.

*And they took the villages thereof.*] As well as the city itself.

*And drove out the Amorites that dwelt there.*] If it had not been possessed by them they would not have meddled with it.

Ver. 33. *And they turned.*] Or *returned* (as the LXX. have it) from Jaazer.

*And went up by the way of Bashan.*] A famous mountain (Psalm lxviii. 15.) lying more northerly than the country of Sihon, and belonging also to the Amorites, where was very rich pasture, and an excellent breed of cattle, (Deut. xxxii. 14. Psalm xxii. 12.) and stately oaks, (Ezek. xxvii. 6.)

*And Og the king of Bashan.*] The whole country of which he was king had its name from that mountain, and was called *the kingdom of Og in Bashan,* Deut. iii. 10. where he is said, as well as Sihon, to be *a king of the Amorites,* (ver. 8.) and (ver. 11.) that he was *of the remnant of the giants,* or of the Rephaim, who were a mighty people in that country of Bashan, (see Gen. xiv. 5.) which in afterages was called Batanæa.

*Went out against them.*] To oppose their passage.

*He and all his people.*] With all the men of war in his country.

*To the battle at Edrei.*] A city near that country, afterward called Adara, as St. Jerome tells us in his book De Locis Hebraicis. He offered the Israelites battle, which, by God's order, they accepted.

Ver. 34. *And the Lord said unto Moses.*] That he might report it to the people.

*Fear him not.*] They had reason to be courageous (and not affrighted, because he was a giant), having lately overcome a mightier king than he, of which God puts them in mind in the end of this verse.

*For I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people,* &c.] For their greater encouragement he adds his promise, on which he bids them rely, as if they saw it already done, that he would give them the victory over Og and all his forces, and bestow upon them his country. This history Moses reports more at large, Deut. iii. 1—3, &c.

Ver. 35. *So they smote him, and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him alive.*] After they had overthrown him and his army, they pursued the victory till they had destroyed all the people of the country; some part of which held out longer than the rest, (as appears from chap. xxxii. 39, &c.) but at length was wholly subdued by Jair, the son of Manasseh, who had all the region of Argob given him for his pains, (chap. xxxii. 41. Deut. iii. 14.)

*And they possessed his land.*] Wherein were sixty walled cities, besides a great many small towns, (Deut. iii. 4, 5. Josh. xiii. 30.) All which was given to the half tribe of Manasseh, (Deut. iii. 13. Josh. xiii. 29, 30. 1 Kings iv. 13.)

## CHAP. XXII.

Ver. 1. *AND the children of Israel set forward.*] In what month of the fortieth year this which follows fell out



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we cannot tell, but it is likely in the seventh; when they removed from the mountains of Abarim, (chap. xxi. 20. xxxiii. 48.)

*And pitched in the plains of Moab.*] Which had formerly belonged to the Moabites, from whom it took its name: but had been taken from them by the Amorites; and now was in the possession of the Israelites.

*On this side Jordan.*] Unto which river this plain extended: and they pitched near to it, from Beth-Jesimoth unto Abel-Shittim, (chap. xxxiii. 49.) where they stayed, till under the conduct of Joshua they came to Jordan, and passed over it, (Josh. iii. 1.)

*By Jericho.*] Rather *against Jericho*, as the LXX. translate it: for Jericho was on the other side of Jordan, directly opposite to the place where they now pitched. And therefore the Vulgar Latin translates, or rather paraphrases it, *where Jericho is situated beyond Jordan: i. e.* passing the ford, they came directly to Jericho.

Ver. 2. *And Balak the son of Zippor.*] Who was king of the Moabites at this time; and descended, it is likely, from the ancient kings of that country, (chap. xxi. 26.)

*Saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites.*] To Sihon and Og, the *two kings of the Amorites*, (as they are called, Deut. iii. 8.) who were such near neighbours to Balak, that he not only *saw*, but considered (as the word implies) what a speedy conquest the Israelites had made of their country.

Ver. 3. *And Moab was sore afraid of the people.*] Lest they should expel them out of their country, as they had done the Amorites: for they knew nothing of God's command to the Israelites, not to disturb them in their possessions. Some imagine, but I see no good ground for it, that they were afraid the Israelites should get possession of the land of Canaan, unto which they thought themselves perhaps to have a better title; being descended from the eldest daughter of Lot, who was the son of Abraham's elder brother; for Abraham was the youngest son of Terah. But nobody can see any right that this descent gave Lot or his children; there being no promise made of it by God to any person, but Abraham and his posterity.

*Because they were many.*] Too strong for the Moabites to deal withal; having conquered those who had been too hard for them, and taken a great territory from them, (chap. xxi. 26.)

*And Moab was distressed because of the children of Israel.*] As Moses in his song, after they had passed the Red Sea, foretold they would be, (Exod. xv. 15.)

Ver. 4. *And Moab said.*] By messengers, which were sent (it is most likely) by the king and the princes of the country.

*Unto the elders of Midian.*] Who were their neighbours and confederates. The title of *elders*, it appears by this, was given in other nations, as well as among the Israelites, to the greatest persons in their countries: or the Israelites, after their manner, so called men every where, who were in high authority. For these persons who are here called *elders*, are called *kings*, chap. xxxi. 8. and *princes*, Josh. xiii. 21. In like manner they, who in the seventh verse of this chapter are called *the elders of Moab*, are in the next verse called *the princes of Moab*. Which, it is evident, was the ancient language among the Egyptians (Gen. l. 7. unless we suppose Moses, as I said, to have spoken in the language of the Jews), and, it is very likely, was also the ancient language of Phœnicia, and the countries thereabouts; and perhaps in much remoter parts. For it is a known story, that when the Phœnicians fled before Joshua, and forsook the land of Canaan, they fixed in Afric; where they left this name of *elders* among the Carthaginians. (See Mr. Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 14. p. 587, &c.)

*Midian.*] This is not the country wherein Jethro was a prince; for that was not far from Mount Sinai, as appears from Exod. iii. 1. whereas this was remote from that place, adjoining to the Moabites, and near to Palestine: though it is very probable the people of both these countries were descended from Abraham, by one of the sons he had by Keturah, (Gen. xxv. 2.)

*Now shall this company.*] The army of Israel encamped in the plains of Moab, (ver. 1.)

*Lick up all round about us.*] *i. e.* Devour us and all our neighbours (or our whole country), unless we join together to oppose them.

*As the ox licketh up the grass of the field.*] They use this metaphor, to signify how easily the Israelites would conquer them, without a timely, resolute, and unanimous opposition; and likewise what an universal desolation they would make. For the words are in the Hebrew, *the green of the field, i. e.* not only the *grass*, but the leaves of trees, which oxen eat, as Bochartus observes out of the Scripture, as well as other authors, (Isa. xxvii. 20.) And to *lick up* is not lightly to touch with their tongue, but to eat and consume. (See Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 31.)

*And Balak the son of Zippor was king of the Moabites at that time.*] He was mentioned before, ver. 8. but here recorded to have been king of the country; who endeavoured to secure himself, by the assistance of his neighbours and allies; unto whom he sent this embassy, to advise with them what course it was best for them to take for their common safety.

Ver. 5. *He sent messengers therefore.*] The result of the treaty with Midian was, that with joint consent they should send ambassadors, of each nation, and of the same quality, on the following message, ver. 7. And this counsel, it is likely, was given by the Midianites; for Balak saith nothing of it by his messengers: but it was resolved on when they came there, as the most effectual means for their security. This, I think, the word *therefore* imports.

*Unto Balaam.*] A famous soothsayer, or diviner, as he is called in Josh. xiii. 22. That is, one who pretended to foretell future things, and discover secrets, &c. though not by good and allowable arts, but such as were absolutely prohibited to God's people, (Deut. xviii. 10.) He had been formerly a good man, and a true prophet, till, loving the *wages of unrighteousness*, he apostatized from God, and became a *kosem*, which we translate a *diviner:* that is (saith Aben Ezra) an astrologer; who, observing when men were under a bad aspect of the stars, pronounced a curse upon them; which sometimes coming to pass, gained him a great reputation. But this is not the import of that word, as I shall shew in its proper place. Let it suffice now to observe, that the Jews are so much of this opinion, that he had been a better man than he was now, that they take him, as St. Jerome observes, to be the same person who, in the book of Job, is called Elihu. But Origen and some others think he was no prophet, but only one of the devil's sorcerers, of whom he went to inquire; but God was

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pleased to put the devil by, and give what answer he thought fit: which Balaam himself plainly discerned, and therefore calls himself, "He who heard the words of God," &c. On which side the truth lies, we shall be able to judge, when we come to consider what passed between God and him, in the following history.

*The son of Beor.*] Who was also called Bosor, as some gather from 2 Pet. ii. 15. though that place may have another interpretation.

*To Pethor.*] A city in Aram, or Mesopotamia, (chap. xxiii. 7. Deut. xxiii. 4.) This was the ancient name of the place; which in aftertimes the Syrians called Bosor, by an easy change of two letters, which is very usual. So Grotius understands those words, (2 Pet. ii. 15.) Βαλαὰμ τοῦ Βοσὸρ, *Balaam* (not the son, but) *of the city of Bosor.*

*Which is by the river of the land of the children of his people.*] *i. e.* Near to Euphrates; which is commonly in these books called by the name of *the river*, (Gen. xv. 18. and many other places.) This determines Aram (which was the name of several countries thereabouts) to signify that which is called in Scripture Aram Naharaim; that is, the Aram which lay between the two famous rivers of Euphrates and Tygris. The former of which was called, by way of eminence, *the river* (though the other also was eminent), because it was nearest and best known to the Israelites. And Ptolemy mentions a city called Pachoria in his time, upon this river, which some take to be Pethor. And it is very probable that Abraham, before he came into Canaan, lived hereabout, (Gen. xxiv. 4. 10. Josh. xxiv. 2.) And here Jacob also served for his wife, and begat all the patriarchs, except Benjamin, (whence the Israelites acknowledged their father to have been a poor Aramite, or Syrian, as we translate it, Deut. xxvi. 5.) by which means some relics of true religion still remained in this country, though mixed with a great deal of superstition.

*To call him.*] To invite him to come to them.

*Saying, There is a people come out of Egypt.*] Which all the power of Pharaoh could not hinder.

*They cover the face of the earth.*] Are exceeding numerous.

*And they abide over against me.*] Lie encamped not far from me, and are ready to invade my country.

Ver. 6. *Come now therefore, I pray thee.*] They were to speak in the name of the king of Moab, (whose words these are said to be, ver. 7.) there being no king, perhaps, at this time in Midian, but several little princes, who are called kings, (chap. xxxi. 8.)

*And curse me this people.*] It seems they had an opinion in those days, which prevailed much in aftertimes, that some men had a power, by the help of their gods, to blast not only particular persons, but whole armies; so that they should not be able to effect their designs. This they are said to have done, sometimes only by bare words of imprecation; of which there was a set form among some people, which Æschines calls διοριζομένην ἀρὰν, *the determinate curse.* Sometimes they also offered sacrifices, and used certain rites and ceremonies, with solemn charms; a famous instance of which we find in the life of Crassus; where Plutarch tells us, that Atteius, tribune of the people, made a fire at the gate, out of which Crassus was to march unto the war against the Parthians: into which he threw certain things to make a fume, and offered sacrifices to the most angry gods, with horrid imprecations upon him; which, he saith, according to ancient tradition, had such a power, that no man, who was loaded with them, could avoid being undone.

*For they are too mighty for me.*] I am not able to deal with them without thy help.

*Peradventure.*] But I hope, &c. For the Hebrew word אולי is not a particle of doubting, but of hoping: "Non est particula dubitantis, sed bene ominantis et sperantis;" as Forsterus observes, (Isa. xxxvii. 4. Zephan. ii. 3.)

*I shall prevail, that I may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land.*] I hope, by the conjunction of thy curses with my sword, I may be able to destroy them; or at least to drive them out of this country.

*For I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.*] The ancient prophets had such power with God to obtain great blessings from him, for others, as appears by the story of Abraham and Abimelech, (Gen. xx. 10.) and of Jacob, who blessed Pharaoh, (Gen. xlvii. 7.) and afterward all his own sons. And no doubt their imprecations were as powerful, when there was a just cause for them; according to what we read, 2 Kings ii. 24. And it is likely, while Balaam (who was a prophet, as appears by what follows, and is so called by St. Peter), continued a good man, he blessed and cursed no other way, but by prayer to God, and by imprecations in his name: which was imitated by other great men, particularly by king Cambyses in his speech to the Persians, recorded by Herodotus, in Thalia, cap. 65. where he saith, "If you do what I require, then let your land bring forth plentifully; and your wives and your flocks be fruitful, and yourselves enjoy your liberty: but if ye do not, τὰ ἐναντία τούτοισι ἀρέομαι ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, *I imprecate the quite contrary things to these to fall upon you.*" But when Balaam degenerated into a false prophet, and became a diviner, then he used spells and enchantments (as is plain by this history), and such rites and ceremonies as were the invention of wicked spirits; which Pharaoh's magicians, the Jews fancy, made use of to stop the Israelites at the Red Sea; (see Exod. xiv. 2.)

Ver. 7. *And the elders of Moab, and the elders of Midian.*] I take these two nations to have been ancient confederates; but the Jewish tradition is, that they had been always at enmity, and now reconciled by a common danger; just as two mastiffs (so they explain it), who are continually fighting, when they see the wolf set upon one of them, join together for their defence; because, if he devour the one, the other will not long survive him.

*Departed with the rewards of divination in their hand.*] It was the custom among God's people, when they came to consult with a prophet, to bring him a present; as appears from 1 Sam. ix. 7, 8. And indeed, from ancient time, men were not wont to approach great persons without one: (see Gen. xliii. 11. 25, 26.)

*And they came unto Balaam, and spake unto him the words of Balak.*] Delivered their message; having first, as the manner was, made him the present.

Ver. 8. *And he said unto them, Lodge with me this night.*] That was the time, it seems, wherein he was wont to receive answers to his inquiries; either in a dream, or by apparitions, or some other way. There are those who think he now began to betray the naughtiness of his heart, in taking



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time to advise about this matter; which, if he had been a faithful servant of God, he would instantly have rejected with disdain. And it is likely enough, by what follows, that he was as desirous of their money, as they were of his imprecations.

*And I will bring you word again, as the Lord shall speak unto me.*] You shall have my answer, according to the directions which the Lord shall give me. By this I take it to be evident, that he was not a stranger to the true God, with whose name it is certain he was acquainted; and, it is probable, had received revelations from him, till he became a covetous mercenary prophet, and addicted himself to superstitious rites and ceremonies; making use of *teraphim*, perhaps, which had been of ancient practice in his country, and worshipping God, perhaps, by other images. See Gen. xxxi. 19. 24. 30. 49. where it is evident that Laban had still communication with the Lord, though he used *teraphim*, and calls them his gods. Which perhaps put that idle conceit into the head of some of the Jews, that it was one and the same person, who is there called Laban, and here Balaam: who falling, as I said, into idolatrous practices, was forsaken by God, and delivered up to the impostures of evil spirits; though he still continued to inquire of the Lord, who was pleased, at this time, to make his mind known to him, for the preservation of his people Israel.

*And the princes of Moab abode with Balaam.*] As did those of Midian also; who are mentioned in the foregoing verse. Though some of the Jews have a fancy, that the elders of Midian went away (which they give as the reason that they are not here mentioned) as soon as they heard Balaam say, he would address himself for advice unto the Lord; who they knew would be favourable to Israel. And on the other side, some Christians have been of opinion, that he addressed himself to the Lord, only to try if he could draw him by his charms to take part with the Moabites: just as the Romans, when they laid siege to a city, endeavoured, by all means they could invent, to persuade the tutelar gods of that place to forsake it, and come over to their side: which rite is described by Macrobius.

Ver. 9. *And God came unto Balaam.*] As he is said to have done unto Abimelech in a dream, Gen. xx. 3. where I observed that Maimonides makes a distinction between God's *coming* to a person, and his *speaking* to him: but that cannot be made use of here; for God did both *come* and *speak* to Balaam, as appears from ver. 32. 35. where we read, the angel of the Lord spake to him. And here it will be fit to note, that all nations, of whom we have any knowledge, have been possessed with this opinion, that God was wont to appear frequently unto men; especially, *cum recentes à Deo essent*, (as Seneca speaks in Epist. xc.) *when they were newly come out of his hand:* and that he also was pleased to reveal his mind and will unto them, by some means or other; particularly by his angels, whom he sent on messages to them, as long as there was any goodness left among them. This is most admirably expressed by Catullus:

> "Præsentes namque ante domos invisere castas
> Sæpius, et sese mortali ostendere cœtu
> Cœlicolæ, nondum spreta pietate, solebant."

See Huetius in his Quæstiones Alnetanæ. lib. ii. cap. 12. n. 1, 2. And indeed no account can be given, how it came into the head of Homer, and other poets, to bring in the gods appearing so oft as they do, upon every occasion, if God had not been wont, in ancient time, to manifest himself, not only to the Israelites, but to other nations also, especially before the distinction of this people from them. So he did to Abimelech, Laban, &c. as well as to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For, as Dr. Jackson hath well observed, (in his first book upon the Creed, chap. 11.) if they had never heard nor read of any such thing, all the wits in the world, had they beat their brains never so much, could not have thought of bringing the gods in a visible shape upon the stage, or interlacing their poems with their frequent apparitions: nor can any other account be given, how this came to be the common belief of the world, from one end of it to the other, that the gods revealed their mind to men; the philosophers, as well as ordinary people, in the east, west, north, and south, making no doubt of it: for Abaris Hyperboreus, and Zamolxis Geta, were no less famous in the north, than the Egyptian prophets were in the south.

But when mankind degenerated, and corrupted themselves by all manner of wickedness, then God forsook them, and permitted evil angels to take the place of the good, and plunge mankind further into all manner of filthiness; especially into abominable idolatries. So that Balaam, who, I question not, had at first familiarity with God and his holy angels, abusing this honour God had done him, in making him a prophet, by employing it to serve his vile covetousness, God gave him up to the delusion of evil spirits; of whom he learnt enchantments. But at this time God was pleased again to appear to him himself, for the good of his people Israel, and to overrule all his bad inclinations: insomuch that Moses says at last he did not go, as he had done, to *seek enchantments*, (chap. xxiv. 1.) but gave up himself wholly, for the present, to the conduct of God's Spirit; as I shall there observe.

*And said unto him.*] By an angel, as Maimonides interprets it, (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 41.)

*What men are these with thee?*] He asks this question, partly to prove Balaam, whether he would tell him the truth of their business; and partly to make way for the following direction.

Ver. 10. *And Balaam said unto God.*] To whom (it appears by this) and to the way wherein God communicated himself, he was not a stranger.

*Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab, hath sent unto me, saying.*] This shews the embassy was sent principally in his name; the Midianites only joined in it, (ver. 5.)

Ver. 11. *Behold, there is a people come out of Egypt,* &c.] This verse contains only a brief report of the message that was sent him; to which he desired God would tell him what answer he should return.

Ver. 12. *And God said unto Balaam.*] By an angel, (ver. 9. and ver. 35.)

*Thou shalt not go with them, thou shalt not curse this people: for they are blessed.*] He not only forbids him to comply with Balak's desire, but gives him such a reason as was likely to prevail with him, if his prohibition was not sufficient; that it was impossible, with all his enchantments, to reverse the blessing which God had bestowed upon this people.

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Ver. 13. *And Balaam rose up in the morning, and said to the princes of Balak, Get ye to your own land.*] He seems resolved to obey God, rather than comply with them; and therefore dispatched them, as soon as he could, with the following answer.

*For the Lord refuseth to give me leave to go with you.*] He acquaints them only with half of God's answer; for he omits the reason, which was the principal thing: though it may be thought to be implied; that if the Lord, on whose pleasure he pretended to depend, refused to let him go, it was in vain to attempt to curse them.

Ver. 14. *And the princes of Moab rose up.*] They did not stand to dispute the matter with him, or to importune him; which shews that he had given them a peremptory denial.

*And they went unto Balak, and said, Balaam refuseth to come with us.*] They report his answer as imperfectly as he did God's; saying not a word, that the Lord refused to let him come. They were loath, perhaps (as the manner of such persons is), to deliver unwelcome news to their master.

Ver. 15. *And Balak sent yet again princes, more, and more honourable than they.*] He being ignorant of the true cause of his refusal, imagined that Balaam thought himself slighted; and expected a greater number of persons, and of greater quality, should have been sent to him. For prophets, in ancient time, were men highly esteemed; as not only sacred persons, but who had a great interest in God; of whom they could obtain whatsoever they desired. God himself thought this sufficient to keep Abimelech from injuring Abraham, to acquaint him that he was *a prophet*, (Gen. xx. 3.) And therefore they were called *men of God;* being thought, by the very gentiles, to be full of some *Numen* or other; whereby they became *interpreters of the gods* (as they called them), who ministered ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, *between the gods and men:* insomuch that women, when they became prophetesses, had very great authority; as we find in Deborah, who calls herself *a mother in Israel:* (Judges v. 7.) and therefore all such persons were under the special protection of Heaven, (Psal. cv. 15.)

Ver. 16. *And they came unto Balaam, and said, Thus saith Balak the son of Zippor.*] They seem to speak of their master in a higher style than the former ambassadors did, ver. 7. where it is only said, "they spake unto him the words of Balak."

*Let nothing, I pray thee, hinder thee from coming to me.*] Yet they submissively beseech him, in their master's name, not to suffer any thing to keep him from coming to him; for he thought, perhaps, that Balaam might be detained by other more profitable employments.

Ver. 17. *For I will promote thee to very great honour.*] He imagined, it is probable, that Balaam looked upon the rewards of divination, which he sent him, as not sufficient encouragement; and therefore he promises him to advance him to some high preferment in his court.

*And I will do whatsoever thou sayest unto me.*] And moreover, he promises to bestow an estate, as great as he would desire, to support his new dignity.

*Come therefore, I pray thee.*] They add importunity to their earnest request.

*Curse me this people.*] Having heard (as David Chytræus understands this) that the Israelites conquered their opposers by prayers, rather than by arms (as they had done Pharaoh and the Amalekites), the king of Moab thought he might prevail against them by the same means.

Ver. 18. *And Balaam answered and said to the servants of Balak.*] To the messengers whom he had sent, who, it appears by this, were principal officers in his court, (ver. 15.) For the servants of Pharaoh are called *the elders of his house,* Gen. l. 7.

*If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do more or less.*] This is not the language of one that was a stranger to the true God; for no prophet in Israel ever spake of him in more familiar terms than these, *the Lord my God.* And for the present, the command of God seems to have suppressed his covetous and ambitious desires, so that he durst not yield to them; though it appears, by what follows, he was strongly inclined to follow them.

Ver. 19. *Now therefore, I pray you, tarry you also here this night.*] Take a lodging with me, as your predecessors did, (ver. 8.)

*That I may know what the Lord will say unto me now.*] Whether the Lord will alter his mind, as he hoped he might; otherwise he would have rested in the first answer he received from God, and not tried again if he could prevail by his importunity to get leave to go; as these great promises of riches and honour made him desire.

Ver. 20. *And God came unto Balaam at night.*] Notwithstanding which, God was pleased again to visit him with his presence; at least by one of his angelic ministers.

*And said unto him, If the men come to call thee.*] Press thee again to comply with them.

*Rise up, and go with them.*] Since thou hast such a mind to go, follow thy inclinations. These words seem to be spoken angrily, though not sarcastically, as some would have them, like those 1 Kings xxii. 15.

*But yet the word which I shall say unto thee, that shalt thou do.*] Some take these words to be not so much a command as a prediction; that he should not be able to say a word but what he was ordered by God.

Ver. 21. *And Balaam rose up in the morning, and saddled his ass.*] Commanded his ass to be made ready; for he had servants to wait upon him, (ver. 22.) And great persons in those countries were wont to ride upon asses; of which we find examples before this, in Abraham, (Gen. xxii. 1.) and in Moses, (Exod. iv. 20.) and, in aftertimes, the judges of Israel were thus mounted, (Judges v. 10.) and their children, (chap. x. 4. xii. 14.)

*And went with the princes of Moab.*] They set out, perhaps, together; or he desired them to go a little before, and he would follow them. For it appears by the following part of this relation, that he did not make a part of their train; but travelled, at least some part of the way, with his two servants alone.

Ver. 22. *And God's anger was kindled because he went.*] This may seem strange, since he had a permission to go along with them: but the meaning is not, that God was displeased because he did as he was permitted; but because he went so readily (without offering to stay at home, as he had been commanded at first), and because he carried along with him an evil mind, desirous to get the money and the honour that was proffered him; and consequently with an inclination to curse Israel, and with hopes that he might, by some means or other, compass that wicked end. This

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is plainly signified by the angel's words, ver. 35. where he permits him still to go on, but with a caution not to attempt to speak a word otherwise than he bade him. This is more plainly evident from Deut. xxiii. 5.

*And the angel of the Lord.*] The same angel, which is thought to have spoken to him, ver. 12. 20.

*Stood in the way.*] In the very path wherein his ass was going.

*For an adversary against him.*] To stop his proceedings, that he might not go on in his sin, and perish, as R. Solomon glosses.

*Now he was riding upon his ass, and his two servants were with him.*] He was in his journey upon the road, but separated from the rest of the company; having only his own two servants with him, who waited on him.

Ver. 23. *And the ass saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way.*] The Lord, saith the same R. Solomon, let the ass see what his master could not, his mind been blinded by his converse with demons: or rather, God deprived him, for the present, of the power of seeing what stood just before him.

*And his sword drawn in his hand.*] Threatening to kill him if he went forward.

*And the ass turned aside out of the way.*] Out of the road wherein they were travelling.

*And went into the field.*] Which lay on the side of the highway.

*And Balaam smote the ass to turn her into the way.*] As the manner is still, when such creatures are unruly.

Ver. 24. *And the angel of the Lord stood in the path of the vineyards.*] It is uncertain whether the ass turned into the way again, or went on in the field, till they came to these vineyards.

*A wall being on this side, and a wall on that side.*] In a very narrow passage.

Ver. 25. *And when the ass saw the angel of the Lord.*] Which opposed him here again, as he had done in the broad highway.

*She thrust herself unto the wall.*] To avoid the angel.

*And crushed Balaam's foot against the wall.*] The angel and his drawn sword, which it is likely he brandished, took up so much of the way on both sides, that there was not room for the ass to pass without going too close to the wall.

*And he smote her again.*] Being very angry at her untowardness.

Ver. 26. *And the angel of the Lord went further, and stood in a narrow place.*] Through which Balaam was to pass.

*Where there was no way to turn, either to the right hand or to the left.*] Where the angel took up the whole passage, and left no space on either side for the ass to go.

Ver. 27. *And when the ass saw the angel of the Lord.*] And no way to avoid him.

*She fell down under Balaam.*] Being unable either to turn back, the way was so narrow, or to go forward, because the angel filled up all the passage.

*And Balaam's anger was kindled, and he smote the ass with a staff.*] Harder than he had done before.

Ver. 28. *And the Lord.*] By his *angel*, as Bochart interprets it.

*Opened the mouth of the ass.*] Which naturally is a dumb creature, having no organs of speech; but, by an extraordinary power of God, who made man's mouth, had her tongue so moved to the palate, teeth, and lips, and the air was so compressed within her mouth, as to form words as plain as we speak.

*And she said unto Balaam.*] That an ass should, by the power of God, be made to speak, one would think should not seem incredible to Christians, when heathens did not disbelieve such things, but received them as undoubted truths. Witness what they say of the ass upon which Bacchus rode, and the ram of Phryxus, and the horse of Achilles and Adrastus, and the bull of Europa, and the lamb in Egypt when Bocchoris reigned there, and the elephant of Porus in India; all which are reported to have spoken: and vast numbers of other instances are heaped up by two eminently-learned Frenchmen, Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 14.; and Huetius, in his Alnetanæ Quæstiones, lib. ii. cap. 12. n. 26.; which things are alleged out of their books, not to prove all such stories to be true, but that they thought them true, and thought it did not exceed the power of their gods to effect such things. Nor could they except against the Bible, because of the strange things there reported, the like wonders being commonly believed among themselves; which, if they were devised by the gentile writers, it was, in all likelihood, out of this sacred history; that they might not seem to come behind the Jews in any thing which might give credit to their own religion.

If Maimonides had been acquainted with such things as these, he would not have said, that all this which happened to Balaam in the way to Balak, was done in a prophetical vision, (par. ii. More Nevochim, cap. 42.) which is the conceit of R. Levi ben Gersom also, who compares this with what we read, Hosea i. 3, &c. concerning the prophet's taking a wife of whoredoms, &c. and denies the literal sense, merely because he could not imagine how an ass should be made to speak: no, nor could he, or any man else, tell how such a representation could be made to the prophet's imagination in a vision, but by the power of God; to whom the one was as easy as the other.

*What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smote me these three times?*] There was some cause; for his foot was crushed, and he fell with her: but the ass could not help it.

Ver. 29. *And Balaam said unto the ass.*] One would have expected that he should have been astonished, and struck as dumb as the ass naturally was, to hear her speak so plain, and expostulate with him: but he was in a rage, or rather fury; so that for the present he did not consider any thing, but her untoward crossness. St. Peter observes so much, when he saith the dumb ass rebuked *the madness of the prophet;* where the word Παραφρονία is unusual in the Greek language, signifying that he was *beside himself*, not knowing what he said or did; partly out of anger, and partly because he was possessed with an eager desire and hope to serve Balak, and get the riches and honour he promised him, now that he had got leave of God to go to him.

*Because thou hast mocked me.*] Or, as the Arabic version, printed at Paris, translates it, *thrown me in the dirt.* But they seem to have read the word otherways than it is in the Hebrew; where it signifies either mocking, or exposing to scorn and laughter.

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*I would there were a sword in my hand, for now would I kill thee!*] This shews the height of his rage, to be thus crossed in his designs; and, as the Jewish doctors take it, the height of his folly also; that he should pretend to be able to destroy the whole congregation of Israel with his enchantments, who needed a sword to kill a poor ass.

Ver. 30. *And the ass said unto Balaam, Am not I thine ass?*] This does not prove that the ass understood what Balaam said, and thereupon returned this pertinent answer; but that the same Power which made the ass speak at first, continued to form such an answer as might convince Balaam of his error.

*Upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day?*] The Hebrew words will not bear this sense; but are exactly rendered in the margin of our Bibles, *ever since thou wast*, that is, a rider; ever since thou began to ride, as Aben Ezra expounds it. Whence many render it, *from thy youth;* which may be supposed to be a long time; Balaam, in all likelihood, being now no young man, but for many years a famous prophet.

*Was I ever wont to do so unto thee?*] Hast thou not had sufficient experience, in so many years as I have served thee, of my sure going? As much as to say, Thou shouldst have thought some unwonted cause had forced me to do three times what I never did before.

*And he said, Nay.*] He could not but allow the truth of what was spoken by the ass.

Ver. 31. *Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam.*] He was not blind before; but his eyes were held as the eyes of the men of Sodom were, who could not see Lot's door, though they found their way to their own home, (Gen. xix. 1.)

*And he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand.*] He understood the true cause of the ass's turning aside, and falling under him.

*And he bowed down his head, and fell flat upon his face.*] He first bowed his head, and then his whole body, in token of his most profound reverence.

Ver. 32. *And the angel of the Lord said unto him, Wherefore hast thou smitten thy ass these three times?*] This serves to teach us, saith Maimonides, not to use cruelty towards beasts, but to treat them gently and mercifully; (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 17.) or rather, as another of them makes the angel say to Balaam, If I am commanded to reprove thee for thy injustice to thy ass, how much more for thy wicked intention to destroy a whole nation? But the drift of this speech seems to be, to reprehend the brutish stupidity of the prophet, in not apprehending some extraordinary hand of God, which turned his ass aside so oft, and at last made her speak.

*Behold, I went out to withstand thee.*] I was the cause of thy ass's turning out of the way, and falling down, by my standing in the path to oppose thee, and stop thy proceedings, (ver. 22.)

*Because thy way is perverse before me.*] His intentions and purposes were not sincere and honest: for, pretending to obey God, he designed, if he could, to serve Balak. The word we translate *perverse*, signifies *perplexed* and *intricate* in the Arabian language: and so Bochartus thinks it should be translated here.

Ver. 33. *And the ass saw me, and turned away from me these three times.*] I was merciful unto thee, in letting the ass see me, which saved thy life, as it here follows.

*Unless the ass had turned from me, surely now I had slain thee, and saved her alive.*] It had cost thee thy life if the ass had gone forward, and thy life alone; for I would not have done any hurt to her.

Ver. 34. *And Balaam said unto the angel of the Lord, I have sinned.*] It is not certain that this refers to any sense he had of the perverse disposition of his heart; for it may have respect only to his outrageousness against his ass, which he confesses was without cause.

*For I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me.*] Or rather, *but I knew not*, &c. for this seems to be said in excuse of himself, from his ignorance that the ass was turned out of the way by the angel.

*Now therefore, if it displease thee, I will get me back again.*] He would not understand the angel right, who did not find fault with his going to Balak, but with his going with such bad intentions.

Ver. 35. *And the angel of the Lord said unto Balaam, Go with the men.*] As God had before bidden him, (ver. 20.) and did not send the angel to forbid what he had allowed.

*But the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak.*] These words are something different from those in ver. 20. importing both that he should not presume to speak a word but what he ordered, and that he should not forbear to speak what he bade him.

*And Balaam went with the princes of Balak.*] Whom he overtook after this stop, either at the place where they lodged, or where they stayed for him; but he did not tell them what he met withal in the way.

Ver. 36. *And when Balak heard that Balaam was come.*] By some messenger sent before to acquaint him with his coming.

*He went out to meet him.*] Partly out of joy, and partly out of respect to him.

*Unto a city of Moab, which is in the border of Arnon.*] This city seems to have been Ar, (chap. xxi. 15.)

*Which is in the utmost coast.*] He did him the honour to meet him at the very entrance of his country; and did not think it sufficient to send some of his court to receive him.

Ver. 37. *And Balak said unto Balaam, Did not I earnestly send unto thee to call thee?*] After this compliment was paid to Balaam, the king could not forbear to let him know, he did not think himself well used by him, whom he had earnestly entreated to come to him, and at the first he would not.

*Wherefore camest thou not unto me?*] As soon as I sent for thee.

*Am I not able indeed to promote thee to honour?*] Dost thou doubt of my power to make thee a great man, if thou gratifiest me in my desire? And his readiness he shewed by this honourable reception of him.

Ver. 38. *And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee.*] Say no more of that; but be satisfied that I am now come.

*Have I now any power at all to say any thing?*] Yet he would not have him expect that he should do all that Balak desired, or he himself was inclined to do; for he was under a higher overruling Power, which he could not gainsay.

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*The word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak.*] He seems to acquaint him that he had received such a command from God, (ver. 35.) and he must be obedient.

Ver. 39. *And Balaam went with Balak.*] This did not discourage the king of Moab from carrying Balaam along with him into his country; where he hoped he might be persuaded to do as he would have him.

*And they came unto Kirjath-huzoth.*] The royal city, it is likely; for it signifies in our language the *city of streets;* that is, a large city, which had many streets and (consequently) inhabitants in it.

Ver. 40. *And Balak offered oxen and sheep.*] In thankfulness that he had procured Balaam's assistance, as he hoped, against his enemies.

*And sent to Balaam.*] They were such sacrifices as the Jews called *peace-offerings;* of which the offerers had a share for themselves and for their friends: and the sacrifice being over, Balak invited Balaam to come to the feast he made thereupon.

*And to the princes that were with him.*] The princes, I suppose, of Midian and of Moab, who were sent on the embassy to him, and had succeeded in it, (ver. 7. 15.)

Ver. 41. *And it came to pass, that on the morrow.*] Having rested one night after his journey, Balak would have him go about his business, and see what he could do for him.

*Balak took Balaam.*] Into his chariot.

*And brought him up into the high places of Baal.*] All nations worshipped their gods in high places; and Baal was the god of this country; who was worshipped in more high places than one; unto all which he brought Balaam, that he might see where he could take the fullest view of the Israelites, and which of them would be fittest for his purpose. These high places were full of trees, and very shady, (as I observed, Lev. xxvi. 30.) which made them the fitter both for the solemn thoughts and prayers of such as were devout, and for the filthy inclinations and intentions of the wicked. Baal was the name of several gods, both male and female, as our Selden shews in his Syntagma ii. de Diis Syris, cap. 1. And I suppose Chemosh, the god of Moab, is here called by this name (signifying *a lord*), though that great man seems to take it for Baal-Peor, (cap. 2. of that book.)

*That thence he might see the utmost of the people.*] *i. e.* All their armies, to the very skirts of their camp.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1. *AND Balaam said unto Balak, Build me here.*] Upon one of the high places; which Balaam, it is likely, pitched upon as fit for his purpose.

*Seven altars.*] The number *seven* was much observed we find among the Hebrews, by God's order; (see Lev. iv. 6.) but we never read of more than one altar built by the patriarchs, when they offered their sacrifices; nor was more than one allowed by Moses. Therefore in this there was something of the heathen superstition; who, worshipping the sun (who is principally meant by Baal), offered also to all the seven planets: unless we allow the conjecture of Fortunatus Scacchus, who imagines, that as Moses erected twelve pillars, according to the number of the children of Israel, when he entered them into the covenant of God, (Exod. xxiv. 4.) so Balaam ordered seven altars to be erected, according to the number of the principal houses of Moab, (Myrothec. Sacr. Elæochrysm, par. ii. cap. 59.) But there is no ground for the conceit of Abarbinel, who, in his preface to Leviticus, (sect. 4.) saith, Balaam ordered this in emulation of the seven acceptable altars to God, built by seven men famous for piety; *viz.* Adam, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses. There is more certainty in this, that these altars were erected in honour either of the Most High, or of the greatest of their gods: for, according to the account which both Festus and Servius have given us of the ancient times, they sacrificed to the celestial gods only upon altars (which were so called, because they were *aræ altæ, built high and lofty*), whereas to the terrestrial they sacrificed upon the earth; and to the infernal gods, in holes digged in the earth.

*And prepare me here seven oxen, and seven rams.*] To offer one of each upon the several altars, as it follows, ver. 2. This number was used by pious persons, both in these days, (Job xlii. 8.) and in aftertimes, (1 Chron. xv. 26.)

Ver. 2. *And Balak did as Balaam had spoken.*] Caused the altars to be built (which was done, either of stones, or of turf), and the sacrifices to be brought.

*And Balak and Balaam offered on every altar a bullock and a ram.*] Kings, in ancient times, were priests also; as appears by Melchizedeck: but perhaps Balak only presented the sacrifices to be offered for him, and for his people; and Balaam performed the office of a priest. The only doubt is, to whom these sacrifices were offered. I suppose each of them had their several intentions: Balak supplicating Baal by them; and Balaam making his prayer to the Lord, though with such superstitious ceremonies, it is likely, as were used by the worshippers of Baal; in one of whose high places these sacrifices were offered. But it may also be supposed, that Balaam telling Balak he could not effect any thing without the Lord, the God of Israel, persuaded him to join with him at present in his worship, that they might prevail with him to withdraw his presence from the Israelites: for there is no reason to think, that Balaam would go to inquire of the Lord, when he had sacrificed to other gods; and it appears evidently from ver. 4. that he pretended to sacrifice unto God; and would not have presumed surely to tell him so, if he meant otherwise.

Ver. 3. *And Balaam said unto Balak.*] When he had laid the pieces upon the altars.

*Stand by the burnt-offering.*] Attend thy sacrifice, and pray to God to accept it. By this it appears, that these sacrifices were of a different nature from those mentioned in chap. xxii. 40. being burnt-offerings which were wholly consumed. And one of them seems to have been offered particularly for Balak, which he calls *his burnt-offering;* as the rest were for the princes of Moab, who, it is likely, stood by them representing all the people.

And here it is to be observed, that, in old time, before the law of Moses was given, burnt-offerings served for all purposes in Divine worship; whether they gave thanks for blessings, or deprecated evil things, or prayed for good. Thus Noah, when he returned thanks to God for his preservation in the ark, *offered burnt-offerings,* (Gen. viii. 20.)

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And when Job beseeched God to pardon his sons, (chap. i. 5.) and his friends, (chap. xlii. 8.) he offered sacrifices of this sort: and so did Balak and Balaam here use them, to procure blessings upon Moab, and a curse upon Israel.

*And I will go.*] By myself, into some private place, to consult with God, and to exercise his enchantments, (as may be gathered from chap. xxiv. 1.) whereby he thought he might prevail for such a power as he desired, of cursing the people of Israel.

*Peradventure the Lord will come to meet me.*] He durst not be confident, because he had lately opposed his proceeding (chap. xxii. 31.) in a frightful manner.

*And whatsoever he sheweth me.*] Whatsoever he reveals to me, either by word or otherwise.

*I will tell thee.*] Deal faithfully with thee, and conceal nothing from thee.

*And he went to a high place.*] Or rather, *into a valley;* for he was now in a *high place* when he sacrificed, and did not go into another high place, but down into the plain (as the Hebrew word properly signifies), where he might, in some solitary retirement, address himself to God, and expect his presence with him. So we translate it in the margin, *he went solitary.* Therefore, if we retain the other translation, it must be understood of some part of the *high place,* where he might be solitary, *viz.* into the *grove,* which high places seldom wanted. In these high places they built their temples, and had their oracles: as we learn from Justin, lib. xxiv. cap. 6. where he saith, the temple of Apollo "positum est in monte Parnasso, &c." *was seated upon the mountain Parnassus:* and from Pausanias, who, speaking of the cave of Trophonius in Bœotia, saith, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μαντεῖον ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄλσος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, *the oracle is in a grove upon a mountain.* The like might be observed of other oracles; which may countenance this conjecture, that some such pretended oracle might be in this high place, where Balaam went for direction from God.

Ver. 4. *And God met Balaam.*] Appeared unto him, as he had been wont to do in other places, chap. xxii. 9. 20. where the word Elohim is constantly used, as it is here and every where else, till we come to ver. 16. which strengthens the opinion, that the Lord hitherto spake to him only by an angel.

*And he said unto him.*] *i. e.* Balaam said unto God, when he saw him appear.

*I have prepared seven altars, and have offered upon every altar a bullock and a ram.*] This shews he sacrificed unto God, and not unto Baal: and he represents it to God that he might be moved thereby to condescend to his desire. For sacrificing was a form of supplication, as we find in other places, particularly 1 Sam. xiii. 12. and that which he begged of God was, in all likelihood, that he would give him power to curse Israel.

Ver. 5. *And he put a word into Balaam's mouth.*] Told him what he should say. And therefore (saith Maimonides) he spake by the Spirit of God: which he makes account was the second degree of prophecy. Whence that description Balaam gives of himself, "He hath said, who heard the words of God," (par. ii. More Nevochim, cap. 45.)

*And said, Return unto Balak, and thus shalt thou speak.*] He commanded him to speak unto Balak, at his return to him, as he was instructed, and no otherwise. The words he bade him speak, are those that we read below, (ver. 7, 8, &c.)

Ver. 6. *And he returned unto him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt-sacrifice.*] He found him in the very same posture wherein he left him: (ver. 3.) which shews Balaam did not go far, nor stay long before he returned; and that Balak was earnest in his supplications.

*He, and all the princes of Moab.*] Who were concerned in the good success of his negotiation.

Ver. 7. *And he took up.*] A Hebrew phrase for *speaking aloud.*

*His parable.*] Or, prophetical speech; which was sometimes delivered in *parables,* properly so called: that is, not in plain words, but in apt figures and resemblances, (concerning which see Maimonides, par. ii. cap. 43.) But here the word *parable* signifies (as it doth in the book of Job) a weighty speech, expressed in sublime and majestic words, Job xxvii. 1. xxix. 1.

*And said, Balak the king of Moab hath brought me from Aram.*] See chap. xxii. 5.

*From the mountains of the east.*] The country of Mesopotamia lay eastward of Moab: and that part of it towards Arabia was stony and mountainous. (See Bochartus in his Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 6.)

*Saying, Come, curse me Jacob; and come, defy Israel.*] Two different expressions for the same thing; only the latter word (which we translate *defy*) imports something of fury; because he would have had him curse them in such a prophetic rage, as should have the most direful effects upon them.

Ver. 8. *How shall I curse him whom God hath not cursed?* &c.] As much as if he had said, Balak desires of me that which is impossible. In the Jerusalem Targum this verse is thus paraphrased: *How shall I curse the house of Jacob, when the Word of the Lord hath blessed them? or how shall I diminish the family of Israel, when the Word of the Lord hath multiplied them?*

Ver. 9. *For from the top of the rocks.*] Upon which he then stood, when he spake these words.

*I see him.*] As Balak desired he might, (chap. xxii. 41.) though for another purpose; that he might curse them.

*And from the hills I behold him.*] The same thing again, in other words, according to the manner of the eastern people. And both these may relate, not only to the present view he had of the camp of Israel, but to their future settlement in their own land; wherein they were represented to him as dwelling securely, under the special protection of the Almighty.

*Lo, the people shall dwell.*] In the land of Canaan.

*Alone.*] Not mingled with other nations, but separated from them by different laws, religion, and manners. It seems also to import their security and safety, by the situation of their country, and God's care of them.

*And shall not be reckoned among the nations.*] Be a peculiar people by themselves; and therefore not liable to the power of my curses, like other nations. All this came to pass, partly by the natural situation of their country, which was surrounded with high mountains, and rocky precipices, so that the coming to it was very difficult; but more especially by their rites and customs; and particularly by their diet, which restrained them from common conversation with other nations, because they could



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not eat of their food (swine's flesh, for instance, which was a delicate dish among the gentiles, was an abomination to the Israelites). By which means they were the better secured from learning the religion of the gentiles, having so little communication with them, that they were called by Diodorus Siculus, and others, *an unsociable people*, and thought to have an enmity to the rest of the world.

Ver. 10. *Who can count the dust of Jacob.*] This may refer either to their present, or their future increase; which was so great, that they might be compared to the dust of the earth, or the sand on the sea-shore, which is without number. Hereby he confirmed the promise made by God to Abraham, Gen. xiii. 16. and to Israel, chap. xxviii. 14. where he saith expressly, "Thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth."

*And the number of the fourth part of Israel.*] Any one of their camps, every one of which was grown to a vast number: for the whole host of Israel was divided into four camps, under the standard of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim and Dan (as we read in the second chapter of this book), one of which camps lay more plainly before him than the rest, *viz.* that on the west, under the standard of Ephraim.

*Let me die the death of the righteous.*] By the *righteous* he means Israel, who were now a people free from idolatry, which was the great crime of those days: and he desires either to be as happy as they in the other world, or that he might not die an immature and violent death, but enjoy such a long life here as was promised to them. The author of Sepher Cosri takes it in the former sense; alleging this place as a proof that a future state was believed in ancient times, though not so clearly expressed in the prophetical writings, as other things are: for there is a certain prayer, saith he, of one that prophesied by the Holy Ghost, who desired that he *might die the death of the righteous*, (par. i. sect. 115.)

*And my last end be like his!*] Or, *let my posterity* (for so the word we here translate *last end* often signifies, Psal. cix. 13. Dan. xi. 4.) or, *those that come after me*, be like unto his descendants.

Ver. 11. *And Balak said unto Balaam, What hast thou done unto me?*] This is very surprising.

*I took thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them altogether.*] Thou hast not only frustrated my desires in not cursing them, but, quite contrary, hast pronounced great blessings upon them. For so the Hebrew words signify, *Blessed them with blessings.*

Ver. 12. *And he answered and said, Must I not take heed to speak that which the Lord hath put in my mouth?*] He had told him so before, more than once, (chap. xxii. 23. xxiii. 3.) and now makes him judge, whether it was safe for him to disobey the Lord to comply with his desires.

Ver. 13. *And Balak said unto him, Come, I pray thee, with me to another place?*] He thought Balaam gave him a reasonable answer; and, therefore, gently entreats him to make a trial, whether God would be pleased to be more favourable to his desires if he sought him in some other place. For whatsoever Balaam thought of this matter, Balak was possessed with a superstitious fancy, that the very place or prospect had been a cause concurrent to produce the contrary effect to what he desired, and therefore entreated he would come with him to another, where he might not see too many of them at once.

*From whence thou mayest see them.*] It seems this was thought necessary to make their curses effectual; that they should have a sight of those whom they cursed, and that they should look upon them.

*Thou shalt see but the utmost part of them.*] The skirts of their camps.

*And shalt not see them all.*] He imagined, perhaps, that Balaam was affrighted at the sight of their multitude, and therefore durst not meddle with them.

*And curse me them from thence.*] He seems to desire him to curse only that small parcel of the Israelites whom he saw in the utmost part of the camp, hoping he might by degrees get them all, in like manner, destroyed.

Ver. 14. *And he brought him unto the field of Zophim.*] Or, as some translate it, unto *Sede-Zophim;* a place by the very name apt to enchant a superstitious mind with expectation of success, as Dr. Jackson speaks. It is thought by some to be so called from the *watchers* that were placed here, which the word Zophim imports.

*To the top of Pisgah.*] A very high mountain in the country of Moab, from whence one might see a great way, and take a view of all the parts of Canaan, (Deut. iii. 27. xxxiv. 1, 2, &c.) But on that side of it whither Balak brought him, Balaam could not see much of the camp of Israel. It is likely he thought, by bringing him to a place so exceeding high, he should be nearer heaven, and so procure a more favourable audience than before.

*And built seven altars, and offered a bullock and a ram on every altar.*] As he had done before at Balaam's desire, in another high place, (ver. 1, 2.) for there only he imagined their sacrifices would be acceptable. From hence Conradus Pellicanus concludes Balaam to have been a worshipper of the true God (as Jethro was), because he still continues to offer only such clean creatures as were wont to be sacrificed to him by his own people.

Ver. 15. *And he said unto Balak, Stand here by thy burnt-offering.*] The same direction which he had given before, (ver. 3.)

*While I meet the Lord yonder.*] In a place to which he pointed. Balaam made a peradventure of it before, whether the Lord would come to meet him or not, (ver. 3.) but now he confidently expects it; though he endeavoured (it appears from chap. xxiv. 1.) still to compass his bad ends by his enchantments.

Ver. 16. *And the Lord met Balaam.*] This is never said before, but only that God met him (by his angel, as the Jews interpret it), which I take to be much short of what is here said, that the Lord himself now met him; that is, there was a glorious appearance of the Schechinah to him (though not in such lustre, I suppose, as when it appeared to Moses), which so amazed him, that after this he never went so much as to inquire what he should say or do: for, though he doubted, perhaps, of what the angel said, yet now he was fully assured the Israelites must be blessed.

*And he put a word in his mouth.*] Instructed him what he should say to Balak.

*And said, Go again unto Balak, and say thus.*] *viz.* All that we read ver. 18—20, &c. which is a great deal more than he had said before.

Ver. 17. *And when he came to him, behold, he stood by*

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*his burnt-offering, and the princes of Moab with him.*] See ver. 6.

*And Balak said unto him, What hath the Lord spoken?*] He was more solicitous to know his doom than he was before, when he asked no such question; and plainly demonstrated, that he believed Balaam went to inquire of the Lord.

Ver. 18. *And he took up his parable.*] See ver. 7.

*And said, Rise up Balak, and hear.*] If this word *rise up* hath respect to the outward reverence, which was wont to be shewn to all messages brought from God, (which was expressed by *rising up* to receive them, as appears from the story of another king of Moab, Judges iii. 20.) then, after the sacrifice was ended, at which they stood, Balak sat down until Balaam could be ready to acquaint him with the mind of God. But it may have respect only to the mind, and signify, *stir up thyself* to attend; awaken thy thoughts, and listen to what I say.

*And hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor.*] The same thing repeated with more earnestness: for to *give ear*, as the word is in the Hebrew, imports something more than merely to *hear; viz.* diligent and earnest attention of mind to what is spoken.

Ver. 19. *God is not a man, that he should lie.*] Do not imagine that God is like to one of us: he can by no sacrifices, or prayers, or other means, be induced to break his word; and, therefore, it is in vain for me any longer to importune him to curse Israel, when he hath said he will bless them.

*Neither the son of man.*] An usual variation of the expression of the same thing. (Psal. viii. 4.)

*That he should repent.*] Alter his mind, when he hath absolutely resolved any thing. Balak seems to have fancied, that, by the change of the place where he sacrificed, (ver. 13.) he might procure a change of the Divine counsels.

*Hath he said, and shall he not do it?*] What should hinder? for he wants no power to execute his will; and he cannot be moved to revoke his word by better information; nor can any thing happen which he did not foresee, to make him do otherwise than he intended.

*Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?*] This is the same with the former, after the prophetical manner of speaking, *Omnia per juga repetendo* (as Conradus Pellicanus glosses) *ad exaggerationem:* only the foregoing words may be thought to refer to his threatenings, and these to his promises.

Ver. 20. *Behold, I have received commandment to bless; and he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it.*] In these words he applies the general proposition, in the foregoing verse, to this particular case: God hath ordered me to pronounce a blessing upon Israel, for he himself hath blessed them; and I can neither reverse that blessing, nor go against his order.

Ver. 21. *He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel.*] Both the word *aven* (which we translate *iniquity)* and the word *amal* (which we translate *perverseness)* signify frequently in Scripture the highest wickedness, *viz.* idolatry. And so Onkelos here understood it, when he thus paraphrased these words: *I see that there are none who worship idols in the house of Jacob, nor any servants of trouble and vanity* (so they called idols) *in Israel.* And accordingly the Vulgar Latin expressly translates this verse thus, *There is no idol in Jacob, nor is there any image seen in Israel:* which seemed so clear a truth to Johannes Forsterus, a famous professor of the Hebrew tongue in the beginning of the Reformation, that, in his explication of both these words in his Lexicon, he saith, "From this place all the prophets borrow these phrases, and translated them to express impiety, *i. e.* idolatrous worship, devised according to men's own humours and desires, and by the instinct of the devil: for Moses was the fountain of all the prophets." Thus he writes upon the word אָוֶן, and he repeats it again upon the word עָמָל. So that this is the reason Balaam gives, why God had blessed, and he could not curse them, because they were free from idolatry; unto which, unless they could be seduced, there was no hope that God would deliver them unto the power of their enemies: for which reason Balaam afterward counselled this prince to entice them to this sin by beautiful women, as the only way to move God to be angry with them.

There are indeed a great many that take these words in the common sense, for all manner of sin; which God is said not to see in this people, *i. e.* so as to mark it out for punishment; for though they were many ways great offenders, yet he had such an indulgent kindness to them, that he would not correct them for every sin which they committed. But this returns to the former exposition; that they were safe, as long as they kept themselves from the great transgression, that is, idolatry.

*The Lord his God is with him.*] They worshipping God alone, were therefore under his special care and protection. Onkelos renders it, *the Word of the Lord his God is his help.* And so the Jerusalem Targum.

*And the shout of a king is among them.*] God being their king, he prophesies that they should always triumph over their enemies: for he alludes to the shouts which are made when a king or great captain returns victorious with the spoils of those he hath vanquished. So the meaning of the whole verse is this, in brief: Since they do not worship idols, but cleave to the Lord their God, and serve him alone, he is present with them, not only to preserve them from their enemies, but to give them glorious victories over them.

Ver. 22. *God brought them out of Egypt.*] That they might be his worshippers and servants, which if they continue he will not desert them. For God brought them forth from thence that they might be his peculiar people, and he their King and their God, as he often saith himself, Lev. xi. 45. xxii. 23. xxv. 38. Numb. xv. 41. all which places are observed by the author of Sepher Cosri, (par. ii. sect. 50.)

*He hath as it were the strength of an unicorn.*] Some would have this referred to God, who brought them out of Egypt by a mighty power; because he speaks in the plural number of those to whom the former sentence belongs. But this is no good reason; for the Scripture frequently varies the number, when the same person is spoken of. And in chap. xxiv. 8. it is expressly said, *God brought him (i. e.* Israel) *out of Egypt; and he hath the strength,* &c. which every one allows is spoken of the Israelites, who are said to have the *strength* of this creature, with whom they are compared; or rather the *height*, as the Hebrew word certainly signifies, Psalm xxv. 4. *The strength of the hills* (or



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rather, the *heights of the hills*, as it is in the margin) *are his also:* and Job xxii. 25. *The Almighty shall be thy defence, and thou shalt have plenty of silver.* So the sense led our interpreters to translate the Hebrew word תועפות, which may be literally here rendered *great heaps* of silver. These are the only places where this word is found. The only difficulty is, what creature it is which is here called *reem;* which we translate (as many others have done) an *unicorn:* which, though most now take to be a fabulous creature that is not in being, yet Tho. Bartholinus, in his Anatomical Histories, (Centur. ii. Histor. 61.) tells us, that an ambassador from the king of Guinea to the duke of Courland, assured him, at Copenhagen, that there is a beast in Africa of the bigness of an ordinary horse, very swift and fierce, which hath a horn in its forehead about three spans in length; the dead carcass of which he had seen, though never one alive. But if this be supposed to be true, it is not the creature here meant; for it is plain by the Scripture, that the *reem* hath two horns, Deut. xxxiii. 17. where we read of the *horns of the unicorn* (as we translate it), to which the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh are compared. (See also Psalm xxii. 27.) Therefore the famous Bochartus, after a long discussion of other opinions, thinks it most probable, that the *reem* is a kind of goat, which the Arabians called *algazel*, and is now called *gazellas;* which is a tall creature (some of them as high as a stag) with long and sharp horns. So that Balaam foretells the Israelites should be as eminent among other people as the *reem* was among other kinds of goats. Unless we will think it refers to what the Arabians observe, that it is proper to this animal to carry his head very high, and to erect his ears, which is an excellent emblem of the people of Israel; who being lately oppressed in Egypt, were asserted by God into a state of liberty, and raised to a great height of glory, in order to be advanced unto a higher, (Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 27.) At this Onkelos seemed to have aimed when he translates these words thus, *fortitude and exaltation are his;* taking *reem* not for a proper name but for an appellative, as if it were derived from *ramam*, which signifies to exalt. I shall only add, that there is one who refers these words neither to God nor to the Israelites, but to Egypt beforementioned; as if the sense was, Though the Egyptians were as strong as an *unicorn*, they were not able to detain the Israelites any longer in bondage to them; but God brought them thence with a mighty hand and outstretched arm: so Joseph. Hispanus, (lib. iii. Ikaurim, cap. 8.)

Ver. 23. *Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel.*] Neither I, nor any body else, have power to hurt them, by all the secret arts of sorcery and soothsaying, which are practised in the world. It is not proper here to mention the various sorts of them; but it is manifest, from ancient history, that these *curious arts* (as St. Luke calls them) had got a kind of sovereignty in the eastern nations, who for many ages were much addicted to them. One of our own church hath said many excellent things concerning the original of this sorcery and idolatry, which commonly accompanied each other; to whom I refer the reader: (see Dr. Jackson's Original of Unbelief, &c. cap. 19.) The Vulgar Latin takes these words, as if they were spoken in praise of the Israelites, that there were no enchantments or divinations used among them, nor any other diabolical arts, which were forbidden by their law in several places. From these they being as free as from idolatry, (mentioned ver. 21.) they were secure of God's favour to them. And so we acknowledge, in the margin of our Bibles, the words may be translated, *There is no enchantment in Jacob, or among them:* from which God intended in all ages to preserve them by the prophets he raised up to them. And thus R. Solomon expounds this verse, either to signify that they could not be cursed, because they were not given to enchantments and divinations; or that they needed not to make use of diviners and magicians, having all that was needful for them to know revealed to them by God's prophets, and by *urim* and *thummim*, &c.

*According to this time it shall be said of Jacob and of Israel, What hath God wrought!*] The LXX. translate the first words κατὰ καιρὸν, *when time shall be;* or, *upon all occasions:* not only now, but in future ages, men shall relate, with admiration, what God hath wrought for this people; not only in bringing them out of Egypt, but in conducting them into Canaan; in drying up Jordan, as he did the Red Sea; and subduing the Canaanites, as he overthrew Pharaoh and his host, &c. If there be any difference between Jacob and Israel, the former signifies this people, when they were in their low estate; and the latter, when they were eminently exalted: in both which God did wonderful things for them, which astonished all that observed.

Ver. 24. *Behold, the people shall rise up as a great lion.*] The Hebrew word *labi* certainly signifies a *lioness*, which is no less, but rather more fierce than a *lion*, and so represented by Herodotus, (lib. iii. cap. 108.) and many other authors mentioned by Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, (par. i. lib. iii. cap. 1.)

*And lift up himself as a young lion.*] The Hebrew word *ari* is used in general for any lion whatsoever, without respect unto age. They that would have it signify a younger sort, take it for a lion full grown and adult (as they speak) of a middle age, between *cephir*, which signifies a *young lion*, and *sachel*, which signifies an *old*. And the Israelites are here said to *rise up*, and to *lift up themselves*, like to these fierce creatures, to signify their assaulting their enemies with an undaunted courage.

*He shall not lie down till he eat of the prey.*] Which lions rend and tear with their claws and teeth, irresistibly and speedily. So the Hebrew word *tereph* (which we render *prey*) imports; the flesh of beasts torn in pieces.

*And drink the blood of the slain.*] He alludes to the ravenousness of lions; and signifies the entire and perfect victory the Israelites should win over their enemies. For this prophecy hath a peculiar respect to the conquest of the Canaanites under the conduct of Joshua.

Ver. 25. *And Balak said unto Balaam, Neither curse them at all, nor bless them at all.*] It seems he thought his blessings to be as powerful as his curses; and therefore desires him to forbear both, if he could not have what he desired.

Ver. 26. *And Balaam answered, Told I thee not, saying, All that the Lord speaks, that must I do?*] As I cannot do any thing against the mind and will of God, so I must do as he bids me, (ver. 3. 12.)

Ver. 27. *And Balak said unto Balaam, Come, I pray thee, and I will bring thee to another place.*] Still he fan-

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cies, according to the superstition of those days, there might be something unlucky in the place, that made his prayers unsuccessful; which might prove acceptable in another. For, as the Syrians imagined in future ages, that some gods were powerful in the hills, who could do nothing in the plains, (1 Kings xx. 23. 28.) so, it seems, there was such a conceit at this time in these countries, that some gods delighted more in one hill than they did in another; for he still brings Balaam to another high place. Such a conceit we see remains to this day in the Romish church, where the lady and the rood of one place are thought far more powerful, and therefore more frequented than those of another.

*Peradventure it will please God that thou mayest curse me them from thence.*] He said nothing of God's permission before, (ver. 13.) but now was convinced his consent was to be gained; and would not despair of it, but thought it possible that very thing might seem right and good in his eyes (as the Hebrew phrase here is) in a new place, which displeased him in both the former.

Ver. 28. *And Balak brought Balaam to the top of Peor.*] This was the most famous high place in all the country of Moab; where, as Mr. Selden conjectures, Baal had a temple, and was worshipped; and thence called Baal-Peor. So Theodoret and Suidas, Βεὴλ ὁ Κρόνος, Φεγὼρ δὲ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἐτιμᾶτο. *Beel signifies Saturn, and Phegor* (or, as we pronounce it, Peor) *the place where he was worshipped.* Just as the Greeks called Jupiter by the name of Olympius, and Mercurius of Cyllenus, &c. And, in all likelihood, by Beth-Peor, (Deut. xxxiv. 6.) which in English is the *house of Peor*, in the land of Moab, is meant the temple of Baal which stood upon the mountain, for so the word *Beth* signifies frequently among the Hebrews, not an ordinary house, but the house of some god: as Beth-Ashtaroth, (1 Sam. xxxi. 10.) and Beth-Baal, (1 Kings xvi. 32.) And there is often mention of Beth-shemesh in the holy writings (Joshua xv. 10. Judges i. 33. and many other places), which signifies *the temple of the sun;* from whence the word Βαίσαμψα, among the Arabians upon the Red Sea, which Stephanus (de Urbibus) expounds, ὁ οἶκος τοῦ ἡλίου, *the house of the sun.* (See Syntagma i. de Diis Syris, cap. 5.)

*That looketh towards Jeshimon.*] See chap. xxi. 20.

Ver. 29. *And Balaam said unto Balak, Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams.*] He orders the very same sacrifices he did at first, without any difference, (ver. 1.) either not knowing any other method of obtaining their desires, or thinking it in vain to devise any other.

Ver. 30. *And Balak did as Balaam had said, and offered a bullock and a ram upon every altar.*] He was wholly governed by Balaam in this; and though he changed the place, made no alteration in the sacrifice, which was as complete and perfect as any in those times offered.

Here is no mention made of the time when these things were done; but we may be certain all the three forementioned solemn sacrifices, in the three several places, were not offered upon one and the same day. And superstitious people, as all histories tell us, having been as curious in the choice of days as well as places, it is probable that Balak picked out some day or hour which he thought might be more lucky to him than the foregoing.

## CHAP. XXIV.

Ver. 1. *AND when Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel.*] Of which he had given him a double proof, chap. xxii. 5, &c. 16, &c.

*He went not out as at other times.*] See chap. xxii. 3. 15.

*To seek for enchantments.*] This implies that he had hitherto, in the process of his business, used some wicked arts to effect his ends, or desired to be directed to them; but being not able to obtain any thing, but commands cross to all his designs, he gave himself up wholly to the conduct of God's Holy Spirit, and did not so much as offer to seek for enchantments. In the Hebrew the words are, *to meet with enchantments;* unto which he hoped to be directed, that he might be able to curse Israel: for though he addressed himself to the true God, (whom he calls the Lord, chap. xxiii. 26.) yet it was in a superstitious way; with such rites and ceremonies of worship, as were not of God's appointment; but either devised by evil spirits, or very grateful to them; whereby he hoped to be shewn by what means he might disable Israel, and deliver them into the hand of Balak. For the ancient magic derived from Zoroaster was nothing else, as Plato pretends, (in Alcibiade i.) but the knowledge of Divine things, and the right way of worshipping God: and Apuleius saith the same of it, that it was "diis immortalibus accepta, colendi eos ac venerandi pergnara," &c. *a science acceptable to the immortal gods, very skilful how to worship and honour them; being pious, and knowing in Divine things;* which sufficiently betrays this Divine knowledge (as they call it) to be impious; for Zoroaster instructed his disciples in the worship of the fire, as an emblem, at the best, of the sun; which they looked upon as a visible image of this invisible God, and upon that account worshipped it. After his time, it is manifest, this heavenly knowledge, as they esteem it, degenerated into more uncouth rites, and wicked arts, whereby they pretend to be able to make the gods do what they pleased. Pliny mentions an herb, (lib. xxiv. cap. 17.) which he saith the magicians used, *quùm Deos velint evocare, when they would call out the gods,* and draw them to their purpose. In which power they so gloried, that the witch in Apuleius threatened the gods themselves with the greatest mischief; and boasted she could deprive the stars of their light; and by her charms control, not only the moon, but the sun himself, and the gods of all sorts. And as for mankind, nothing is more known than those magical words, *devovere, defigere, obligare;* which are proper to the black art, as Salmasius observes, (upon Solinus, p. 1091.) which, by incantations, deprecations, direful execrations, herbs, fascinations, so confounded the mind of him who was thus *devoted* (as they term it), that he could remember nothing of what he was about, nor discharge any function of nature. The several species of it are mentioned by Maimonides, who saith the Zabii pretended to exercise this power, not only over particular persons, but over whole provinces, by certain words, and actions, and things, which nobody can understand to have any virtue in them, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 37.)

*But he set his face towards the wilderness.*] He stirred not from the place where the sacrifice was offered, as he had been wont to do, but only looked towards the wilderness, where the Israelites lay encamped, (chap. xxii. 1.)

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Ver. 2. *And Balaam lifted up his eyes.*] To look round about him.

*And he saw Israel abiding in his tents,* &c.] In the order God had appointed in the second chapter of this book, ver. 52. where he commands them *to pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and by his own standard, throughout their hosts.*

*And the Spirit of God came upon him.*] From whence Maimonides concludes, he was a prophet of the second rank, who spake by the Holy Ghost, (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 45.)

Ver. 3. *And he took up his parable, and said.*] He pronounced what follows with a loud voice, that all might hear. For so the Hebrew words may be interpreted, *he lifted up his parable.* (See chap. xxiii. 7.)

*Balaam the son of Beor hath said.*] Though the Spirit of God came upon him, which suggested the words mentioned, ver. 5—7, &c. yet it did not alter the temper and disposition of his mind; which was no less vain and ambitious than it was covetous, and possessed with a hatred of the Israelites; as appears by the counsel which he gave, at last, how to ruin them: this vanity seems to be expressed in these, and in the following words, wherein he magnifies himself more than the Spirit of God.

*And the man whose eyes were open, hath said.*] Who when he was awake received revelations from God, which was an extraordinary favour; for commonly he appeared to men in a dream. Others translate it, *whose eyes were shut, i. e.* who was in a trance or ecstasy, so that he saw nothing with his bodily eyes, but only with his mind. The Jerusalem Targum thus paraphrases these words (which shews he looked upon them as a boasting of himself), "The man said, who was honoured above his brethren; to whom that was revealed, which was hidden from all the prophets."

Ver. 4. *He hath said, who heard the words of God.*] Mark what he saith, who delivers the words which he received from God.

*Which saw the vision of the Almighty.*] With whom he was so familiar, that he himself, at last, appeared to him in a vision, (chap. xxiii. 16.) as at first he appeared to him by an angel, (chap. xxii. 35.)

*Falling into a trance.*] There being in the Hebrew only the word *nophel,* which signifies *falling,* we supply the sense by adding *into a trance;* lest any one should think he fell to the ground, or fell asleep; which seems not to be the meaning; but that he was in a rapture, perceiving nothing by his outward senses. Yet the forementioned Targum takes it as if he had fallen flat on his face; and the LXX. translate it, *he saw the vision of God in sleep;* according to that, Gen. xv. 12. *a deep sleep fell upon Abraham;* where the word *naphela* is thought by some to give a good explication of *nophel* in this place.

*But having his eyes open.*] His mind being then possessed with a clear apprehension of things, which God revealed to him, when his senses were all locked up, and could discern nothing.

Ver. 5. *How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel!*] The same thing expressed in different words; which was an usual elegancy in those countries: wherein he declares his admiration of the beautiful order in which he saw them pitched in the plains of Moab.

Ver. 6. *As the valleys are they spread forth.*] This refers either to the tabernacles, which extended themselves on each side of a wide space, which, like a valley, lay between; or rather to the Israelites themselves, whom he compares to those fruitful valleys which abound with water: for the Hebrew word signifies either *valleys* or *brooks.*

*As gardens by the river's side.*] Which were far more green and flourishing, cool and pleasant, than those that lay in dry places.

*As the trees of the lign-aloes.*] Growing in those gardens, or by the river's side; which perfumed the air by their sweet odours. For there are two sorts of *aloes* observed by the ancients; the one a tree which was very odoriferous, called Κάλαμος Ἰνδικὸς, and Ἐρυθραῖος, growing in India and Arabia; and the other a plant or herb, out of which was pressed a purging juice: the former is often joined with myrrh in the Holy Scripture, and was burnt as a perfume, and called by the ancients Ξυλαλόης, (as Salmasius observes in his Exercit. Plin. upon Solinus, p. 1053, 1054, &c.) which is the *lign* or *wood-aloes* here spoken of. And Plutarch, in his Symposiacs, (lib. vi. cap. 7.) saith, some were wont to colour their wine, ἢ ἀλόαις, ἢ κιννα μώμοις, *either with aloes, or with cinnamons* (which is meant of this *wood-aloes*), which gave the wine a pleasant taste.

*Which the Lord hath planted.*] Which grew naturally of themselves (*solo Dei nutu,* as Bochartus glosses), without any labour, care, or art of man used about them.

*And as cedar-trees beside the waters.*] The cedar was one of the most goodly trees in those countries, upon many accounts, particularly for its fragrancy; the Greeks being wont to burn the wood of it upon their altars, as the same Salmasius there observes, (p. 951, 952.) By all these metaphors, Balaam sets forth the present and future prosperity of the Israelites, and their fame, which spread itself into all nations round about; and seems to be represented by the sweet odours here mentioned.

Ver. 7. *He shall pour the water out of his buckets.*] I take this to be meant of God's pouring down rain abundantly, out of the clouds, upon the valleys, gardens, and trees, unto which the Israelites are compared; signifying that they should be exceedingly blessed by him: for they stood in need of nothing more than rain in those countries.

*And his seed shall be in many waters.*] Or, *by many waters; i. e.* be sown in a ground well watered, and consequently bring forth a plentiful crop, (Isa. xxxii. 20.) There are those who refer both these to their numerous posterity; procreation of children being sometimes expressed in Scripture by the metaphors of waters, and fountains, and cisterns, as every one knows. And both the LXX. and Onkelos interpret this of one particular person that should arise of their seed. For thus the former of them renders this part of the verse; "There shall come a Man out of his seed, who shall rule over many nations." And the latter of them paraphrases in this manner; "There shall be a great King, who shall be anointed of his children, and shall have dominion over many people;" which the Jerusalem Targum saith expressly is Christ: for thus this verse begins in that paraphrase; "A king shall arise out of his sons, and their Redeemer from among them," &c. and thus concludes; "and the kingdom of the king Messias shall be magnificently exalted."

*And his king shall be higher than Agag.*] This seems to

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have been the name of all the kings of the Amalekites, (for we read of one called Agag long after this time, 1 Sam. xv. 8, 9.) as Abimelech was the name of the Philistine kings, and Pharaoh of the Egyptian. And at this time, no nation thereabouts was in greater reputation than the Amalekites, (ver. 20.) who thought themselves able to obstruct the Israelites' passage into Canaan; and gave a very early proof of the high opinion of their own power and prowess, by attacking the Israelites as soon as they came out of Egypt. Balaam therefore foretells the king of Israel should be the greatest of all other (for he was acquainted with none higher than Agag); which some think hath a peculiar respect to their first king Saul, who subdued the Amalekites, and took Agag captive. But his successor was far greater than he; and the Jews themselves think this hath its full completion in the Lord Christ.

*And his kingdom shall be exalted.*] They shall increase and multiply, till their kingdom be greatly enlarged; as it was in the days of David and Solomon, who were but shadows of the great king Messiah.

Ver. 8. *God brought him out of Egypt; he hath as it were the strength of an unicorn.*] All the power of Egypt could not detain them in slavery; but they came out from thence with a strong and high hand, (Exod. xiii. 9. xiv. 8.) and are grown a mighty people. See the foregoing chapter, (ver. 22.) where this hath been explained.

*He shall eat up the nations his enemies.*] Utterly destroy the seven nations of Canaan.

*And shall break their bones.*] So that they shall never recover their strength.

*And pierce them through with his arrows.*] Having given them their deadly wound: or, as some translate the Hebrew words, *break their arrows in pieces; i. e.* quite disarm them.

Ver. 9. *He couched, he lay down.*] He prophesies that the Israelites, having conquered the Canaanites, should settle in their land, and take their rest, and live securely: which he speaks of with such confidence, as if it were already done.

*As a lion, and as a great lion.*] See chap. xxiii. 24. the signification of *ari* and *labi*.

*Who shall stir him up?*] Give them any disturbance. It is observed of lions, that they do not betake themselves to remote or secret places, when they go to sleep; but lie down any where, (as Oppianus describes them, lib. iii.) as if they understood, that, let them sleep where they pleased, nobody durst meddle with them: (see Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 2.) and therefore being applied to the Israelites, signifies such an absolute and secure possession of the land of Canaan, that none should have the boldness to assault, or give them any disquiet: which came to pass chiefly in the days of David and Solomon.

*Blessed be he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee.*] These are the very words wherewith Isaac concluded his blessing of his son Jacob, (Gen. xxvii. 29.) which God now confirmed from the mouth of one of their enemies, who spake, at this time, by his Spirit.

Ver. 10. *And Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam.*] He could no longer forbear to express his indignation, to be thus treated by Balaam (whom he had sent for a great way, and entertained for some time), and therefore stopped him from proceeding, for the present, any further in his prophecy.

*And smote his hands together.*] A token of vehement anger, (Ezek. xxi. 17.)

*And Balak said unto Balaam.*] It is likely he was so full of wrath, that he could not speak presently, but expressed it only in his looks and actions.

*I called thee to curse mine enemies, and thou hast altogether blessed them.*] Thou hast not said one word to my purpose, but all quite contrary.

*These three times.*] Though I have been at great expense, and built altars, and offered many sacrifices, in three several places: but at what distance of time, one from another, doth not appear.

Ver. 11. *Therefore now flee thou unto thy place.*] Get thee home immediately, and stay not a moment longer here; for that is imported in the word *flee*, which indicates that he could not endure the sight of him, while he remained thus angry: and, as he banished him his presence, so he commanded him to make all possible haste out of his country.

*I thought to promote thee to great honour.*] And to bestow as much wealth upon him as he desired; which is included in the word *honour*, (chap. xxiii. 17.)

*But, lo, the Lord.*] Whom thou pretendest to obey.

*Hath kept thee back from honour.*] By not permitting thee to comply with my desire. It is uncertain, whether these words were spoke in anger and scorn, or seriously and in good earnest; believing he was hindered by the Lord's will and pleasure from cursing Israel; which he had more reason to believe, than he had to hope he might obtain liberty to curse them, (chap. xxiii. 27.) and therefore was, without all reason, in this passion against Balaam.

Ver. 12. *And Balaam spake unto Balak.*] Prayed Balak to hear him patiently a few words before he departed.

*Spake I not also to thy messengers, which thou sentest unto me, saying.*] Did not I, before I saw thee, tell those that came to invite me to thee, the very same which I told thee afterward.

Ver. 13. *If Balak would give me his house full of gold and silver, I cannot go beyond the commandment of the Lord, to do more or less.*] So he told his messengers, (chap. xxii. 18.)

*Of my mind.*] According as I please.

*But what the Lord saith, that will I speak.*] So he told Balak himself, (chap. xxii. 38.) All which he recalls to his mind, to shew him that there was no cause for his anger, he having performed as much as he undertook; which was to follow God's directions, as he had done strictly. And it is likely, that by this just representation of what had passed between them, he brought Balak to a cooler temper, so that he suffered him to go on, to deliver what follows.

Ver. 14. *And now, behold, I go to my people.*] And now I will obey thee, as well as God, and be gone to my own country.

*Come therefore, and I will advertise thee,* &c.] But before I go, permit me to give thee some advice. So the Hebrew word *jaatz* constantly signifies, *to give counsel.* And so the Vulgar here translates it; but took it for the wicked advice, which we read, in the next chapter, was executed after Balaam's departure, and of which he was certainly the author, (chap. xxxi. 16.) and therefore thus translates the next words, *What thy people shall do unto this people.* But the Hebrew text and the LXX. are directly contrary unto this; being, as we translate the words, *What this people*

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*shall do to thy people.* Therefore Onkelos, to take in the foregoing sense, without altering the latter part of the verse, puts in one word, and makes the whole run thus: *I will give thee counsel what to do, and (will shew thee) what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days.* And the Jerusalem Targum more largely and plainly, *I will advise thee what thou shalt do to this people; make them to sin: otherwise thou shalt not have dominion over them; but this people shall domineer over thy people in the latter end of days.*

*In the latter days.*] In future ages. This shews the foregoing words do not speak of what Moab should do to Israel by his advice; for that was done as soon as he was gone.

Ver. 15. *And he took up his parable and said, Balaam the son of Beor hath said,* &c.] This was the preface to his foregoing prophecy: (see ver. 3.)

Ver. 16. *He hath said, who heard the words of God,* &c.] This verse also is the same with the fourth, only a few words added, *And knew the knowledge of the Most High;* which he adds, to shew his intimate acquaintance with the supreme Lord of the world. For he speaks of God in the very same style which Moses doth, calling him both *El,* and *Schaddai,* and *Elijon,* and *Jehovah;* which demonstrates that he was not a stranger to the true God, though corrupted with bad affections, and addicted also to foul superstitions.

Ver. 17. *I shall see him.*] Or, *I do see him* (for the future tense is often used for the present); that is, he saw the person of whom he was going to speak, represented to him in a vision.

*But not now.*] He saw him not as in being, now at present, but to come in future times.

*I shall behold him, but not nigh.*] The same thing in other words; but more plainly telling them, they must not expect this person in their time, nor in the next generation, but in remoter ages.

*There shall come a Star out of Jacob.*] A *star* denotes a great person; and being understood to be spoken of Christ, it denotes his celestial original. And both Onkelos, and Jonathan, and the Jerusalem Targum, take the Messiah to be here meant; and so doth R. Moses Haddarsan, and Bereschith Rabbath, and a great many Christian interpreters, (as Huetius observes, in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. vii. sect. 9.) particularly Eusebius and Cyril of Alexandria: who, in his eighth book against Julian, confutes his exposition of these words, which is this: Τοῦθ' ὅτι τῷ Δαβὶδ προσήκει, καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνου, πρόδηλόν ἐστί που· *That this belongs to David, and to his successors, is sufficiently manifest.* To which St. Cyril replies, that if Balaam had spoken of David, and the kings of Israel, he would have said, *There shall arise stars out of Jacob,* &c. whereas he speaks of one alone, οἷον ἐν ἄστροις ἐκπρεπῆ, *as very illustrious among the stars;* which, it is evident, can be none but Christ. Unto which I shall add the words of a later writer of the Jewish nation, R. Isaac, in his Illumin. Fidei, set forth not long ago by the learned Wagenseil: where he argues, this cannot be understood of David, or any other king of Israel, because none of them ever reigned all over the earth (*i. e.* over all the children of Sheth, whom none of them destroyed), but it is meant, he concludes, of the Messiah; who is compared to a star, because of the perennity of his kingdom, and the splendour of his dominion, and his great acts throughout the world, p. 72 and 80. where he makes this a prophecy of one kingdom alone to be in the world, *viz.* that of the Israelites, who are called "the people of the saints of the Most High," Dan. vii. 87. which is true enough, if he had understood the right meaning of Israelites; who are those, not after the flesh, but after the spirit.

It is not fit to conclude this without one observation more: that so long ago as the time of the Emperor Adrian, this was understood by the generality of the Jews to be a prophecy of the Messiah. For they followed one whose name was *Chocab* (i. e. *a star*), to whom the famous R. Akiba (a doctor, who, they say, had four-and-twenty thousand scholars) applied these words of Balaam, and calling him *Barchocab,* i. e. *the son of a star,* anointed him their king, and carried a sword before him, crying, *Behold the very king Messiah!* This is reported by the Jews themselves in Tzenach David, and several other books: all which, I think, doth not hinder, but that king David may be hereby signified in the first sense; though as a type of the Messiah, the great Son of David, in whom it was completed.

*And a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel.*] This some think may first have a respect to David, and then to the Messiah, the king of Israel. But the Chaldee paraphrast refers the whole to Christ, whose words are these, *A King shall arise out of the house of Jacob, and the Messiah shall be anointed of the house of Israel.* Nor is it any wonder that Balaam should prophesy of him so many years before he was born; and so plainly, that Moses himself doth not speak in plainer terms: but it is to be looked upon as the effect of God's infinite goodness, who would not have those, that were not of the seed of Abraham, to be wholly ignorant of what he intended to do for all mankind. And this was necessary to be plainly told them, because otherwise they would not have understood it.

*And shall smite the corners of Moab.*] The latter part of this prophecy, Huetius thinks, belongs to David, as the former part to Christ: which was the opinion of Maimonides, who divided the prophecy between them. And this was indeed literally fulfilled in David, who subdued the Moabites entirely, as we read 2 Sam. viii. 8. Psal. lx. 8. cviii. 9. Some translate these words, *he shall smite through the princes of Moab.* So the LXX. τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς Μοάβ: which doth not alter the sense. And it is no unusual thing with the prophets, when they intend to speak of something nearer to them, to be transported by the Spirit of God, to speak of things a great deal more remote. As Balaam, here foretelling a great Ruler should come out of Jacob, first speaks of the greatest of all, above fourteen hundred years after this time; and then of David, who reigned about four hundred years after this.

*And destroy all the children of Sheth.*] They who interpret this of David, take Sheth to have been some great person in that country, or some place of great note, the inhabitants of which are here threatened to be destroyed. But these are mere conjectures, which have no foundation in history; whereas, if we understand it of Christ, and translate the first word, not *he shall destroy,* but (as Castalio and others do) *he shall rule over,* the sense is very remarkable; it being a prophecy, that, in the times of the Messiah, there shall be no longer such a distinction as God now made between the Israelites and other nations (by the peculiar laws

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he gave them at their entrance into Canaan), but all mankind, who are equally descended from Seth, shall be united under his government. And thus not only Lyranus, and Abulensis, and others interpret it, but Onkelos also, whose words are, "He shall have dominion over all the sons of men:" for he thought it reasonable, by *the children of Sheth*, to understand all mankind who were propagated from him, who succeeded in the place of Abel that was killed; all the seed of Cain perishing in the flood.

Ver. 18. *And Edom shall be a possession.*] So it was in the days of David, (2 Sam. viii. 14.)

*And Seir shall be a possession.*] This was a famous mount in the country of Edom, (Gen. xxxvi. 8.) and being the strongest part of the country, may signify here, that no place should be able to hold out, though never so strongly fortified by nature or art. And so we read they all became David's servants, 2 Sam. viii. 14. 1 Chron. xviii. 13.

*For his enemies.*] *i. e.* For the Israelites.

*And Israel shall do valiantly.*] For they subdued in those days many other countries; as we read in the forenamed chapters, (2 Sam. viii. 1 Chron. xviii.)

Ver. 19. *Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion.*] This may relate to Christ as well as to David, in whom it was literally fulfilled. And so Baal-Hatturim observes, that (ver. 16.) it is said of Balaam, that he *knew the mind of the Most High*, for he prophesied of the Messiah, when he said, *out of Jacob shall one come that shall have dominion.* The word *jerd*, as the Masora notes, is used only here, and in Psalm lxxii. 8. where the Psalmist describes the universal kingdom of Christ in these words, "He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the end of the earth."

*And shall destroy him that remains in the city.*] Not only rout them in the field, but take their defenced cities: and, it is likely, he particularly aims at some great city, and best fortified, which was the metropolis, and the strongest hold in the kingdom; such a one there was in Edom, as the Psalmist suggests, (Psalm lx. 9.)

Ver. 20. *And when he looked on Amalek.*] On the country which the Amalekites inhabited.

*He took up his parable, and said.*] See ver. 3.

*Amalek was the first of the nations.*] The most eminent among the neighbouring nations, or one of the most noble, as Bochart renders it, *gens una è nobilissimis.*

*But his latter end shall be, that he perish for ever.*] This God commanded Saul to execute, (1 Sam. xv. 3.) according to the doom passed upon them, after their fight with Israel, (Exod. xvii. 14. 16.) and he lost his kingdom for doing his work imperfectly; which the Vulgar Latin takes to be the meaning of the seventh verse of this chapter. Onkelos paraphrases the whole verse in this manner: "Amalek was the beginning of the wars with Israel, therefore his end shall be to perish for ever." The Jerusalem Targum more plainly, "The Amalekites were the first people that made war against Israel; and in the latter days they shall make war against them," &c.

Ver. 21. *And he looked on the Kenites.*] He standing now upon the top of Peor, which was, it is likely, the highest place of the country, (for which reason Balak brought him thither, after he had tried other high places, chap. xxiii. 28.) might see a great way, and possibly behold the very rocks wherein the Kenites dwelt. But what people are meant by this name, is not clearly evident: for there were a people called Kenites, who were part of the nation that inhabited the land of Canaan: (Gen. xv. 19.) these cannot be here intended; for they were too far off from this place. And as for the Kenites mentioned in Judges i. 16. iv. 11. who dwelt among the Israelites when they came into Canaan, they had as yet no fixed state, but were with them in the wilderness. Therefore, it is likely, they were some of the kindred of Jethro (originally derived from the same family that he was of), who remained in Midian; and adjoined so close to the country of the Amalekites, that they are said to dwell among them, (1 Sam. xv. 6.) For it is plain, the word *Keni* in Hebrew is the name of a people, not of a particular person; and there might be a great many of them; some in Canaan, others in Midian; and of these latter, some went with the Israelites into Canaan when they conquered it, and others remained still in their own country: they seem all to have been descended from one Ken, or Kain, mentioned Judges iv. 11. (as Scaliger conjectures in his Elenchus Trihæres. cap. 23.) Jethro's posterity being but one family of this people.

*Strong is thy dwelling-place.*] They were but a small people, who dwelt upon steep mountains.

*And puttest thy nest in a rock.*] This is but a further description of their country in other words: for *nest* signifies their *habitation;* only it seems to import that their dwelling was little, in craggy mountains, where they looked upon themselves as very safe and secure, the access to them being very difficult: and from hence, I suppose, they were called Shelamites (as both the Jerusalem Targum and Onkelos here term them, instead of Kenites), *i. e.* peaceable people; because nobody meddled with them, nor they with any body.

Ver. 22. *And the Kenite shall be wasted.*] By little and little diminished.

*Until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.*] Till at last they were all carried away by the Assyrians, when they overran Syria, (2 Kings xvi. 9.)

Ver. 23. *And he took up his parable, and said.*] Having rested awhile, he sighed, and said aloud, (see ver. 3.)

*Alas! who shall live when God doeth this?*] What miserable times will those be, when the Assyrians shall overrun a great part of the world! how few will escape their devastation! or, who would not desire rather to die, than live in those days?

But some, I observe, refer this not to what goes before, but to what follows; which relates to the desolations made by the following empires, especially the Roman.

Ver. 24. *And ships shall come from the coast of Chittim.*] Whether this prophecy hath respect (in the word Chittim) to the Greeks or to the Romans, or to both, it was plainly fulfilled, as the learned Huetius observes. But it must be noted, that not only St. Jerome, but Onkelos, and Jonathan, and the Jerusalem interpreter, and the Arabic, understand by Chittim the country of Italy, or some part thereof. And Bochartus proves, by many arguments, that the people of that country did descend from Chittim, (see Gen. x. 4.) Yet it is not likely that Chittim, being the son of Javan who peopled Greece, went so far at first from the rest of his brethren; but his children peopled some part thereabouts: from whence, in aftertimes, when they were



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increased, they sent colonies into Italy; particularly Macedonia is called by the name of Chittim, in the Book of Maccabees; (1 Mac. i. 1. viii. 5.) and therefore I take the Greeks under Alexander to be here intended in the first place, and then the Romans in the next; each of them fulfilling the several parts of this prophecy.

*And shall afflict Asshur.*] This was done by Alexander, who overthrew the Persian empire, which ruled over the Chaldeans and Assyrians. So Theodoret understands the word Chittim, to signify Alexander and his Macedonians, whose country was anciently called Μακέττια, as Hesychius tells us, they being a mixture (as Mr. Mede probably conjectures in his forty-eighth Discourse, p. 377.) of the sons of Madai and Chittim. The Romans, indeed, afterward overthrew the Greek empire, but we do not read that they made war against the Assyrians till the time of Trajan, who subdued them, and reduced them into a province, as Dio relates, (lib. lxviii.)

*And shall afflict Eber.*] This was done by the Romans, not by the Grecians. For we are to understand by Eber, the Hebrew nation, called the *children of Eber*, Gen. x. 21. So the LXX. translate it, τοὺς Ἑβραίους: the name of Hebrews being as plainly derived from Eber, as that of Jews from Judah. Now they were not afflicted by Alexander in his conquests, but rather kindly treated by him: and therefore this cannot be meant of the Greeks; unless we will think it fulfilled in the time of Antiochus, who descended indeed from the Macedonians, but did not come from that country; nor did he afflict them long, much less make them desolate, as the Romans, under Vespasian and Titus, did; which seems to be here intended.

*And they also shall perish for ever.*] This doth not refer to Eber, but to the nation that afflicted him, *viz.* the Roman empire; which he prophesies shall not always afflict others, but at last be utterly destroyed itself. Aben Ezra, indeed, refers it to the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, or the Greek empire: but R. Isaac, beforementioned, thinks the destruction of the Romans is intended in this prophecy; only he fancies it is to be accomplished by a Christ not yet come.

Ver. 25. *And Balaam rose up, and went.*] As Balak had commanded him, (ver. 11.)

*And returned to his place.*] Unto his country, *viz.* Mesopotamia. But he was detained by the Midianites in his passage thither; among whom he was slain, as we read in the thirty-first chapter: for men are said to do that which they design and endeavour to do, (Exod. viii. 18. Numb. xiv. 40.) If this be not the meaning, then, after he came to his own country, he returned to the Midianites, at their entreaty, or by his own inclination; and (either as he was going home, or when he came back) gave that impious counsel, which was executed not long after this, as we find in the next chapter: for that he was the author of it, we are assured by three Divine writers. (See 2 Pet. ii. 15. Jude, ver. 11. Revel. ii. 14.)

It is a strange exposition which Baal-Hatturim gives of his going *to his place;* that is, saith he, *he went down into hell.* But it may serve to confirm the common interpretation of that which is said of Judas, Acts i. 25.

*And Balak also went his way.*] To Kiriah-Huzoth, I suppose, mentioned chap. xxii. 39.

## CHAP. XXV.

Ver. 1. *AND Israel abode in Shittim.*] A place in the plains of Moab, (where they lay, while the forementioned things were transacted, chap. xxii. 1.) called Abel-Shittim, chap. xxxiii. 49. but it is usual to cut off the former part of a place's name, for shortness' sake: as in this very book, (chap. xxxii. 38.) Baal-meon for Beth-Baal-meon, as it is called Josh. xiii. 17. and Hermon commonly for Baal-Hermon; and Nimrim for Beth-Nimrim. To which may be added, Salem for Jerusalem, (Psal. lxvi. 3.) This station was the last which the Israelites made, while they remained in the wilderness; in which the rest of the things that follow, to the end of the book of Deuteronomy, were done.

*And the people began to commit whoredom.*] Both bodily and spiritual; into which they fell not long after Balaam was gone from Balak: though not all the people fell into this guilt, but a great many of them; as appears from what follows, (ver. 4—6.)

*With the daughters of Moab.*] And of Midian also, as we learn from ver. 6. 17, 18. But those of Moab are here alone mentioned; because, it is likely, they began this wicked practice. I see no ground for what Greg. Nyssen saith, that the Israelites having vanquished the Moabites in a battle, fell in love with the captives which they had taken, being overcome by lust, when they had been victorious in war; as he speaks, lib. de Vita Mosis, p. 186. It is something more probable, that the prophecy of Balaam being spread abroad among the Moabites concerning the great blessings God designed to bestow upon the Israelites, particularly that of the Messiah, it might excite in the women of Moab a desire to have children by the men of Israel, that they might partake in their blessings; unto which they might think they had some title, being descended from the eldest daughter of Lot, the son of Abraham's brother. This might pass for truth, if it were not very evident from the following story, that the daughters of Moab exposed themselves, by Balaam's counsel, to the lust of the Israelites, that by this means they might seduce them to idolatry, and so make them lose the blessing intended for them. For that this was done by Balaam's advice, there is no doubt. (See chap. xxxi. 16.) And the Jews have also a conceit that he ever had been an enemy unto Israel, being one of Pharaoh's privy-council, who advised him to drown their children; as the tale is told in the Talmud, in the title Sanhedrin, cap. *ult.* But this is to make him to have been now of a greater age, than we have reason to believe (*viz.* two hundred and ten years old, according to their own computation), and quite contrary to what others of them say, that he lived but half his time, according to the Psalmist, (Psalm lv. 23.)

Ver. 2. *And they.*] That is, the daughters of Moab.

*Called the people.*] Invited them to a feast: for the ordinary charms unto idolatry, were good victuals and bad women.

*Unto the sacrifices of their gods.*] To eat of the sacrifices which had been offered to their gods, particularly to Baal-Peor. These feasts upon their sacrifices were very magnificent among the heathen, being accompanied with music and dancing, and sometimes pompous processions, which

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enticed youthful minds to partake of them. Here the Israelites, casting their eyes upon the daughters of Moab (which doubtless on this occasion appeared in the best dress and richest ornaments), were smitten with their beauty, and courted their enjoyment; who would not yield to this motion, but upon condition that they would first worship their gods: whereupon, pulling a little image of Peor out of their bosom, they presented it to the Israelites to kiss it, and desired them to eat of the sacrifices that had been offered to him. Thus the Jewish doctors tell the story. And indeed it hath been observed by the writers of the church, that women have been the most dangerous seducers of men from the true religion; being from the beginning the spreaders of the old heresies. For Simon Magus advanced his heresy, "Helenæ meretricis adjutus auxilio," *being assisted by the help of the harlot Helena.* Nicolaus of Antioch also, *choros duxit fœmineos.* The famous Marcion sent before him some Roman ladies to prepare his way. Apelles, Montanus, Arius, Donatus, did all take the same course; as St. Jerome shews in his book Adversus Pelagianos.

*And the people did eat.*] Which was an act of idolatry (as to eat of the Lord's sacrifices was an act of Divine worship), whereby they owned themselves the servants of the gods of Moab. (See Exod. xxxiv. 15.)

*And bowed down to their gods.*] This was still a more plain act of idolatrous worship, expressly forbidden by God in the second commandment.

Ver. 3. *And Israel was joined unto Baal-Peor.*] This seems to signify, that they were devoted to the service of this idol in great affection; with which they performed the forenamed actions. The Jews commonly take this Baal-Peor to have been no better than a Priapus; and the worship of him to have consisted in such obscene practices, or postures at least, as are not fit to be named. Particularly their great commentary upon Numbers saith, that the Israelites being unwilling to enjoy their women upon those terms, they told them they needed only to uncover their nakedness before Baal-Peor, which was all the worship required of them: unto which they easily submitted. This Maimonides relates for a truth, that his worship consisted in revealing their secret parts before him, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 45.) But Solomon Jarchi goes further, making this worship to consist in actions as ridiculous as they were beastly. All which seems to me very unlikely; and so it doth to several men of great judgment, particularly Mr. Selden; who thinks, with great probability, that Peor (as I observed before, chap. xxiii. 28.) being the name of a mountain in the country of Moab, the temple of Baal stood upon it (by whom some understand Saturn, others the sun, which is most likely), and thence he was called Baal-Peor, because there he was especially worshipped; as Jupiter was called Olympius, because he was worshipped in a famous temple, which stood on the mountain Olympus. And every one knows, that anciently they chose the highest mountains, before all other places, for the Divine service; insomuch, that at Jerusalem the temple was set upon the hill of Sion, which the Psalmist saith God preferred before all other places, (Psal. lxxviii. 68.) Or Peor, perhaps, was the name of some great prince (as the same Mr. Selden conjectures), translated into the number of the gods: for the Psalmist saith, (Psal. cvi. 28.) that when they worshipped Baal-Peor, *they ate the sacrifices of the dead;* which seems to signify, that in him they worshipped some dead man, who perhaps was the first institutor of this worship, whatsoever it was. Another great man of our own nation hath said much to strengthen this opinion; having shewn at large, that the ancient heathens were wont to deify the souls of men, and canonize them after death; and these were called Baalim, being accounted an inferior sort of deities, who they fancied were ministers for them to their celestial gods. (See Mr. Mede, book iii. p. 724, &c.) Yet it must be acknowledged, that there are others of great note who take all for truth which the Jewish writers report concerning the filthy worship of Baal-Peor, and imagine that fornication was a part of it; as in future times it was both among the Greeks and Romans, in the worship of some of their gods. For what the Jews found then practised, they fancied was done in these early days; but it is observable, that the more ancient the books of the Jews are, which speak of this matter, the less they say of the impurities in the service of Baal-Peor. For example, the Jerusalem Talmud hath none of that lewd stuff in it, which Solomon Jarchi, upon this place, took out of the Babylonian; which was composed long after the former.

*And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel.*] As appeared immediately, by the severe punishment he inflicted on them, both for their idolatry and for their fornication.

*And the Lord said unto Moses, Take all the heads of the people, and hang them up.*] The plain meaning seems to be, that he should *take, i. e.* cause to be apprehended, *the heads of the people, i. e.* the rulers of thousands and hundreds, and other principal persons in their tribes, who had been guilty of the foul idolatry beforementioned; and by *hanging them up,* put a stop to the people's lewdness, when they saw these great men made public examples of God's displeasure. For it is very likely, more of the princes of the people were guilty besides Zimri; especially if it be true, which the Samaritan Chronicle affirms, that the daughters of the chief men of Moab were sent finely dressed to allure the Israelites; and one of the king's daughters among the rest. But, though the LXX. and the Vulgar, and Symmachus, thus understand it, that he commanded the heads of the people to be hanged up; yet a great many other ancient translators, and many famous doctors, take the word *otham* (*them* whom he commanded to be hanged up) not to refer to the *heads* of the people, but to such as had joined themselves to Baal-Peor: and they interpret the foregoing words, as if he had bid him *take unto him* (*i. e.* to his assistance) *the heads of the people,* as they think he did, as is related in the next verse. The judges indeed, there mentioned, seem to be distinct from *the heads of the people;* and Moses did not take them to his assistance, but commanded them to do their duty. Yet it must be acknowledged that there is a great current of interpreters which runs the other way; as if Moses was commanded to order the judges to assemble and call before them such as were suspected; and having examined the fact, accordingly proceed against them, and punish such as had offended. Thus the Samaritan copy reads it expressly, and so Onkelos, and the paraphrast called Uziclides, and the Jerusalem Targum, and the Arabic translation of Saadia Gaon: and both the Talmudists and Karaites agree in this sense, as



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Mr. Selden shews at large, lib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 1. n. 10. and Joh. Coch upon the Gemara of the Sanhedrin, cap. 4. sect. 4. where he observes that Aben Ezra, and Solomon Jarchi thus interpret it, and takes the meaning to be certain, that the heads of the people should divide themselves into several courts of judgment, and examine who had committed idolatry; and after conviction cause them to be hanged. For there is great reason to think the constitution of judges, by Jethro's advice, continued all the time they were in the wilderness; who might easily find out the guilty in their several divisions.

*Before the Lord.*] *i. e.* Before the sanctuary; as men who had forsaken the worship of their God, and by his sentence were adjudged to die.

*Against the sun.*] Openly, that all the people might see, and fear to sin. So both R. Solomon and Aben Ezra expound it. For this was a peculiar mark of the Divine displeasure against idolaters and blasphemers, that they should be hanged up, and publicly exposed, after they had suffered death. For none were hanged alive among the Hebrews; but first stoned (which was the common punishment of the forenamed offenders), and then hanged up in *the eyes of all;* as R. Solomon expounds this phrase *against the sun.*

*That the fierce anger of the Lord may be turned from Israel.*] By their zeal to vindicate the Divine honour.

Ver. 5. *And Moses said unto the judges of Israel.*] Some take these for the seventy elders, mentioned chap. xi. 25.

*Slay ye.*] By hanging them up, as some understand it. But the Hebrew word imports killing with the sword; which they commanded their officers to do, with the assistance of such as abhorred the wickedness of their neighbours.

*Every one his men.*] The seventy elders, being appointed to be coadjutors to Moses in the government, made a division of the people, it is most likely, into so many districts: and each of them having the charge of one, all the people therein are called *his men;* of whom he was to give an account.

*That were joined unto Baal-Peor.*] Who were so well known, that there was no danger of slaying the innocent.

Ver. 6. *And, behold.*] This which follows is the more wonderful, if the judges had already begun to execute the foregoing command; and argues Zimri to have been very impudently wicked, who thought himself so great a man, that no judge durst meddle with him.

*One of the children of Israel came and brought unto his brethren.*] In the camp of Israel, or into the tent where his own family dwelt.

*A Midianitish woman.*] By which it appears that both nations, Moab and Midian, were in this plot against Israel.

*In the sight of Moses.*] A high contempt of his authority; and of God's also, whose servant Moses was.

*And in the sight of all the congregation of the children of Israel.*] This seems to be a further aggravation of his sin, that he was not content to go to the women who invited them, (ver. 2.) but brought one of them along with him into the camp of Israel; and this he did before the face of all the people, as well as of Moses; and that when they were mourning for this sin, as it here follows.

*Who were weeping before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] This shews, that though there were great numbers engaged in this defection, yet the generality of the people clave unto the Lord, and bewailed the wickedness of their brethren, most earnestly imploring God's mercy towards them.

Ver. 7. *And when Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the priest,* &c.] A man of great authority, being next to the high-priest, whom he succeeded in his office, as he did Joshua (if we may believe some writers) in the government of all Israel.

*He rose up.*] His spirit (as St. Luke speaks of St. Paul) was stirred in him; and being inspired with a holy zeal was moved to do what follows.

*From among the congregation.*] Who were weeping at the door of the tabernacle; or rather, from among the judges with whom he was assembled, being one of them: so Jonathan; he rose up *from the midst of the Sanhedrin.* For, as Bonav. Cornel. Bertramus thinks, Eleazar, after the death of Aaron, appointed his son Phineas to be prince of the Levites; which he thinks appears, not only from his rising up here, from the midst of the judges of Israel, but from the embassy, wherein he was employed by Joshua, unto the Reubenites, &c. beyond Jordan, Josh. xxii. 14. and from 1 Chron. ix. 20. where he is said to be *ruler over the Korahites;* which signifies, he thinks, such a pre-eminence as Eleazar himself had over the Levites, while his father Aaron lived, (de Repub. Jud. cap. 15.) And indeed the Psalmist saith, that Phineas stood up and *executed judgment,* (Psal. cvi. 39.) which seems to import that he acted as a judge, but by an extraordinary motion: which made him kill the offenders with his own hands, without a judicial process against them.

*And took a javelin in his hand.*] Or a sword, as Josephus calls it; which he snatched out of the hand of Moses, as the tradition is in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 47.

Ver. 8. *And he went after the man of Israel into the tent.*] It is an unusual word in the Hebrew which we translate *tent;* importing a private, secret place like a cave, as *kubba* or *kobba* is thought to signify, which the Arabians call *alcobba;* from whence comes the word *alcove;* which signifies, as Bochart observes, "conclave camerati operis, quo lectus circumdatur:" *a room of arched work, which incloses a bed in it.* (See his Hierozoicon, par. i. p. *ult.*)

*And thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman.*] This he did, saith Philo, προστάξαντος Μωϋσέως, *by the command of Moses;* but should rather have said, by a Divine instigation; which he followed, when the rest of the judges were afraid (as some conceive) to meddle with so great a man as Zimri was. And upon this fact, the Jews ground that which they call *the judgment of zeal,* which authorized them, who were full of zeal, to punish such as blasphemed God, or profaned the temple, &c. in the presence of ten men of Israel, without a formal process against them. Thus Matthias killed a Jew who sacrificed after the manner of the Greeks; (1 Maccab. ii. 24.) and three hundred others were killed by their countrymen, as is related in the book commonly called the Third Book of Maccabees. And upon the pretence of such zeal, St. Stephen was stoned, and St. Paul intended to be killed, &c. as Grotius observes, (lib. ii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 20. sect. 9. and see Selden de Jure Nat. et Gent. lib. iv. cap. 4.) But this judgment (as they call it) seems not to be well grounded upon the fact of Phineas, who was a public person, and had an extraordinary motion, not to be imi-

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tated by private men; nor was it followed till the latter times of the state of that nation.

*Through her belly.*] The Vulgar hath it, *through her secret parts.* And so the Jews in Pirke Eliezer, (cap. 47.) and in other books, such as Pesikta and Siphri; where they make many miracles to have concurred in this fact; particularly, they say, that the relations of Zimri going to fall upon Phineas for killing their prince, the angel of the Lord smote them, and cut them off.

*So the plague was stayed from the children of Israel.*] It seems a pestilential disease (as Josephus calls it) swept away many of the offenders, who could not so speedily be punished by the judges: but it stopped immediately upon this pious act of Phineas.

Ver. 9. *And those that died of the plague were twenty and four thousand.*] There were but twenty and three thousand who died of the plague itself, as the apostle tells us, (1 Cor. x. 8.) but there were a thousand more taken off in the plague time, or *during the plague,* as the Hebrew words may be read: for, in the twenty and four thousand, Moses comprehends all those who were killed by the sword, *in the day of the plague,* (as the phrase is ver. 18.) whereas St. Paul reckons those only who died of the pestilence, as many have observed, particularly Bochartus, (lib. ii. Hieroz. cap. 34. par. i.) It is probable that from hence it was, that the author of the Samaritan Chronicle took up a conceit, that the king of Moab sent twenty-four thousand damsels to seduce the Israelites; as Hottinger reports his words, in his Smegma Orientale, (cap. 8. p. 448.)

Ver. 10. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] After the plague was stayed, it is likely, Moses went into the tabernacle to give God thanks for his mercy to his people; and then he spake to him what here follows.

Ver. 11. *Phineas the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel.*] Though they wept and mourned before the door of the tabernacle, yet that did not prevail so much for mercy as this heroic act of justice.

*While he was zealous for my sake among them.*] With a fervent and courageous affection vindicated the Divine honour, by a speedy punishment of those notorious offenders.

*That I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy.*] Did not proceed to destroy them by the pestilence, when I was so highly incensed against them. For it is observed by Herodotus himself in his Euterpe, that τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, *for great crimes there are as great punishments sent from God;* which is necessary for the public good: for unless, by such means, a stop be put to open impurities, to murders, and such-like crimes, not only all civil society will be overturned, but nations become so wicked, that they will be fit for nothing but to be rooted out, by the Divine vengeance, as the Canaanites were. Thus Cicero discourses, (Philip. viii.) "In corpore, si quid ejusmodi est, quod reliquo corpori noceat," &c. *In the body, if there be any thing which hurts the rest of the body, it is necessary to cut it off,* or *to burn it, that some one member, rather than the whole body perish: and so it is in the body of the commonwealth:* "ut totum salvum sit, quicquid est pestiferum amputetur;" *that the whole may be preserved, let that which is infectious be lopped off.*

Ver. 12. *Wherefore say.*] Unto Phineas, or unto all the people.

*Behold, I give thee my covenant of peace.*] The word *peace,* in Scripture, comprehends all manner of blessings: and therefore this is a solemn promise and engagement to make him and his family prosperous: the particular blessing which he entails upon him, following in the next verse. But some will have this to signify, that he should be the great reconciler of God to his people, and make peace between them hereafter, as he had done at present. Philo seems to think this and the priesthood to be two distinct things; when he saith, *God crowned his piety* διτταῖς δωρεαῖς, εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἱεροσύνῃ, *with two gifts, peace and the priesthood.* And the Jews make peace to consist in a long life of prosperity; which was fulfilled in Phineas's person, who lived till the latter times of the judges, (Judg. xxi. 28.) Pirke Eliezer interprets it, *He gave him the life of this world, and of the next.*

Ver. 13. *And he shall have it, and his seed after him.*] It shall continue in his family.

*Even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood.*] This is the particular happiness which God settled upon him and his posterity, as long as their state lasted; which was with some limitation, it appears by this, that after some successions in the line of Phineas, the priesthood came, for a time, into the family of Eli, who was descended from Ithamar the youngest son of Aaron: the reason of it is not mentioned in the Scripture; but some great sin, it is reasonable to suppose, provoked God to set aside the line of Eleazar for some years, till Eli's sons also became so wicked, that the priesthood was taken from them, and restored in the days of Solomon to the posterity of Phineas, with whom it continued as long as the priesthood lasted. What sin this was, and when committed, we do not know. Some of the Hebrew doctors are so bold as to say, it was because Phineas would not absolve Jephthah from his vow, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. i. de Success. in Pontif. cap. 2.) But as there is no ground for this, and such-like fancies, which others of them have, so it is more probable that some of Phineas's successors offended, rather than he himself; his posterity for four generations holding the priesthood, before it was translated to Eli, as Josephus and others (mentioned by Selden in the place beforenamed) make account.

Ægidius Camartus, in his book de Rebus Eliæ, cap. 3. sect. 5. and Cornel. Bertram, cap. 15. de Repub. Jud. imagine, that in those confused times, none of the priests were found fit to administer the affairs of the nation, but Eli alone; and therefore he was appointed by God to it, as appears from 1 Sam. ii. 30. But L'Empereur, in his annotations upon Bertram, well observes, that it being the constant course of God's proceedings, to continue his mercies to the Israelites, according to his promise, while they were obedient, but to take them away when they became disobedient; it is highly reasonable to conclude there was some great offence given to God by some of the race of Phineas, which was the cause that they lost this dignity: but so constant was God to his promise, that he preserved his line in a continued succession of twelve persons, from Phineas to Azariah, who "executed the priest's office in the temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem," as we read 1 Chron. vi. 4. to the 10th: from which time, to the captivity of Babylon, there were nine more, as we read there in the following verses: and after the end of the captivity, unto

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the time of Antiochus Eupator, the Jews reckon fifteen more, the last of which, Onias, was killed by Lysias: and after him there were eight of the family of the Asmonæi; the last of which, Aristobulus, was killed by Herod, who after that made whom he pleased.

*Because he was jealous for his God.*] God, who searches the hearts, saw that this motion proceeded not from any private passion, but out of pure love and fervent affection to him, and from indignation to see his Divine Majesty so affronted. For zeal is a mixed affection of love and anger.

*And made an atonement for the children of Israel.*] Procured a pardon for all his brethren, αὐτοκελεύστω καὶ ἰθελουργῷ σπουδῇ (as Philo expresses it), *by his uncommanded and spontaneous diligence* to vindicate God's honour, flowing from his sincere devotion to God's service.

Ver. 14. *Now the name of the Israelite that was slain, even that was slain with the Midianitish woman.*] God would have his name stand upon record, partly to make it infamous, and partly to do honour to Phineas, who durst venture to set upon a man who had so great an interest in his tribe, as is mentioned in the next words.

*Zimri, the son of Salu, a prince.*] Not the chief of the whole tribe, but of a great family in that tribe.

*Of a house among the Simeonites.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *of a house of a father.* For the tribes were divided into families, and these into houses, every one of which had a head or chief, (see the first chapter of this book, ver. 2.) and Zimri was one of those principal persons, though not prince of all the Simeonites.

Ver. 15. *And the name of the Midianitish woman that was slain was Cozbi, the daughter of Zur.*] This is set down also, to shew how little Phineas feared the great men, either in Israel, or elsewhere: for Zur is reckoned afterward as one of the kings of Midian, (chap. xxxi. 8.) or princes, (Josh. xiii. 21.)

*He was head over a people, and of a chief house in Midian.*] The Hebrew word *ummoth* (which we translate *people*) signifies *nations;* so that if we translate these words exactly, they sound thus, *he was head of nations, of a house of a father in Midian;* that is, chief of divers families, who all sprung from the same father or original in that country.

Ver. 16. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Some time after this, though not long, (as appears from chap. xxxi. 1, 2.) but a little before Moses's death.

Ver. 17. *Vex the Midianites.*] Among whom this pernicious contrivance was hatched: for Balak being so incensed against Balaam, that he bade him begone, in all haste, out of this country, (chap. xxiv. 11.) Balaam would not stay to propound unto him this mischievous advice which was in his head, but went to the Midianites, and there discovered it; which was the same thing, he knew, as if he had acquainted Balak with it, there being a great friendship between the two nations, (chap. xxxii. 4.) It is likely, also, that the Midianites were the first that advised Balaam should be sent for, which made their guilt the greater: but the Moabites did not escape, though (for Lot's sake, perhaps, Deut. ii. 9.) their punishment was deferred till future times, as Balaam prophesied, (chap. xxiv. 17.) and they were also excluded, by a law made immediately after this, from the society of the Israelites, for this very fact, (chap. xxiii. 3, 4.)

*And smite them.*] With the sword; as we find they did, chap. xxxi.

Ver. 18. *For they vex you with their wiles.*] Have sorely distressed you by their subtle devices.

*Wherewith they have beguiled you, in the matter of Peor.*] Drawn you in to commit foul idolatry. Here Peor, which was a mountain in Moab, where Baal had a temple, (as I observed, chap. xxiii. 28.) is used for the idol itself, which was there worshipped, being a contraction of Baal-Peor: and so it is chap. xxxi. 18. Josh. xxii. 17.

*And in the matter of Cozbi.*] And into lewd filthiness with idolatrous women.

*The daughter of a prince of Midian.*] By whose consent, no doubt, she went upon this wicked design; that, by her noble garb and attendance, she might the more powerfully entice the great men of Israel to idolatry.

*Their sister.*] Whom the whole family were content to prostitute, that they might compass the destruction of the Israelites: but by *sister* may be meant one of the same country or nation; the same kind of language being used among them that was among the Jews; who called one another brethren and sisters (being descended from the same stock), as Christians did all those that were of their religion.

*Which was slain in the day of the plague.*] When so many thousands fell by the pestilence.

*For Peor's sake.*] For worshipping Baal-Peor; into which they were inveigled by the women, who invited them to a feast, and there, by their charms, excited another fleshly appetite in them, which they would not let them satisfy, unless they would both eat of their sacrifices and worship their idol: and perhaps they told them it was not lawful for them to consent to their desire, unless they would be of their religion.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Ver. 1. *AND it came to pass after the plague.*] Mentioned in the foregoing chapter, ver. 9. 17. though some fancy it refers unto all the plagues that had swept away all the former generation, except two persons. It is likely this may be done in the *eighth* month of the *fortieth* year, after they came out of Egypt.

*The Lord spake unto Moses, and unto Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saying.*] As God had formerly joined Aaron with Moses, (Numb. i. 1. 17. ii. 1. iv. 1, &c.) so now Aaron being dead, he joins his son Eleazar with him, to shew that he succeeded not only in his place and office, but also in his authority.

Ver. 2. *Take the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel.*] They had been twice numbered before this; once, before the building of the tabernacle, in the first year after they came out of Egypt, when they paid every man half a shekel towards it, (Exod. xxx. 11. 13. xxxviii. 25.) and again, when they were to be encamped, in the second month of the second year, (Numb. i. 1, 2, &c.) And now, all those men who had been then numbered (thirty-eight years ago) being dead (as appears from ver. 64. of this chapter), God commands them to be numbered a third time; partly, that he might demonstrate his faithfulness to his word, in multiplying them vastly, notwith-

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standing all their provocations (for their number was within eighteen hundred and twenty as many as they were at the last muster), and partly that the land they were now going to possess, might be the more easily divided among the tribes in just and equal proportions.

*From twenty years old and upwards, throughout their fathers' house, all that are able to go to war in Israel.*] All this is explained in the first chapter, ver. 2, 3.

Ver. 3. *And Moses and Eleazar the priest spake with them.*] With the heads of the several tribes; who, it is likely, were to assist in this numbering, as they did in the former, (Numb. i. 4. 16, 17.)

*In the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho, saying.*] See chap. xxii. 1.

Ver. 4. *Take the sum of the people.*] These words are not in the Hebrew; but some words of this kind are to be understood, that they spake with them about numbering the people, *from twenty years old and upwards,* as it here follows.

*As the Lord commanded Moses and the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt.*] He bade them proceed according to the directions God had formerly given, in the second month of the second year, after they came out of Egypt, (Numb. i. 1.)

Ver. 5, 6. *Reuben, the eldest son of Jacob.*] This numbering being performed as the former was, Moses uses more concise language in the account he gives of it; as he doth in the foregoing verse, and in this, and those that follow; where he sets down the number of every tribe, and the families from whence they sprung, without saying, *Those that were numbered of the tribe of Reuben were,* &c. as he doth, Numb. i. 21, &c.

*The children of Hanoch, of whom came the family of the Hanochites,* &c.] The four sons of Reuben (whose families here follow) are mentioned both in Genesis xlvi. 9. and in Exodus vi. 14. and are here mentioned again; because he intends to set down the names both of the children and grandchildren of one of his sons, which he did not before.

Ver. 7. *These are the families of the Reubenites.*] The word we translate *families,* rather signifies *nations* (*gentes*) or *kindreds,* as we translate it, Psal. xxii. 27. For all that sprung from those seventy persons who came with Jacob into Egypt, are called by this name of *mispecoth,* which the LXX. here translate δῆμοι, *people;* which were divided into *houses,* as the Hebrews call them, and those *houses* into particular persons: this is plain from Josh. vii. 14. where, for the discovery of him that had sinned in the accursed thing, God commanded the Israelites to be brought by their *tribes,* and then that tribe by the *families* belonging to it; and that family which the Lord took by *households;* and that household man by man.

*And they that were numbered of them were forty and three thousand and seven hundred and thirty.*] This being compared with Numb. i. 21. it appears this tribe was less than it was eight-and-thirty years ago, by near three thousand men: for some whole households had been destroyed, as it follows, ver. 9.

Ver. 8. *And the sons of Pallu, Eliab.*] He speaks in the plural number, when there was but one son of Pallu, which is very usual in the Scripture language: (see Gen. xix. 29. xxi. 7. xlvi. 7. and in this very chapter, ver. 42.)

*Eliab.*] He doth not say from him came the family of the Eliabites; for he made only a household in the family (as we call it) of the Palluites.

Ver. 9. *And the sons of Eliab, Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram.*] The same must be observed of these, that families did not spring from them; but they were households belonging to the family of the Palluites.

*This is that Dathan and Abiram.*] They are here again mentioned; partly to set a new brand upon them, for their insolent rebellion against Moses, and partly to shew how the Reubenites came to be so diminished.

*Famous in the congregation.*] See chap. xvi. 2.

*Who strove against Moses, and against Aaron, in the company of Korah.*] They joined with Korah, who seems to have been the chief incendiary; for he is mentioned first in chap. xvi. 1.

*When they strove against the Lord.*] Who had appointed Aaron alone to be the high-priest, and his sons to minister in the priest's office; which these men would have usurped, chap. xvi. 11. where it is said expressly, "they were gathered together against the Lord."

Ver. 10. *And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with Korah.*] These words seem to import, that Korah was swallowed up with Dathan and Abiram, as I have observed upon chap. xvi. 32. (See there.) But it must be acknowledged, that these words may receive another interpretation, and that very natural, in this manner: *The earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up,* (*viz.* Dathan and Abiram, and the rest, mentioned chap. xvi. 32.) and then the next words, *veeth Korah,* may be thus translated, *and as for Korah* (who was the great incendiary) *when that company died, i. e.* he died when the company which offered incense died: for there is in many places a defect of a word, to be supplied from the word that follows. This is a very easy construction, and agrees with the Psalmist, Psal. cvi. 17. where he mentions only Dathan and Abiram's company as swallowed up; and then adds, (ver. 18.) "A fire was kindled in their company (*i. e.* in the other company of rebels), and the flame burnt up the wicked;" *viz.* Korah, and those that were with him.

*What time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men.*] See chap. xvi. 35. If the interpretation now mentioned of the foregoing words be admitted, then Korah must be added to the number of the two hundred and fifty men; which Moses takes occasion to explain in this place.

*And they became a sign.*] A monument of God's displeasure against those that affront his ministers; to give warning unto all posterity not to follow their pernicious courses.

Ver. 11. *Notwithstanding the children of Korah died not.*] As those of Dathan and Abiram did; but their family continued famous in David's time: for perhaps they left their father, and *departed from the tents of those wicked men;* as Moses by God's command exhorted the congregation, (chap. xvi. 24. 26.) and they obeyed, (ver. 27.)

Ver. 12, 13. *The sons of Simeon after their families,* &c.] His sons are reckoned up here just as they are Gen. xlvi. 10. and Exod. vi. 15. only one of them, *viz.* Ohad, is here omitted; because, either he had no children, or his family was extinct before this time. The first of them also, *viz.* Nemuel, is there called Jemuel; and Jachin, in 1 Chron. iv. 24. is called Jarib; there being some reason, in process of time, for such alterations.

Ver. 14. *These are the families of the Simeonites, twenty*

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*and two thousand and two hundred.*] There was a wonderful decrease of this tribe in the space of thirty and eight years: for they were fewer by above thirty-seven thousand than they were at the last numbering. (See chap. i. 23.) Many of them, it is probable, being in the same crime with Zimri, and the plague falling most heavily upon this tribe, whom Moses in Deuteronomy xxxiii. doth not bless.

Ver. 15—17. *And the children of Gad after their families.*] They are reckoned here next to the Simeonites, because they lay encamped next to them, under the standard of Reuben, (Numb. ii. 10, 11, &c.)

*Of Zephon the family of the Zephonites,* &c.] They are reckoned up in the same manner, Gen. xlvi. 16. only he that is here called Zephon, is there called Ziphon; and Osni is there called Ezbon; and Arod called Arodi.

Ver. 18. *These are the families of the children of Gad, according to those that were numbered of them, forty thousand and five hundred.*] This tribe also was less by above five thousand than before, (chap. i. 25.)

Ver. 19. *The sons of Judah, Er and Onan.*] These were his eldest sons, but died without issue before the children of Israel went down into Egypt, as it here follows. (See Gen. xxxviii. 1, 2, &c.)

Ver. 20. *And the sons of Judah after their families were,* &c.] Now he reckons those of his sons who made families, which were three: as we read also Gen. xlvi. 12.

Ver. 21. *And the sons of Pharez were Hezron,* &c.] Here he numbers two of Judah's grandchildren, as he did one of Reuben's, ver. 6. only with this difference, that these two made families in Israel, which his grandson did not; they being substituted instead of Er and Onan, who died without children. Or rather, the family of Pharez growing very great, there was a subdivision made of it into the other families, who were all still Pharezites (for Pharez had no other children but these two, to make a family of that name), but called by these two names of Hezronites and Hamulites, because the Pharezites were grown too big to be one family, and therefore parted into two.

Ver. 22. *These are the families of Judah, according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and sixteen thousand and five hundred.*] This tribe was very numerous before, above all the rest; and now this new generation, which sprung up instead of the old (who were all destroyed except Caleb), exceeded them two thousand. So faithful was God to his promise, that this should be a most powerful tribe. (See Numb. i. 27.)

Ver. 23. *The sons of Issachar after their families.*] He and Zebulon are mentioned next, because they lay encamped together, under the standard of Judah. (See Numb. ii. 5—7.)

*Of Tola, the family of the Tolaites.*] A wonderful fruitful family, and very valiant: there being of this one family twenty-two thousand and six hundred men in the days of David, (1 Chron. vii. 2.)

*Of Pua, the family of the Punites.*] He is called Phuvah, Gen. xlvi. 13.

Ver. 24. *Of Jashub.*] Who is called Job in the same place.

Ver. 25. *Threescore and four thousand and three hundred.*] This tribe also was exceedingly increased; being near ten thousand more now than they were at their first numbering, (chap. i. 29. ii. 6.)

Ver. 26. *Of the sons of Zebulun after their families.*] There is no change in their names; which are the same, without any alteration, as when they went into Egypt, (Gen. xlvi. 14.)

Ver. 27. *Those that were numbered of them, threescore thousand and five hundred.*] This tribe likewise was increased above three thousand since the former numbering, (see chap. i. 31.) And so the whole camp of Judah was mightily augmented, as that of Reuben was diminished.

Ver. 28. *The sons of Joseph after their families.*] See Gen. xlvi. 20.

Ver. 29. *Of the sons of Manasseh, of Machir,* &c.] This was the only son; but those descended from him, by an usual manner of speaking, are called Manasseh's sons also, being his grandsons. Some think indeed that Manasseh had other sons, which they gather from Gen. l. 22. but, if he had, their families were extinct; but none but Machir and his posterity had any inheritance in the land of Canaan, Josh. xvii. 1, 2. where the grandchildren are called his children.

*Machir begat Gilead, and of Gilead came the family of the Gileadites.*] They were not a distinct family from the Machirites, but the very same; Machir having no son but Gilead. Therefore that family, which at first was called Machirites, was afterward called Gileadites; or it was indifferently called either by the one or the other.

Ver. 30. *These are the sons of Gilead, of Jeezer.*] Called Abiezer, Josh. xvii. 2.

*The family of the Jeezerites,* &c.] The posterity of Gilead grew so numerous, that his sons made families, and not only households: so that the name of Gileadites being too general to distinguish them all, they were called, at length, by the name of his sons.

Ver. 31, 32. *Of Asriel, the family of the Asrielites,* &c.] This, and all the rest that follow, are mentioned as the sons of Gilead; for each of whose children there was a lot in the land of Canaan, (Josh. xvii. 2.)

Ver. 33. *And Zelophehad the son of Hepher had no sons, but daughters,* &c.] Whose case is considered in the next, and in the last chapter of this book; where they are ordered to have an inheritance among their father's brethren, but to marry into their own tribe. And their posterity, I suppose, were called after their grandfather's name, Hepherites: for such a family there was, as Moses tells us in the foregoing verse.

Ver. 34. *Numbered of them fifty-two thousand and seven hundred.*] If this be compared with chap. i. 35. it will appear that this tribe was increased above twenty thousand: which is the greatest increase of any other; and made good the prophecy of Jacob concerning the children of Joseph, (Gen. xlix. 22.)

Ver. 35. *These are the sons of Ephraim, after their families.*] He is mentioned after Manasseh, because he was his younger brother: yet in their encampment, this tribe had the standard under which Manasseh marched, (Numb. ii. 18, &c.)

*Of Shuthelah, the family of the Shuthelites,* &c.] He is mentioned first also in 1 Chron. vii. 20. where the next son Becher is called Bered; and Tahan called Tahath. For time is wont to make great alterations in the names of persons and places.

Ver. 36. *These are the sons of Shuthelah, of Eran, the*

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*family of the Eranites.*] He had, it seems, but one son; whose children (after the usual manner of speaking before noted) were called the sons of Shuthelah; though they made a distinct family, under the name of Eranites.

Ver. 37. *Those that were numbered of them, thirty-two thousand and five hundred.*] Though this proved a very numerous tribe in future times, yet, for the present, they were fewer by eight thousand than they were in the former numbering, (chap. i. 33.) which makes Moses's prophecy, a little after this, the more remarkable, Deut. xxxiii. 17. where he makes the Ephraimites ten to one, in comparison with the Manassites.

Ver. 38. *The sons of Benjamin, after their families.*] This tribe also was under the standard of Ephraim, and therefore mentioned here together with him and Manasseh. When they went into Egypt, the sons of Benjamin were no less than ten, (Gen. xlvi. 21.) half of which either had no children, or they were all extinct before this time; for here are only five named.

*Of Bela, the family of the Belaites,* &c.] The two first, Bela and Ashbel, are there named as they are here: but the next, Ahiram, is there called Ehi, and in 1 Chron. viii. 1. Ahara; such an alteration doth time make in names.

Ver. 39. *Of Shupham,* &c.] He is called Muppim in Gen. xlvi. 21. and Hupham is there called Huppim.

Ver. 40. *The sons of Bela were Ard and Naaman.*] Though five of his sons were dead without issue, yet two of his grandsons, descended from his eldest son, made distinct families in Israel. And the son of one of them was called after the name of his uncle, the youngest son of Benjamin, (Gen. xlvi. 21.) whose name was Ard; and in 1 Chron. viii. 3. (by a small transposition of letters) is called Adar.

Ver. 41. *There were numbered of them forty-five thousand and six hundred.*] This tribe was grown to be ten thousand more than they were at the last numbering, (chap. i. 37.)

Ver. 42. *These are the sons of Dan.*] Thus he speaks, though he had but one. (See ver. 8.)

*Of Shuham.*] Called Hushim, by a transposition of letters, Gen. xlvi. 23. Just as the same tree is called *almugim,* 1 Kings x. 8. and *almugim,* 2 Chron. ii. 8. And the same city in which Joshua was buried, called Timnath-Serach, Josh. xxiv. 30. and Timnath-Cheres, Judg. ii. 9. And, to come still nearer, the same man is called Rechum, Nehem. xii. 3. and Cherim, ver. 15. of the same chapter.

*These are the families of Dan, after their families.*] That is, from these Shuhamites came all the rest of the families of this tribe, which are not here mentioned; but into which this family was subdivided when it grew very great, as it appears from the next words.

Ver. 43. *All the families of the Shuhamites.*] This shews there were more than one of them who had names from some of the children of Shuham.

*Were threescore and four thousand and four hundred.*] A vast number to spring from one man; when Benjamin, who had ten sons, wanted almost twenty thousand of this number: which is seventeen hundred more than were in this tribe at the last numbering, (chap. i. 39.)

Ver. 44. *Of the children of Asher after their families,* &c.] They all retain the same names which they had when they went into Egypt, (Gen. xlvi. 17.) Only he that is here called Jeshui, is there called Ishui; and another son there mentioned is here omitted; his family, I suppose, being quite extinct.

Ver. 45. *Of the sons of Beriah,* &c.] Instead of him, whose family was quite lost, the youngest son of Asher (Beriah) had two families sprung from him.

Ver. 46. *And the name of the daughter of Asher was Sarah.*] Or Serah, as she is called, Gen. xlvi. 17. He doth not say that a family sprang from her, which Corn. Bertramus (cap. 6. de Republ. Jud.) seems to think probable, instead of some that were lost; but she was a woman, it is likely, as eminent in this tribe as any of her brethren for some virtue or other: insomuch, that the cabalists, in the ancient book Zohar, parting the heavenly region, where the souls of holy women are, into four palaces, make four great women to be a kind of presidents of them, *viz.* Pharaoh's daughter, who educated Moses; and this Serah, the daughter of Asher; with Jochabed, the mother of Moses; and Deborah, the famous prophetess. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4.)

Ver. 47. *Were fifty and three thousand and four hundred.*] This tribe also fructified exceedingly, wanting but a hundred of twelve thousand more than they were at the last numbering, (chap. i. 41.)

Ver. 48, 49. *Of the sons of Naphtali, after their families,* &c.] There are four of them whose names were not at all changed since they went into Egypt. (See Gen. xlvi. 24.)

Ver. 50. *Were forty-five thousand and four hundred.*] They wanted eight thousand of their number, (Numb. i. 43.) These two tribes, Asher and Naphtali, are mentioned together with Dan, because they were encamped under his standard, (Numb. ii. 25, 26, &c.)

Ver. 51. *These were the numbered of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and fifty.*] That is, the whole number amounted to this sum; which was but eighteen hundred and twenty less than they were when they were last numbered, thirty-eight years ago, (chap. i. 46.) So great was the goodness of God, and such his faithfulness to his word, that, when he destroyed all the former generation (who were above twenty years old), he multiplied their posterity so fast, in that space of time, as to make them equal, in a manner, to those that went before them.

Ver. 52. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] After the people were thus numbered, and every family, and the persons it contained, exactly known, then the Lord ordered as follows.

Ver. 53. *Unto these.*] *i. e.* These families beforenamed.

*The land shall be divided.*] *i. e.* The land of Canaan, into which they were going.

*For an inheritance.*] Not to be alienated from those families.

*According to the number of names.*] Of the persons in the several families, from twenty years old and upwards, (ver. 2.) So that minors, who had not attained the age of twenty years when this account was taken, the Jews say, were not to have any share in the land, though they were come to that age at the time of the distribution of it among them. But those minors had possessions, as heirs of their fathers, according to the families.

Ver. 54. *To many thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to few thou shalt give the less inheritance.*] That is, order Joshua to assign them a share in the land, proportionable



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to the number of persons in every tribe: some of which were far greater than others, and therefore to have more land, proportionable to the largeness of their families. But this was not measured merely by the number of acres, as we speak, but by the goodness of the soil: for a little ground, in a rich country, would maintain more persons than twice as much in a barren. So Josephus, lib. v. Antiq. cap. 1. where, after he had said that Joshua made a distribution of the land, κατὰ μεγέθους ἑκάστης τῶν φυλῶν, *according to the bigness of each tribe;* he adds, that in doing this, τιμητοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ μετρητοὺς τοὺς κλήρους εἶναι δεῖν, *it was necessary to consider rather the value than the measure of every portion;* and gives this reason why the tribe of Benjamin had so narrow a portion allotted them, because the ground was so very fertile about Jerusalem. Στενότατος ὁ κλῆρος οὗτος διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετὴν, *This lot was very strait, because of the goodness of the soil.*

*To every man shall his inheritance be given.*] That is, to every family.

*According to those that were numbered of him.*] According to the account that had been now taken; not considering who might be born after this (and thereby increase a family), or die (and thereby diminish it) before the division of the land was made. For several died, we may well think, in the wars with the Canaanites, and others were born before the country was conquered.

Ver. 55. *Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot.*] When it was divided into so many equal shares as there were tribes (a due respect being had to their number), they were not to choose which share they would have; but that was to be determined by lot. The manner of which they say was this: two urns being placed before him that drew the lots, in one of which were scrolls of parchment, containing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, and in the other, the portions of land; he first put in his hand into the urn wherein were their names, and drew out one, suppose that of Judah; and then he put his hand into the other urn, and drew out the portion that fell to his share. Or, perhaps, there was only one urn, wherein were the several portions of land; and they began suppose with the eldest son of Israel, *viz.* Reuben; and pulling out a scroll, said, *This is the portion of Reuben:* and so with the rest. But which soever way they proceeded there were two distributions made, one of the whole country into twelve parts; and another of each of those parts among the several families that were in each tribe. (See Selden de Successionibus ad Leges Hebr. cap. 21, 22.)

*According to the names of the tribes of their families they shall inherit.*] This seems to justify what I now said, that they first named the tribe whose lot they would draw out; and that contained his inheritance. But, after all this, it might happen that some of their lots were too scanty for their number, and others too large: in which case Eleazar, and Joshua, and the rest appointed for this office, (chap. xxxiv. 17, &c.) ordered some portion to be taken from those who had too much, and given to those who had too little for their families. This appears from Josh. xix. 9. where a portion out of the lot of Judah is ordered for Simeon; because the one was too large, and the other too small: and the same may be said of Dan, ver. 47.

Ver. 56. *According to the lot shall the possession be divided.*] The first words, which we translate *according to the lot*, being, in the Hebrew, *al pi hagoral*, which literally signify *according to the mouth of the lot* (which is no more than, *as the lot shall declare*), the Jews have a conceit, that the land was divided, not merely by lot, but by *urim* and *thummim*, which Eleazar the priest then put on (as the Talmud describes it in Bava Bathra); and two urns standing before him, in one of which were the names of the twelve tribes, and in the other the names of the portions of land, he looked by the Holy Ghost upon the *urim* and *thummim*, and said, Let such a tribe come up; which being done, he said again, Let such a portion of land come up for this tribe: by which means all the people (before whom this was done) were satisfied that their portion was allotted to them by God; and all cause of murmuring and contention taken away. Thus R. Solomon and others mentioned by Buxtorf in his Hist. Urim et Thummim, cap. 3. and Martinius Mauritius in his late treatise de Sortitione veter. Hebr. cap. 29. sect. 4, 5. where he observes, how ancient the way of dividing goods and lands by lot was in other countries. But there was no need of this solemnity; the division of the land by God's order, after the manner of lots, sufficiently shewing, it was not by man's directions but by God's that such a share fell to them.

*Between many and few.*] Every tribe having its land assigned them by the lot, it was then divided among the several families, in the same manner (as these words seem to signify), and then every household had their share allotted them; according to the number of persons that were in them; which if they were many, had a greater share; if few, a less. By which means every man had reason to rest satisfied, because such was his lot; that is, such was the good pleasure of God, who directed the lots; as we learn from Joshua xviii. 6. 8. 10. where we read expressly, that in the division of the land, he "cast lots for them before the Lord in Shiloh," that he might order every one his portion.

Ver. 57. *And these are they that were numbered of the Levites, after their families.*] It was fit an account should be taken of this tribe also, that it might be seen how God had blessed them, as well as the rest of the tribes of Israel, with a numerous issue; though he had cut off, in the space of thirty-eight years, all the former generation, from twenty years old and upward.

*Of Gershon, the family of the Gershonites, &c.*] The principal families in this tribe were three, descended from the three sons of Levi, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari; whose names were not at all altered since their coming out of Egypt until this time, (Gen. xlvi. 11. Exod. vi. 16.)

Ver. 58. *These are the families of the Levites.*] The three forenamed were the principal families, divided into those lesser families which here follow.

*The family of the Libnites.*] Descended from Libni the eldest son of Gershon; who had another son, whose family is here omitted (*viz.* Shimi), though mentioned Exod. vi. 17. But in this place Moses doth not give a full account of all the families of the Levites, nor is it given in exact order, because they were to have no inheritance in the division of the land; which was the reason that all the families of the other tribes are set down so punctually.

*The family of the Hebronites.*] From Hebron, one of the sons of Kohath, (Exod. vi. 18. Numb. iii. 19.)

*The family of the Mahlites, the family of the Mushites.*]

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From the two sons of Merari, who were called Mahli, and Mushi, (Exod. vi. 19. Numb. iii. 20.)

*The family of the Korathites.*] From the great-grandchild of Levi, (Exod. vi. 21. Numb. xvi. 1.)

*And Kohath begat Amram.*] Who was grandchild of Levi, and brother to the father of Korah, (Exod. vi. 18.)

Ver. 59. *And the name of Amram's wife was Jochabed, the daughter of Levi.*] See Exod. vi. 20.

*Whom her mother* (*viz.* Levi's wife) *bare to Levi in Egypt.*] See this there explained.

*And she bare unto Amram, Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister.*] Who was born before Moses, if not before Aaron, (Exod. ii. 4.)

Ver. 60. *And unto Aaron was born Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.*] See Exod. vi. 23. where he tells the name of their mother.

Ver. 61. *And Nadab and Abihu died, when they offered strange fire before the Lord.*] See Lev. x. 2. and the third chapter of this book, ver. 4. But Eleazar (who was the eldest next to them) was now alive, and made high-priest; and it is likely Ithamar also, being under twenty years old, when the people murmured upon the report of the spies; and so not cut off with that wicked generation, (chap. xvi. 29.)

All this is here recounted, to shew that the tribe of Levi was preserved, by the blessing of God, as well as the rest of the Israelites; though they were to have no inheritance in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 62. *And those that were numbered of them, were twenty and three thousand,* &c.] So they were a thousand more than at the last numbering, (chap. iii. 39.)

*For they were not numbered among the children of Israel.*] But by themselves, for the reason following.

*Because there was no inheritance given them among the children of Israel.*] For God was their inheritance, as he told them, chap. xviii. 20, &c. And therefore they were ordered not to be numbered thirty-eight years ago, no more than now, (Numb. i. 49, &c.) The Jews are something curious in their observations upon these words, *among* (or *in the midst of*) *the children of Israel:* from whence they conclude, that the Levites might have lands out of the bounds of the land of Canaan, though not within it, among their brethren.

Ver. 63. *These are they that were numbered by Moses and Eleazar the priest, who numbered the children of Israel in the plains of Moab,* &c.] By a special command of God, (ver. 1, 2, &c.)

Ver. 64. *But among these there was not a man of them whom Moses and Aaron the priest numbered, when they numbered the children of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai.*] See the first chapter of this book, ver. 1, 2, &c. so exactly were God's threatenings fulfilled, as well as his promises.

Ver. 65. *For the Lord had said of them, They shall surely die in the wilderness.*] He had pronounced this irreversible sentence upon the whole congregation, chap. xiv. 23. 28, 29. where he swears they should not enter into the land of Canaan, because they had brought or entertained an evil report of it. (See also Deut. ii. 14, 15.)

*And there was not a man left of them, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.*] Whom God promised to spare, because they were of another spirit, (chap. xv. 24. 30. 38.) And their survival was as remarkable an instance of the truth of God's word, as the death of all the rest.

## CHAP. XXVII.

Ver. 1. *THEN came the daughters of Zelophehad, the son of Hepher,* &c.] Who are mentioned before, (chap. xxvi. 33.) just as they are here; only their genealogy is here more fully set out, that their father was the grandson of Manasseh the son of Joseph, from whom he was lineally descended, but left no sons behind him. Now these young women hearing Moses say (as he doth in the foregoing chapter), that the Lord commanded the land of Canaan should be divided among those that were now numbered; and observing that only males from twenty years old were numbered, (ver. 2.) presently apprehended, that they, being females, were excluded from having any inheritance among the Israelites, (and so the family of the Hepherites, chap. xxvi. 32. would be extinguished.) This was the ground of what follows: whereby it appears, that every body was immediately acquainted with the laws which Moses received from God; and that there was a faithful register kept of every one that was born in every family and tribe, to prevent all disputes about the true heirs to men's estates.

Ver. 2. *And they stood before Moses,* &c.] To represent before him, and the rest of the judges, who were now assembled, the case which I have mentioned.

*Before Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and before the princes, and all the congregation.*] These made up the greatest court of judicature that at any time sat. For by *princes* are meant, either the heads of the tribes, or the highest of the judges appointed Exod. xviii. called *the heads of the people,* ver. 25. And by *all the congregation* is meant the seventy elders mentioned in this book, (chap. xi. 24.) For they are called *col ha edah* (the *whole congregation,* and sometimes only *edah,* the *congregation*), as R. Solomon observes: (see Bertram de Republ. Jud. p. 72.) Now at the head of all these sat Moses, and next to him Eleazar the priest.

*By the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.*] Near to which this august assembly, it is likely, was wont to sit when they met together; that Moses might presently, if there were occasion, go and consult with God himself in any difficult matter that came before them. And thus Mr. Selden observes, out of Maimonides, that in future times the great Sanhedrin followed the tabernacle, sitting sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, according as that was settled. As (after they came to Canaan) it was first at Shiloh, then at Mizpeh, and afterward at Gilgal, Nob, Gibeon, the house of Obed-Edom; till at last it was fixed in Jerusalem, (lib. ii. de Syned. cap. 15. n. 4.) As concerning that which the Talmudists say, concerning the proceedings in this case of Zelophehad's daughters, nothing certain can be determined. But they give this account of it: that they first brought this cause into the courts appointed by the advice of Jethro, (Exod. xviii. 21.) and began with the rulers of ten, who knowing not what to say to them, they went to those of fifty, and from thence to the centurions, and at last to the chiliarchs: none of which durst adventure to give judgment, but referred the cause, by reason of its difficulty, to Moses; who brought it to the Schechinah,



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as they speak, *i. e.* to the Divine Majesty, (Seld. ib. cap. 16. n. 1.)

Ver. 3. *Saying, Our father died in the wilderness.*] Among the rest mentioned ver. 64, 65. of the foregoing chapter. They seem to have drawn up their cause in the form of a petition; or, as Mr. Selden speaks, in the legal phrase, presented a libel to the court, containing the entire matter of their petition, and that artificially enough.

*And he was not one of them that gathered themselves together against the Lord in the company of Korah.*] They use the very words of Moses concerning that rebellious company, (chap. xvi. 11.) and instance in this sin, rather than any other; either to shew that their father had a due regard to the authority of Moses (who they hoped therefore would be the more favourable to his posterity), or rather, to insinuate, that he was not guilty of such a crime, as might make men justly forfeit what they had for their children, as well as for themselves. For all the family of Dathan and Abiram perished: and it is taken notice of as a singular mercy, that the children of Korah did not, (chap. xxvi. 10, 11.)

*But died in his own sin.*] *i. e.* For his own sin: which God had declared should not affect the children, (chap. xiv. 31.) For to that general sin, in which all the people were engaged, these words seem to refer. And so it was *his own sin*, not with respect to the rest of the people (for they were all alike guilty), but with respect to his children; it being a personal guilt, in which they were not concerned.

The Jews commonly say that Zelophehad was the man that was stoned for gathering sticks on the sabbath-day: for which they have no authority, but a fancy of R. Aquiba, who is sharply reproved for it by another considerable rabbi, who saith it is a rash judgment; for if it were true, since the Scripture conceals it, he ought not to have revealed it: but hath reproached a just man, for any thing that appears. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 1. sect. 2.)

*And had no son.*] As was found when the people were numbered, (chap. xxvi. 33.)

Ver. 4. *Why should the name of our father be done away from among his family.*] One family of the tribe of Manasseh, *viz.* the Hepherites, being in danger to be wholly extinguished. R. Judah will have the word *name* in this place to signify as much as *hereditary possession;* and so he thinks it signifies, Deut. xxv. 6. as Mr. Selden observes out of Pesikta, (lib. de Successionibus, cap. 14.)

*Because he hath no son.*] Merely for want of issue-male, when he hath left many daughters.

*Give unto us therefore a possession among the brethren of our father.*] Let us come in for a share among those that are descended from Manasseh: which if they did, the name of their father could not be thereby preserved, but by the son of one of these daughters taking upon him, not the name of his father that begat him, but of his mother's grandfather, *viz.* Hepher; which was ordered afterward by a general law, (Deut. xxv. 6.)

Ver. 5. *And Moses brought their cause before the Lord.*] This was too difficult a cause (though there seemed to be a great deal of reason on their side) to be judged by the great court beforementioned; and therefore it was referred to Moses alone, as other weighty causes used to be: (see chap. xv. 32. xxv. 4.) for neither Eleazar, nor any other person, (before whom it was brought, ver. 2.) are here mentioned as the judges of this matter. And he durst not judge it, though the equity appeared very plain, without bringing it before the Lord for his direction, which he could have upon all important occasions, (Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89.)

Ver. 6. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] This shews that the cause was devolved upon Moses alone; for the Lord tells him, and no other person, how it should be determined.

Ver. 7. *The daughters of Zelophehad,* &c.] The Lord approves of their claim, and gives a sentence in their favour.

*Thou shalt surely give them a possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren.*] Because the word *from them* in the Hebrew is of the masculine gender, some think it signifies, they were to be considered as if they had been sons.

*And thou shalt cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto them.*] So that they were to enjoy what would have fallen to his share had he been alive; "ob indutam defuncti patris personam," as the lawyers speak; *because they stood in the place of their dead father, and represented his person.* And accordingly they put in their claim at the division of the land, and had their portion therein, according to this decision, (Josh. xvii. 2, 3, &c.) How the portion was divided among them, according to the Hebrew doctors, Mr. Selden shews at large in his book de Successionibus in bona defuncti, cap. 23.

Ver. 8. *And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying.*] Upon this occasion he passes this special case into a general law, to be hereafter observed.

*If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter.*] It being but reason, as Maimonides observes, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 42.) that what a man leaves should come to his family, and to those who are next of kin to him: for the nearer any person is to us, we are inclined, by natural affection, to have the greater regard to him. But all this is to be understood of land: as for money, and moveable goods (which were of his own getting), the father might dispose of them, by his will, to whom he pleased.

Ver. 9. *And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren.*] Unless his father was alive, who, undoubtedly, the Jews say, was the next heir; but not mentioned, because it was not necessary; or, as some say, because it was too sad a thing to speak of a father's burying all his children without issue. See Selden, de Succes. in bona defuncti, cap. 12. where he observes, that, according to the rule, ver. 11. it must come to the father, because he is *nearest of kin* to it. And therefore the Jews interpret this, as if Moses had said, *If he have no daughter, ye shall give inheritance to the next of his kindred* (to his father for instance), *and afterward ye shall give it to his brethren,* i. e. *the children of his father.* And the same is to be said of the grandchildren; unto whom the brethren of a father dying without issue are heirs. For the grandfather stands in the same relation to a father that a father doth to his son.

Ver. 11. *And if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give it to his kinsman that is next of kin to him of his family, and he shall possess it.*] To his brother's children, or

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to those who are descended from them, or from his father's brethren. But no consideration was to be had of his mother's kindred (as the Jewish lawyers say), who could never be capable of the inheritance: which they gather, not only from these words, which determine the inheritance to *his family* (*i. e.* the family of the father beforementioned, not to the family of the mother), but from the frequent mention of the father of *Mischpachoth*, which we translate *families*, or rather kindreds of the fathers, in the books of Moses, Chronicles, Ezra, and others. From whence this solemn maxim of the Talmudists, *The family or kindred of the mother, is never called by the name of kindred:* that is, it hath not the effect of a kindred in successions to inheritances. Which is the same with that in the ancient book Siphri, *Families follow the fathers;* as Mr. Selden observes in the place beforementioned; who in the next chapter (cap. 13.) gives an example, drawn up by Maimonides, of such a succession out of the Holy Scriptures. Amram had two sons, Aaron and Moses, as we read Exod. vi. 20. If they had both died without issue, Miriam their sister had inherited. And if she had died in like manner, the inheritance of the family would have reverted to Kohath, the father of Amram: or he being dead, to his three sons, the brethren of Amram, *viz.* Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel, as the heirs of Kohath. And there would have been no consideration of primogeniture; both because none of them was the first-born, and because the inheritance was not in the possession of their father, at the time of his death, &c.

*And it shall be unto the children of Israel a statute of judgment*, &c.] A law whereby to determine such matters in future times, and to be observed inviolably: so that no father should have power to make any other settlement; but if either by word or writing he declared his will to be that his son should not inherit, his act was null and void: as the Jewish lawyers resolve from these very words, *a statute or decree of judgment, i. e.* as I said, a rule whereby to judge of succession into inheritances. If therefore a man made a will, wherein he declared his daughter or brethren, &c. should not inherit, in case he had no son, it was void, because contrary to this law. (See Selden de Successionibus, cap. 24.)

Ver. 12. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mountain Abarim.*] Either these words were spoken after all that follows here, and in the book of Deuteronomy, or they were repeated again, when he had repeated his laws, and enforced them by many excellent discourses, and taught them that famous song, Deut. xxxii. where, in the conclusion of it, (ver. 49.) it is said, that very day he bade him go up this mount Abarim. And there we learn also that Abarim was a long tract of mountains, one of which was called Nebo; and the very top of it called Pisgah. (See Deut. xxxiv. 1.)

*And see the land which I have given to the children of Israel.*] Take a full view of it, as he did from that high neighbouring mountain, (Deut. iii. 17. xxxiv. 1—4.)

Ver. 13. *And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be gathered unto thy people, as Aaron thy brother was gathered.*] Upon Mount Hor, as we read in this book, chap. xx. 23, 24.

Ver. 14. *For ye rebelled against my commandment in the desert of Zin*, &c.] See chap. xx. 1. 12. 24. where all this verse is explained.

Ver. 15. *And Moses spake unto the Lord, saying.*] He did not speak those words which follow, immediately after God bade him go up Mount Abarim and die; but first desired he might be permitted to go over Jordan, &c. (Deut. iii. 24—26.) Unless we can think that he made the prayer there mentioned, as soon as the sentence was passed upon him, at the waters of Meribah, which doth seem not so likely.

Ver. 16. *Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh*, &c.] As soon as he found that God was resolved he should not conduct the people into Canaan, he was concerned for nothing, but for a fitting person to take that charge upon him. For he had a most generous public spirit, wholly intent upon the good of this people.

*The God of the spirits of all flesh.*] Who hast not only made the souls of all men, but knowest their dispositions, (see chap. xvi. 22.) and understandest who are fit for this weighty employment.

*Set a man over the congregation.*] To be chief ruler and governor of the people in my place.

Ver. 17. *Which may go out before them, and which may come in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in.*] If the latter part of these words be not a mere repetition of the former (as is usual), then the one relates to the conduct of war, and the other to the management of all their civil affairs. And both of them seem to be a metaphor from shepherds watching over their flocks.

*That the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep which have no shepherd.*] Having none to govern and to take care of them. This is a description of the most miserable condition a people can be in, and became a proverb among the Hebrews, (1 Kings xxii. 17. Zach. x. 2. xiii. 7. Matt. ix. 36.)

Ver. 18. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun.*] Who had been a long time servant unto Moses, and attended upon his person, (Exod. xxiv. 13.) well known to Moses, and perfectly acquainted with his administration.

*A man in whom is the spirit.*] Of courage and prudence, and the fear of God, with all other gifts necessary in an excellent governor: among which Onkelos reckons the spirit of prophecy; which is not unlikely.

*And lay thine hand upon him.*] Which was a ceremony usual in blessing, (Gen. xlviii. 14, &c.) and in setting men apart, and consecrating them to an office, (chap. viii. 10.) Upon which followed a more abundant measure of the spirit, as appears from Deut. xxxiv. 9.

Ver. 19. *And set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation.*] Being all assembled for this purpose, that all might acknowledge him for the designed successor of Moses, and be witnesses of all that Moses commanded him.

*And give him a charge in their sight.*] He told him before them all what God expected from him; and bade him be not afraid to execute it. See Deut. xxxi. 7, 8. where he sets down the words of this charge; unto which God presently after added one of his own, (ver. 14, 15. 23.)

Ver. 20. *And thou shalt put some of thy honour upon him.*] Communicate some of thy authority to him at present; and not let him be any longer as thy minister, but as an associate in the government. The word we translate *honour* being *glory* in the Hebrew, it made Onkelos and other

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Hebrew doctors imagine these words have respect to that splendour which shone in Moses's face, after he came down from the mount: some of which they suppose was imparted unto Joshua, to make him appear more venerable in the eyes of the people. And R. Menachem observes, that it is not said, impart *thy glory*, but *of thy glory* to him. From whence came that ancient saying, *The face of Moses shone like the sun, but Joshua's only like the moon.* This might have passed for truth, or at least that hereby was meant some great increase of illustrious gifts of mind, which procured him such reverence as Moses had, if it had been said that God put some of Moses's glory upon him; whereas Moses is commanded to do it; which makes the first sense most reasonable.

*That all the congregation of Israel may be obedient.*] That the people may begin to submit to his authority, and learn to obey his commands, as well as thine.

Ver. 21. *And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest,* &c.] For the encouragement of Joshua to undertake this charge, he assures him he shall never want direction from God what to do when he was in any doubt; but, in the manner he prescribed, most certainly receive it. And what is here said concerning him, belongs to all their succeeding governors. And it is observed by Maimonides, and other Jewish doctors, that the high-priest stood before the kings of Israel out of great respect to them: but no king is said to stand before the high-priest, but only in this case, when he was to consult the holy oracle; that it might appear the honour was given not to the priest, but unto the Divine Majesty, whom he consulted by the priest.

*Who shall ask counsel for him, after the judgment of urim.*] Because the word *thummim* is here wanting, some understand these words, as if he had said, the high-priest shall ask counsel for him, by the *illumination of the Spirit of God.* So Conradus Pellicanus. But the word *thummim,* in all likelihood, is here to be understood, though not expressed, being always joined with *urim* (except in this and one other place, where *urim* only is named, after a short manner of speaking), in Exod. xxviii. Deut. xxxiii. Ezra ii. Nehem. vii. For they were inseparable from *the breast-plate of judgment,* as it is called Exod. xxviii. 30. (see there) with which the high-priest appeared before God when he consulted him in great affairs concerning the public safety, more especially in times of war; of which we have many instances in Judg. i. 1. xx. 18. 1 Sam. xiv. 18. xxviii. 6. David, indeed, is said to consult God by the *ephod,* but it must be observed that the *breast-plate* was annexed to it; which Abiathar brought along with him when he fled from Saul, who commanded the priests to be slain, 1 Sam. xxii. 2. 9. xxx. 8. 2 Sam. v. 19. And it is further to be noted, that, though David thus frequently consulted God this way, being engaged in wars, yet we never read that Solomon asked counsel by it, being a peaceable king.

Grotius also observes, that Joshua now, and the kings of Judah afterward, therefore *stood before* the priest, that they might be near to the *urim* and *thummim,* which he had upon his breast; without which he could not receive any answer, (De imperii Sum. Potest, &c. cap. 6.)

*Before the Lord.*] The high-priest never inquired by *urim* and *thummim,* but standing before the Lord; that is, before the ark, where the Schechinah was.

*At his word shall they go out, and at his word shall they come in.*] That is, saith Grotius, in the place forenamed, at the word of the Lord, *by the judgment of urim,* which goes just before. Others, *at the word of the priest:* which comes to the same. And this the Hebrew doctors understand concerning the people of Israel making war; which is wont to be meant in Scripture, by the words *going out* and *coming in.* And they distinguish between the war that was made by the Divine commandment (against the seven nations of Canaan, and against Amalek), and that which was voluntary against any of their neighbours, or others, as there should be reason. In the former case, they think there was no need to ask whether they should make war or not, because it was commanded; and Joshua and the kings afterward did it when they pleased. But in the other, they were not to make war without this Divine order. (See Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 12. n. 4.) But it is plain from Judg. i. 1. that they consulted the Lord also in the first sort of war (with the people of Canaan), how to manage it to the best advantage.

*Both he and all the children of Israel with him, even all the congregation.*] By the first word [*he*] the Jews understand Joshua, and all the succeeding princes of Israel, who were bound to advise with God by *urim* and *thummim* before they made war. And by the next words [*all the children of Israel with him*] they understand the priest that was particularly anointed to go with the people to war, (Deut. xx. 2.) And by the last words [*the whole congregation*] they understand the seventy elders, or the great Sanhedrin. So Maimonides, Abarbinel, and a great many others, expound these words (as Mr. Selden shews in the same place), from which they have framed this general maxim, that no private man might consult this oracle, *but the king, and the head of the great Sanhedrin, and he that was appointed by all the people in their name.* And that *col ha edah* [*all the congregation*] signifies frequently the great assembly of the elders and judges. (See also Bertram de Repub. Jud. p. 72.)

Here the Jews start a difficulty, as they account it, why we never read in the whole book of Joshua, that he consulted the Lord after this manner; but as soon as ever he was dead they did, (Judg. i. 1.) From whence Abarbinel concludes, that Joshua was bound to do this only at the first entrance upon his office, that all Israel might know he was Moses's successor, and that God was with him: but that afterward the spirit of prophecy rested upon him, and conducted him without this oracle. But if nothing was done that is not recorded in the Scripture, he might as well have said, that Joshua never consulted the oracle at all; for we do not read he did, though he be here so ordered. R. Levi ben Gersom, therefore, seems to me to speak more reasonably, when he says, that those words in the beginning of the book of Judges do not import that they did not consult God by *urim* in the life of Joshua, but only that after his death the children of Israel would not adventure to proceed in the war of Canaan without the same direction.

And there is something else which they might have observed from this verse, with great reason, which is, how much inferior Joshua was to Moses, though he succeeded him in the conduct of the people. For Moses never made use of the *urim* and *thummim* to consult God by the high-priest, but went directly and immediately to God himself: whereas Joshua was not admitted to such familiarity; nor

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had he such frequent revelations from God as Moses had. Yet sometimes God vouchsafed him the honour to speak to him, as we find in the beginning of Joshua, chap. iii. 7. iv. 1. 15, &c. And there was a most illustrious appearance of God to him before Jericho, (chap. v. 13, &c.)

Ver. 22. *And Moses did as the Lord commanded him: and he took Joshua and set him before Eleazar, and before all the congregation.*] According as he was ordered, ver. 18, 19. In this we see the great integrity, the sincere humility, and self-denial of Moses, that he readily submitted to have the government of Israel translated from his own family and tribe unto another, who was of the tribe of Ephraim, whereby his own children were reduced to a mean condition, being not so much as priests, but mere Levites. This demonstrates he acted not from himself, because he acted not *for* himself; but was contented to have the supreme authority placed where God pleased, both in church and state, and to leave his own family in an inconsiderable employment. This shews him to have had a principle which raised him above all other lawgivers, who always took care to advance their own families, and establish them in some share of that greatness which they themselves possessed. This likewise demonstrates, that the future rulers of this nation had no temptation to advance the credit of Moses beyond what it really was, since they were not descended from him, but were of other tribes.

Ver. 23. *And he laid his hands upon him, and gave him a charge; as the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses.*] He did all things which the Lord required to create him his successor, as the Jews speak: for thus (by *laying on of hands*) they in aftertimes made a man a member of the Sanhedrin, both of the great and of the small; which continued to the time of the destruction of the second temple; as Mr. Selden shews, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 7. n. 1.)

And this solemn designation of Joshua to the government by the Divine authority, was a clear indication that God continued to be their king, as he became in a special manner when he brought them out of Egypt, (as I observed upon Exod. iii. 10.) and he still reserved it to himself to appoint governors under him out of what tribe he pleased; as he did Joshua at this time out of the tribe of Ephraim; and not Caleb, who was of the tribe of Judah, and also a man as valiant as he was virtuous, (Josh. xiv. 11.) For there was no tribe that could lay claim unto this dignity without the gift of God. And this is one of the principal reasons, why the government of this people, before they had kings, was, as Josephus calls it, Θεοκρατία (that is, *the empire of God*), because he stirred them up judges to rule them when he pleased; which being of his immediate appointment, are so far acknowledged by him, that when they were weary of Samuel's government and desired a king, God declared, that it was not Samuel, but himself, whom they rejected. And another reason was (as our Mr. Thorndike observes), because God, by his oracle of *urim* and *thummim*, prescribed how they were to proceed in their public affairs, (Review of the Rites of the Church, p. 133.)

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Having numbered the people, and appointed his successor to bring them to their inheritance (which he had ordered to be divided among them, proportionable to the number of each tribe), nothing more was necessary than to persuade them to be truly religious, whereby they might be preserved in the enjoyment of it. Unto which Moses is commanded to direct them in this and in the following chapters; which may be thought to have been delivered also in the eighth month of the last year of their travels in the wilderness.

Ver. 2. *Command the children of Israel, and say unto them.*] These commands had been given before, but are here repeated, because this was a new generation, who either had not heard them when they were first delivered eight-and-thirty years ago; or, at least, had need to have their memories refreshed. Some things also are now more particularly explained concerning the sacrifices which were to be offered at certain times: and they are reduced into a certain order; some being *daily*, others *weekly*, others *monthly*, and some *anniversary*; all which were of such importance, that Moses, being shortly to leave them, thought good to repeat most of them once more in the book of Deuteronomy.

*My offering, and my bread.*] The word *and* is not in the Hebrew; but the words are, *my offering, my bread:* which Isaac Abarbinel thus excellently explains; Concerning offerings for sin, and trespass-offerings, and the rest, I shall not need to admonish you: but concerning my daily sacrifices, which properly of themselves are my *own oblation*, my *daily bread*, or my food, (which the Divine presence, dwelling among them, required, Exod. xxix. 42. 44. 45.) And so others by the word *bread* understand meat or food in general, as we translate it, ver. 24. though it may have a particular respect to the *meat-offering*, which was made of meal, and always accompanied the *burnt-offerings*, which seem here to be peculiarly meant; though some think these words relate to all the sacrifices, some part of which was God's portion.

*For my sacrifices made by fire.*] The whole burnt-offerings are most properly called *ische (sacrifices made by fire)*, being all consumed upon the altar; where the heavenly fire burnt continually, ready for that purpose.

*For a sweet savour unto me.*] So the burnt-offering is called, Lev. i. 9. 13. 17. (See there.) I shall only add the paraphrase of the Jerusalem Targum, which is this, "My offering of bread which ye offer on the altar, doth not the fire devour it? And yet it is acceptable to me from you, as an odour in which I am well-pleased."

*Shall ye observe to offer unto me.*] Be very careful to see it duly performed: this being the food (saith Abarbinel), which, to speak after the manner of men, was offered by God's fire, upon his own altar, for his dinner and supper.

*In due season.*] For that reason this sacrifice was to be constantly offered, saith the same author, that the Divine fire which came down from heaven to consume the sacrifices might not be disappointed, and burn there in vain without any thing to do.

From this place the Jews endeavour to make out their custom of having *stationary men*, as they call them, to attend the daily sacrifice: taking *moatho* [*in its season*] as if it had been *omatho* [*in its stations*], but chiefly relying upon the first words of this verse, *command the children of Israel*, who could not all be present at the daily sacrifice, and therefore some particular persons were chosen to

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represent all the rest. For they thought it very indecent to have a sacrifice made for a man, and he not to stand by it; and therefore the first prophets ordained twenty-four courses of men, chosen out of the priests, Levites, and people, to stand in the temple, when the daily sacrifice was offered in the name of all Israel; and pray that God would accept it for them, as if they were all present. This account the Mischna gives of them in Taanath, and other places; where they say these men were held so necessary, that it was an usual speech among them, *Without stations the world could not stand.* For without sacrifices, that is, the worship of God, the world would be undone; and sacrifices could not be maintained without stations: (see Voysin de Jubilæo, cap. 25. and our learned Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, chap. 7. sect. 3.)

Ver. 3. *And thou shalt say unto them, This is the offering made by fire, which ye shall offer unto the Lord.*] That offering which he peculiarly speaks of is the daily sacrifice; which was appointed long ago, before the tabernacle was set up, (Exod. xxix. 38, 39. see my notes there.) And add this, that God's promise to meet them there, (ver. 42, 43.) and afterward to dwell among them, (ver. 45.) seems to depend upon this constant service which he expected should be paid to him; which, if neglected, he withdrew himself from them.

*Two lambs of the first year, day by day, continually.*] This is expressly required in Exod. xxix. 38. Only here it is added, *without spot,* or perfect in its kind; which was required in all sacrifices, particularly in the first lamb which they offered, when they came out of Egypt, (Exod. xii. 5. see there.)

Ver. 4. *The one lamb shalt thou offer in the morning, and the other lamb shalt thou offer at even.*] The very words in Exod. xxix. 39.

Ver. 5. *A tenth part of an ephah of flour for a meat-offering, mingled with the fourth part of a hin of beaten oil.*] This is also there explained, Exod. xxix. 40.

Ver. 6. *It is a continual burnt-offering.*] To be continued throughout all your generations every day; as it is expressed Exod. xxix. 42. For it was in the nature of a daily prayer to God, that he would graciously continue his mercy unto Israel (as Abarbinel observes), and increase their corn, wine, and oil, which they acknowledged hereby they received from him.

*Which was ordained in Mount Sinai.*] There Moses received both this law, and all the rest (which are mentioned in the book of Exodus), concerning the service of God, and the place where it was to be performed, and his ministers, &c. And this sufficiently shews, that he speaks here to those who were so young at the first institution of these laws, that they gave the less heed to them, or had forgotten them. And there are those who think that for eight-and-thirty years they had disused them; which they gather from Deut. xii. 8. But I do not take it to be likely, that sacrifices were wholly omitted during that space; though perhaps not so regularly performed as when they came to Canaan. For to suppose that, is to suppose that the fire from heaven either went out, or burnt continually to no purpose; and that the Divine Majesty had no entertainment set upon his table; and consequently did not keep house, and dwell among them all that time: in short, that there was no worship of God at the tabernacle. All these arguments may convince any man, there were offered at least the daily sacrifice, morning and even, and those on the sabbath.

*For a sweet savour, a sacrifice made by fire unto the Lord.*] See Exod. xxix. 41.

Ver. 7. *And the drink-offering thereof shall be the fourth part of a hin for the one lamb.*] So it was ordained also in Mount Sinai, as appears from the same Exod. xxix. 40. And in this very book there is a general rule given to this new generation, that this should be the least quantity of wine which should be offered with a burnt-offering, or peace-offering. (See Numb. xv. 5.) Which was a thing so constantly practised, that the heathen never sacrificed, but they poured wine upon the flesh, as it flamed upon the altar. For though water was sometimes poured upon the sacrifices, yet Nonnus saith (lib. iv. Dionysiac.) it was when men knew not the use of wine; for after that was found out, they never sacrificed without it. (See Fort. Scacchus Myrothec. 2. cap. 42.)

*In the holy place.*] Upon the altar of burnt-offerings, which stood in the holy place, near to the door of the tabernacle, (Exod. xxix. 42.)

*Shalt thou cause the strong wine to be poured out unto the Lord for a drink-offering.*] The Hebrew word *schecar* commonly signifies any sort of strong drink, but here the noblest and most generous wine; for it was not lawful to use any other liquor in their sacrifices. The heathens had this reverence to their gods, that they always offered to them the most excellent wine they had; which appears by those words we meet withal so often in Homer (both in his Iliads and Odysses) of men's pouring out upon their sacrifices, —— αἴθοπα οἶνον, or *black wine,* of the deepest colour, red as blood; which was the richest of all other. And Herodian, speaking of the vast profuseness of Heliogabalus, who offered hecatombs of oxen every morning, with great multitudes of sheep, upon which he heaped all manner of spices, adds this also, (lib. v.) οἴνου τε τοῦ παλαιοτάτου καὶ καλλίστου πολλοὺς ἀμφορέας προχέων, &c. *pouring out many flagons of the oldest and most excellent wine on the altars;* so that rivers of wine and blood ran mixed together.

Ver. 8. *And the other lamb shalt thou offer at even,* &c.] All the foregoing verses relate to the morning sacrifice; and this only briefly prescribes, that the other lamb should be offered in the same manner at even, with the very same meat-offering and drink-offering. And as no sacrifice was to precede the morning burnt-offering, but it was to be offered first: so this at even was to conclude all the sacrifices of the day, and none to be offered after it.

*A sacrifice made by fire, a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] As acceptable to him as the morning sacrifice.

Ver. 9. *And on the sabbath-day two lambs of the first year without spot.*] He doth not mean, that, whereas every morning and evening they offered one lamb, on the sabbath-day they should offer two; but that there should be two lambs offered on the sabbath, over and above the daily offering, as appears from ver. 10. Whether one of them were to be offered in the morning, and the other added at the evening sacrifice, it is not said; but it is most probable the sacrifices on the sabbath were so ordered. For the Jews say, that, at the time of this additional sacrifice in the morning of the sabbath, they sang at the temple the

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song of Moses, (Deut. xxxii.) dividing it into six parts, and singing one part every sabbath; so that in six weeks they had finished it, and then began again. And at the evening sacrifice they sang that song of his Exod. xv. at which time the priests sounded the trumpets three times more than they did at the ordinary songs.

*And two tenth-deals of flour for a meat-offering, mingled with oil, and the drink-offering thereof.*] As the burnt-offerings were double on this day, so a double quantity of flour is ordered for the meat-offering that attended the burnt-offering (for only a tenth part of an ephah, ver. 5. was offered on other days), and consequently there was to be as much more oil and wine than daily. And here it may be fit to note, that, as soon as the drink-offering was poured out, then the song beforementioned began, with the trumpets and other instruments of music; but not till then: for the burnt-offering was not perfect, till the drink-offering, which was to accompany it, was offered; whereby it was completed. (See Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, chap. 7. sect. 2.)

Ver. 10. *This is the burnt-offering of every sabbath, besides the continual burnt-offering, and his drink-offering.*] The daily sacrifice was not to be omitted on the sabbath, but this was to be added to it; and thence, by the Jews, called *musaph*. Of which sort there were seven more, which were to be added to the sacrifice of the day; *viz.* that in the new moon, (ver. 11.) at the Passover, (ver. 19.) and the feast of Pentecost, (ver. 26.) in the beginning of the year, (chap. xxix. 1.) on the day of expiation, (ver. 7.) on the feast of tabernacles there were peculiar sacrifices for seven days together, (Lev. xxiii. 35.) and on the last day of the feast another, (Numb. xxix. 35—37.) All these were called *musaphim*, or *additional* sacrifices to the daily sacrifice.

Ver. 11. *And in the beginnings of your months ye shall offer a burnt-offering unto the Lord.*] This solemn sacrifice seems to have been ordained by God, to prevent the idolatry which was usual among the gentiles; who worshipped the new moon with great rejoicings when it first appeared. Otherwise, the first day of every month was no festival; but only a day on which extraordinary sacrifices were offered with blowing of trumpets, as seems to be directed chap. x. 10. (see there:) which was usual at all solemn sacrifices (as I noted before), otherways the feast of blowing with trumpets was only on the new moon of the seventh month, and no other. And therefore it is observable, that there is no mention made of the first day of the month among the festivals appointed in Lev. xxiii. and consequently servile work was lawful on this day; and nothing more required but only the following sacrifices. The Jews at this day say, this solemnity was appointed rather for the women than the men (for which they give a fabulous reason), who are bound to abstain from all works; but the men only from the most laborious, such as ploughing the ground, &c. (See Buxtorf's Synag. Judaica, cap. 22.)

*Two young bullocks and one ram, seven lambs of the first year without spot.*] All these were burnt-offerings, which were offered besides the daily sacrifice, and besides the two lambs, if the first day of the month fell out to be a sabbath. In which case, and all others, where several solemnities met together on the same day, the daily sacrifice was offered first, and then the rest of the sacrifices peculiar for that day were to be performed, every one in its order. As for example, if the sabbath and new moon, and the feast of trumpets, fell out on the same day, they began with the daily morning sacrifice; after which followed the sacrifices proper to the sabbath; and after that the sacrifice appointed on the new moon; and then, those that belonged to the feast of trumpets: and all was concluded with the evening sacrifice, as Abarbinel observes in his preface to the book of Leviticus.

Ver. 12. *And three tenth-deals of flour.*] That is, three tenth parts of an ephah, (ver. 5.)

*For a meat-offering, mingled with oil, for one bullock.*] *i. e.* For each bullock there was to be this proportion of flour; which is exactly according to the general rule before given, (chap. xv. 9.)

*And two tenth-deals of flour, mingled with oil, for one ram.*] This is the proportion there prescribed for a ram, as the other for a bullock, (chap. xv. 6.)

Ver. 13. *And a several tenth-deal of fine flour mingled with oil for a meat-offering, unto one lamb.*] Unto each of the seven lambs beforementioned, (ver. 11.) a meat-offering was to be joined in less proportion than the other, according to the rule there given, (chap. xv. 4.)

*For a burnt-offering of a sweet savour,* &c.] See ver. 6.

Ver. 14. *And their drink-offering shall be half a hin of wine unto a bullock.*] See chap. xv. 10.

*And the third part of a hin for a ram.*] See there, ver. 7.

*And a fourth part of a hin for a lamb.*] See there, ver. 5. They that allegorize these things, think the new moon signifies the resurrection to a new life in the other world, where every one shall receive a reward according to his measure. Thus Procopius Gazæus; in whom they that think such expositions useful may find entertainment.

*This is the burnt-offering of every month throughout the months of the year.*] There are more sacrifices appointed on the new moons, than on the sabbath itself; because they returned seldomer. And the gentiles multiplying sacrifices on such occasions, if the Jews had not been thus employed in the worship of God, they might have been tempted to pay their services to idols.

Ver. 15. *And one kid of the goats for a sin-offering.*] This sacrifice of a goat for a sin-offering, saith the same Procopius, is coupled with the rest, being a shadow of the passion of Christ, for whose sake all our sacrifices are acceptable unto God the Father.

*Unto the Lord.*] It is well observed by Grotius, that these words *unto the Lord* were added, to put them in mind at this time of the right object of worship; when they were in danger to offer sacrifice to the moon, after the manner of the heathens. This is the more to be regarded, because a goat being appointed to be offered at two other solemnities, and to be offered for a sin-offering, (ver. 22. 30.) it is not said, *unto the Lord* (though certainly so intended), because there was no danger at those times to direct their sacrifices to a wrong object, as there was upon the new moons; when the heathen offered a goat unto the moon, it being a creature whose horns are like to those of a new moon. R. Bechai long ago observes this: "A goat (saith he) was offered to extirpate the religion of those who worshipped the moon; which makes the Scripture say expressly, *unto the Lord.*" And Maimonides more largely in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46. where, after he had taken notice



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of the difference between sin-offerings and burnt-offerings, the latter of which being wholly burnt, might be properly said to be *unto the Lord*, whereas sin-offerings were commonly eaten by the priests; he adds, that "this sin-offering is peculiarly said to be *unto the Lord*, lest any one should think this goat to be a sacrifice to the moon, after the manner of the Egyptians: which was not necessary to be said of the goats offered at other solemn times, because they were not in the beginning of the month, nor distinguished from other days by any natural sign, but only by the appointment of the law; which uses these words concerning this goat peculiarly, to pluck out of men's thoughts those inveterate and pernicious opinions of the gentiles; who had long sacrificed to the moon at this time, as they did to the sun at his rising, and when he entered into the several signs."

*Besides the continual burnt-offering, and his drink-offering.*] This is so often particularly mentioned, lest any should imagine it might be spared, when there were such liberal offerings of several kinds.

Ver. 16. *And on the fourteenth day of the first month is the Passover of the Lord.*] See Exod. xii. 6. 18. Lev. xxiii. 5. where it is called the Lord's Passover. (See Exod. xii. 27.)

Ver. 17. *In the fifteenth day of this month is the feast.*] The fourteenth day at even the feast of the Passover was kept, as appears from Exod. xii. 14. But on the fifteenth day began another feast, called *the feast of unleavened bread.* (See Lev. xxiii. 6.)

*Seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten.*] See Exod. xii. 15. xiii. 6, 7. Lev. xxiii. 6.

Ver. 18. *On the first day shall be a holy convocation; ye shall do no manner of servile work therein.*] See Exod. xii. 16. Lev. xxiii. 7.

Ver. 19. *But ye shall offer a sacrifice made by fire, for a burnt-offering unto the Lord.*] The solemnity was ordained before, and offerings also in general prescribed to be made seven days, (see Lev. xxiii. 8.) but the particular sacrifices not set down till now.

*Two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, they shall be unto you without spot.*] The same sacrifices which were appointed to be offered upon every first day of the month, (ver. 11.)

Ver. 20. *And their meat-offering shall be of flour, mingled with oil: three tenth-deals shall ye offer for a bullock, and two tenth-deals for a ram.*] The very same which were appointed on the first day of every month, (ver. 12.)

Ver. 21. *A several tenth-deal shalt thou offer for every lamb, throughout the seven lambs.*] Just as it was in the forementioned sacrifice, (ver. 13.) And though the drink-offerings be not mentioned, they must be understood to be the same; because they always accompanied the meat-offerings of burnt-sacrifices, which were not complete without them.

Ver. 22. *And one goat for a sin-offering, to make atonement for you.*] As it was in the new moon, (ver. 15.) But meat and drink-offerings did not accompany offerings for sin, save only in the case of a leper; who was to bring three offerings, a sin-offering, a trespass-offering, and a burnt-offering for his cleansing, with three tenth parts of an ephah of flour, (Lev. xiv. 10, &c.)

Ver. 23. *Ye shall offer these besides the burnt-offering of the morning, which is the continual offering.*] There are two things that are here to be remarked; that these offerings (as I noted before) should not put by the continual burnt-sacrifice, but be added to it; and that all these were offered in the morning, after the daily morning sacrifice; and were not part of the evening sacrifice, which concluded all.

Ver. 24. *After this manner ye shall offer daily, throughout the seven days.*] Upon every one of the days of unleavened bread, (ver. 17.) which, though it was a great expense, yet was but a fitting acknowledgment of God's wonderful goodness to them, in bringing them out of the land of Egypt, with all their flocks and their herds; which was the foundation of all their happiness afterward, by making them a free people.

*The meat of my sacrifice made by fire.*] Here is the very same word with that ver. 2. where he calls this sacrifice his *lechem*, which we there translate *his bread*, but here very properly, his *meat* or *food*: which was set upon his table (the altar) every day, and by his fire from heaven consumed; which, according to the language of men, was called his eating of it: as the heathen gods also are said to eat the fat of their sacrifices, (Deut. xxxii. 38.)

*Of a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] Very acceptable to him; as hath been often observed.

*It shall be offered besides the continual burnt-offering, and his drink-offering.*] There is the greatest care taken (by the frequent repetition of this) that they should not think to save their daily sacrifice by these others; which were to be added to it, and not to supply the place of it. (See ver. 15.)

Ver. 25. *And on the seventh day ye shall have a holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work therein.*] This last day of the feast was equal to the first, (Lev. xxiii. 7, 8.) and is called *a feast unto the Lord*, Exod. xiii. 6.

Ver. 26. *Also the day of the first-fruits.*] Called *the feast of harvest, the first-fruits of their labours*, Exod. xxiii. 16. and the *feast of weeks*, when they brought the first-fruits of wheat-harvest, (Exod. xxxiv. 22. Deut. xvi. 10.) The Jews in their writings commonly call this feast by the name of *atzereth*, and so doth the Chaldee paraphrase upon this place; though Abarbinel observes, that this alone, of all the three great feasts, is never called so in the Holy Scripture. It is hard therefore to tell, why the Jews call it so in a singular manner; but our learned Dr. Lightfoot hath made several probable conjectures about it; one of which (and most pertinent to this place) is, because there was a *restraint*, as the word signifies, upon the people, from bringing their first-fruits till this feast. If any did, they received them not from them, but laid them by till this day came. (See Temple Service, chap. 14. sect. 4.)

*When ye bring a new meat-offering unto the Lord.*] Mentioned Lev. xxiii. 16. which were two loaves made of their first corn, ver. 17. where they are called *the first-fruits unto the Lord.*

*After your weeks be out.*] That is, the seven weeks which they were to number from the morrow after the sabbath, (Lev. xxiii. 15.) *i. e.* after the first day of unleavened bread: when they offered another sort of *first-fruits* (which must be carefully distinguished from those here mentioned), *viz.* of the barley-harvest, which began at the Passover; when they were to bring *a sheaf of their first-fruits unto the priest*, (Levit. xxiii. 10.) the presenting of which sheaf was an

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introduction to harvest, and procured them liberty to begin to put the sickle into the corn; which now, after seven weeks, they reaped, and carried in at this feast, when they brought these new first-fruits unto the Lord. All which is a description of that which in the New Testament is called the *feast of Pentecost;* being fifty days, as we read there in Leviticus, after the other great feast.

*Ye shall have a holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.*] See Lev. xxiii. 21.

Ver. 27. *But ye shall offer the burnt-offering for a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] Over and above the burnt-offering which was prescribed to be offered with the two loaves beforementioned, (Lev. xxiii. 18.) unto which this was an additional sacrifice, plainly distinct from it.

*Two young bullocks, one ram, seven lambs of the first year.*] The very same that were ordered to be offered upon every new moon, and every day of the feast of unleavened bread, ver. 11. 19, &c. whereas that in Leviticus is *one young bullock, two rams, and seven lambs.*

Ver. 28. *And their meat-offering of flour mingled with oil, three tenth-deals unto one bullock,* &c.] The very same that is prescribed to accompany the burnt-offering on the new moon, and in the feast of unleavened bread, (ver. 12. 20.)

Ver. 29. *And a several tenth-deal unto one lamb, throughout the seven lambs.*] So it is ordained before in the former cases, (ver. 13. 21.)

Ver. 30. *And one kid of the goats to make an atonement for you.*] Besides the kid prescribed for the same purpose, when the two loaves were offered, (Lev. xxiii. 19.) which was accompanied with *two lambs for a sacrifice of peace-offerings.* So that there were a great many sacrifices offered at this famous festival; though it did not last so long as that of the Passover.

Ver. 31. *Ye shall offer them besides the continual burnt-offering.*] He still takes care that this daily sacrifice should not be omitted, by reason of such a number of other sacrifices, which were to attend upon it, but not to put it by, (ver. 10. 15. 23.)

*They shall be unto you without blemish.*] This might have been sufficiently understood, from what was said of the daily offering, (ver. 3.) and of all the other prescribed in this chapter, (ver. 11. 19.) But, lest any profane person might think there was no need to be so scrupulous about these sacrifices, because it is only said, *two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year,* (ver. 27.) these words are also here added, to take away all doubt; *they shall be unto you without blemish, i. e.* as perfect as all the rest are ordered to be.

It is observable, that there is not so much as one *peace-offering* ordered in all this chapter, which was a sort of sacrifice that was most for the benefit of those that brought it to the altar; but all *burnt-offerings* (except a few *sin-offerings*), which were wholly for the honour of God, and acknowledgment of his sovereign dominion over them, and of the duty they owed him. And as the *sin-offerings* were shadows of that great sacrifice of God's own Son, which was one day to be offered for the sins of men, out of his infinite love to them; so the *whole burnt-offerings* (which were always of the most perfect creatures, the finest flour, the choicest fruits of the earth, and the best liquor) were shadows of that excellent degree of piety, which the Son of God intended to bring into the world; which would move men, out of love to God, to give themselves wholly up to him, and devote all they had, even their own lives, to his service.

## CHAP. XXIX.

Ver. 1. *AND in the seventh month.*] Which was anciently the first month of the year; but now the seventh, reckoning from that wherein the Passover was kept; which for a special reason was made the first: (see Exod. x. 2.)

*On the first day of the month ye shall have a holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.*] So it was ordained before, in Lev. xxiii. 24, 25.

*It is a day of blowing of trumpets unto you.*] In that place of Leviticus it is called *a memorial of blowing of trumpets* from morning until evening; which the Jews fancy was to awaken them to repentance, upon the great day of expiation, which followed on the tenth day of this month. But it was manifestly intended quite contrary, to excite them unto joy and gladness: for *zichron teruah* is a memorial of jubilation, triumph, and shouting for joy; the word *teruah* being never used in Scripture, but for a sound, or shout of gladness; as the Chaldee word *jabbaba,* which is here used by the paraphrast, always signifies. And this agrees with their notion, who think it was a special remembrance of the creation of the world, at which the angels rejoiced. Or, it might be ordained to stir up the people to a grateful remembrance of all God's benefits the year past. Whatsoever was the cause, certain it is, this seventh month was very famous on this account, that more solemn days were to be kept in it than in all the year besides; and upon that account, the people might be awakened, by this blowing of trumpets, to observe them aright.

Ver. 2. *And shall offer a burnt-offering for a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] Over and above all other sacrifices, which were heretofore ordered upon this day, as appears from ver. 6.

*One bullock, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, without blemish.*] This is less than was appointed upon the foregoing festivals, (chap. xxviii. 19. 27.) because those very sacrifices were also to be offered upon this day, on another account; as I shall observe on ver. 6.

Ver. 3. *And their meat-offering shall be of flour mingled with oil, three tenth-deals for a bullock, and two for a ram.*] This is the proportion appointed, by a general rule, for all sacrifices of this kind. (See the fifteenth chapter of this book, ver. 6. 9.)

Ver. 4. *And one tenth-deal for one lamb,* &c.] So it is there appointed, (ver. 4.)

Ver. 5. *And one kid of the goats for a sin-offering, to make an atonement for you.*] As is appointed in the foregoing festivals, (chap. xxviii. 15. 22. 30.)

Ver. 6. *Besides the burnt-offering of the morning, with his meat-offering.*] It was appointed before, that in the beginning of every month there should be a burnt-offering offered of two bullocks, &c. (chap. xxviii. 11, 12.) which was not to be omitted in the beginning of this month; but these other sacrifices added to the offerings of every new moon: which made this a greater new moon than any other; being the first moon of the old civil year.

*And the daily burnt-offering, and his meat-offering, and*



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*their drink-offerings.*] With which the solemnity of the day began; and then followed the proper sacrifices belonging to it.

*According to their manner.*] Or, in the order which God appointed: which I observed before (on chap. xxviii. 11.) was this; that, first, the daily burnt-sacrifice was offered; then the sacrifices appointed for the first day of every month; and then those appointed for this first day of the seventh month.

*For a sweet savour, a sacrifice made by fire unto the Lord.*] Which was acceptable to the Divine Majesty, when performed according to his directions.

Ver. 7. *And ye shall have on the tenth day of this month a holy convocation.*] This solemn assembly is ordered twice before in the book of Leviticus, (chap. xvi. 29. xxiii. 27.) and here repeated, perhaps, for the sake of Eleazar and Joshua, who were newly advanced to their several offices, that they might take special notice of it, and see it observed.

*And ye shall afflict your souls.*] That was the special intention of it (as we read in both the forenamed places), that they might receive the benefit of the atonement on this day made.

*Ye shall not do any work therein.*] It was to be observed as strictly as a sabbath, (Levit. xvi. 31. xxiii. 32.) wherein they were to abstain not merely from *servile work*, but from *all manner of work* whatsoever, (Levit. xvi. 29. xxiii. 28. 30.)

Ver. 8. *And ye shall offer a burnt-offering unto the Lord for a sweet savour.*] Endeavour to procure acceptance of the rest of the sacrifices of the day, with this whole burnt-offering, besides the daily sacrifice; as it follows, (ver. 11.)

*One bullock, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year,* &c.] The same that were appointed on the foregoing solemnity, ver. 2. (except the monthly offering, ver. 6.) to which was added another ram for a burnt-offering, (Levit. xvi. 5.) as a devout acknowledgment that they owned him alone for their sovereign Lord.

Ver. 9, 10. *And their meat-offering shall be of fine flour,* &c.] The meat-offering attending these burnt-offerings was to be in the same proportion as before ordered, (ver. 3, 4.)

Ver. 11. *One kid of the goats for a sin-offering.*] As was appointed in the foregoing solemnity, (ver. 5.)

*Besides the sin-offering of atonement.*] Mentioned Levit. xvi. 9, &c. whose blood was carried by the high-priest into the most holy place; which was done in no other sacrifice but that, and the bullock which was offered as a sin-offering for the family of Aaron on the same day, (Levit. xvi. 14.)

*And the continual burnt-offering, and the meat-offering of it, and their drink-offerings.*] These were no more to be omitted on the great day of atonement, than on any other day; but the service of the day was to begin with the continual burnt-offering; and then followed the burnt-offerings, with the meat and drink-offerings belonging to them, and the sin-offering here prescribed; and then the sacrifice of atonement, and all that is ordered in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus, for the expiation of the sins of all the people of Israel: which sacrifice the present Jews now wanting, and yet being sensible of the necessity of some satisfaction, but not believing in our blessed Saviour, who hath fully made it for all mankind; they are in a lamentable plunge, and are put to most wretched shifts to devise something to supply the place of the sacrifice of atonement, which was wont to be made for them. One is their *own death;* it being the continual prayer of every one of them, upon their death-bed, "Let my death be the expiation for my sins." Another is (which is so absurd, that Leo Modina saith they do not use it now in Italy, nor in the eastern countries), the killing of a white cock (if one can be got) by the men, and a white hen by the women, on the eve of this day, saying, "Let this cock be an exchange for me; let it come in my stead; let it be my expiation; let it die, but I and Israel live happily;" as Buxtorf shews in his Synagog. Judaica, cap. 25. Which I should not here mention, were it not to shew, that they have the very same notion still of a sacrifice for sin (even now that they can only make an imitation of it), which we have of the sacrifice of Christ, who was put in our place, and offered himself to God in our stead; and that it ought to be pure and innocent, which is offered instead of a sinner.

Ver. 12. *And on the fifteenth day of the seventh month ye shall have a holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.*] See Levit. xxiii. 35.

*And ye shall keep a feast unto the Lord seven days.*] *viz.* The feast of tabernacles, (Levit. xxiii. 34.) which was after the harvest and vintage, (Deut. xvi. 13.) and kept seven days with great joy and gladness of heart; but they were not bound to abstain from *servile work* all this time, but only on the first day and on the seventh.

Ver. 13. *And ye shall offer a burnt-offering, a sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] The same kind of sacrifice which was prescribed on the other festivals, to be offered up wholly in honour of God: but here is a far larger proportion than in any other solemnity.

*Thirteen young bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of the first year,* &c.] On the other festivals two bullocks sufficed, (chap. xxviii. 11. 19. 27.) and on the festival in the beginning of this month only one was appointed; but here are thirteen; and so they continued to be offered seven days successively, with the decrease only of one bullock every day, till on the seventh day only seven bullocks were offered, which in all made seventy bullocks. The rams also and the lambs were in a double proportion to what was usual throughout the whole festival; which was a vast charge, but more easy at this time of the year than any other, because now their barns were full, and their wine-presses overflowed; and their hearts might well be supposed to be more enlarged than at other times, in thankfulness to God for his great benefits. Yet this very gross, troublesome, and expensive way of serving God, made the best men among them groan, and long for the coming of Christ; in whose days, their own doctors say, *no sacrifices shall remain, but those of thanksgiving, and praise, and prayer.* With which they have been forced to be content for above sixteen hundred years; and, instead of these additional sacrifices unto the daily, have added peculiar prayers (which they also call *musaphim*) unto the common prayers they used every day: (See Buxtorf concerning the feast of the new moon, in his Synagog. Jud. cap. 22.)

Ver. 14, 15. *Their meat-offering shall be of fine flour,* &c.] The same proportions which are ordered, by a general rule, to every sacrifice of a bullock, and of a ram, (chap. xv.)

Ver. 16. *And one kid of the goats for a sin-offering, besides*

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*the continual burnt-offering*, &c.] There is no augmentation of the sin-offering; but it is the same with that on other festivals, (ver. 5.) And all these sacrifices, it appears by this, were to be added to the daily sacrifice.

Ver. 17. *And on the second day ye shall offer twelve young bullocks*, &c.] Here one bullock less, than on the day before, is ordered to be offered; and so on every succeeding day there is still a decrease of one bullock; which is all the difference between the offerings on the seven days of this feast, upon every one of which there was the same number of rams and lambs, without any diminution. Which Moses thought fit to set down distinctly from this verse to the thirty-fifth, that there might be no mistake. But little need be noted upon them.

Ver. 18. *According to their number, after the manner.*] Prescribed ver. 14, 15.

Ver. 35. *On the eighth day ye shall have a solemn assembly.*] There is a peculiar word here used to denote this to be a great day, as I noted upon Lev. xxiii. 36. (See there.)

*Ye shall do no servile work therein.*] It was to be observed as the first day of the feast of tabernacles, both of them being called a sabbath, Lev. xxiii. 39.

Ver. 36. *But ye shall offer a burnt-offering, a sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.*] Here is a peculiar sacrifice appointed upon this day, in the same terms as upon the first day of the feast of tabernacles, (ver. 13.)

*One bullock, one ram, seven lambs of the first year*, &c.] But though this was an extraordinary day, and a distinct festival, (as I shewed upon Lev. xxiii. 39.) yet here are fewer sacrifices prescribed on this day, than upon any of the foregoing seven. For on every one of them two rams were offered and fourteen lambs; and here but half so many: and seven bullocks were the fewest that were offered upon any of those days (and on the first day thirteen), but here only one. By which God consulted, perhaps, the weakness of mankind, who naturally grew weary both of the charge and of the labour of such services, when they were long-continued: and therefore he made them every day less toilsome and expensive; and put them in mind, likewise, that the multitude of sacrifices did not procure their acceptance with God; and in length of time they would come to nothing, and be utterly abolished, to establish something better in their room.

Ver. 37. *Their meat-offering, and their drink-offerings, for the bullock, for the ram, and for the lambs, shall be according to their number, after the manner.*] In such proportions as God had before ordained in the fifteenth chapter of this book, in the beginning of it; as I have often observed.

Ver. 38. *And one goat for a sin-offering, besides the continual burnt-offering*, &c.] This is never omitted upon any festival, (chap. xxviii. 15. 22. 30. xxix. 5. 11. 16. 19, &c.) to put them in mind, that, after all their services, they stood in need of forgiveness.

Ver. 39. *These things shall ye do* (or *offer*) *unto the Lord in your set feasts.*] All these feasts were fixed and stated at certain times; on which God was to be worshipped after the manner here prescribed in these two chapters. For all these offerings (except one sin-offering upon each set day) were wholly burnt-offerings (as I have already observed), which may properly be said to be done, that is, offered *unto the Lord;* neither people nor priests having any share in them.

*Besides your vows, and your free-will-offerings, for your burnt-offerings.*] Besides these, every man might offer other burnt-offerings; either in performance of a vow, or freely, out of his affection to God. (See chap. xv. 3.)

*For your meat-offerings, and for your drink-offerings.*] There are five several sorts of meat-offerings; which were left to every man's free-will, to bring as he pleased. See the second chapter of Leviticus, where they are described.

*And for your peace-offerings.*] These are described in the third chapter of that book: a great number of which, it is likely, men offered voluntarily upon all the forementioned festivals; for otherwise they would have had no means to feast with God at his house, nor to entertain their friends and neighbours, as the custom was at such times of public rejoicing; which they did upon that part of the peace-offerings which was given them, after the fat was offered to God, and the wave-breast and heave-shoulder given to the priest, (Lev. vii. 15, &c. 34.)

Ver. 40. *And Moses told the children of Israel, according to all that the Lord commanded Moses.*] He acquainted all the people (by the heads of their tribes, perhaps, of whom we read in the beginning of the next chapter) with all these commands of God, which concerned his worship and service.

## CHAP. XXX.

Ver. 1. *AND Moses spake unto the heads of the tribes.*] There were wont to be extraordinary assemblies of these, or other great men, upon special occasions, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 14. n. 4.) who are sometimes called, as they are here, *the heads of all the tribes, and the elders*, (Deut. v. 23.) and, in other places, *the heads of the people*, (Deut. xxx. 5.) *the whole congregation of the children of Israel*, (Josh. xviii. 1. xxii. 12.) *the chief of all the people*, (Judg. xx. 2.) *all Israel*, (1 Sam. vii. 5.) *all the princes of Israel, the princes of the tribes*, (1 Chron. xxviii. 1.) *all the elders of Israel, and heads of the tribes, and chief of the fathers*, (2 Chron. v. 2.) *the counsel of the princes and elders*, (Ezra x. 8.) And it is commonly said by the Hebrew doctors, concerning such assemblies, that *wheresoever the children of Israel were met together, or the greater part of them, there the Schechinah* (that is, the Divine Majesty, or the Holy Ghost, as they sometimes speak) *was wont to rest.*

*Concerning the children of Israel, saying.*] Acquainted them with a matter which concerned all the people; willing them to communicate it to them.

*This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded.*] It is very probable there had been some case propounded to him about vows; concerning which he here gives such rules, as might direct them in time to come.

Ver. 2. *If a man.*] It is reasonable to think, that this includes the other sex also; provided they be in their own power, and not subject to another, and be in their right mind.

*Vow a vow unto the Lord.*] Promise solemnly unto God something that is for his honour and service; for that seems to be meant by *unto the Lord:* as, that he will offer some sacrifice at the feast abovementioned, more than is pre-

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scribed; or afflict his soul on some other day, besides the day of atonement. (See ver. 13.)

*Or swear an oath to bind his soul with a bond.*] Whether it be a simple vow, or bound also with a solemn oath; which made a double obligation, by calling God to witness the sincerity of his intentions.

*He shall not break his word.*] In the Hebrew it is, *he shall not profane his word;* for it being solemnly passed to God, it made him vile and contemptible if he did not keep it. The Jewish doctors very prudently advise their scholars not to accustom themselves to make vows, but to content themselves with doing what the law commands, and abstaining from what it forbids; but if they did make them, to look upon it as a high affront to God not to perform them.

*He shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth.*] If the thing be lawful, and possible. And if he appointed no time for the doing of it, he was to think himself obliged to do it presently, without delay, (Deut. xxii. 21.)

Ver. 3. *If a woman also vow a vow unto the Lord.*] As most interpreters think the word *man*, in the foregoing verse, comprehends women, who were in as perfect liberty as the men he speaks of; so the word *woman* here comprehends all men, who are in the same circumstances with those women, whom he here directs in their vows: whom he considers in a threefold state; before they are married, and after marriage, and in their widowhood.

*And bind herself by a bond.*] By an oath, wherewith she confirms her vow; as it seems to be interpreted ver. 10. 13.

*Being in her father's house, in her youth.*] That is, being a part of his family, and still under his government, and not married. For the father's power lasts no longer, as Grotius observes, (lib. ii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 5. n. 7.) In which condition likewise are all sons, who remain in their father's family, undisposed of in marriage: and all servants, who are manifestly in subjection to their masters; and therefore could no more resolve to do what they pleased, than the women here mentioned.

Ver. 4. *And her father heareth her vow, and her bond wherewith she hath bound herself.*] The first of these may relate to her simple vow; and the next to an oath wherewith she binds it, to make it firmer; which her father is supposed to hear, either when she spake the words, or when she acquainted him with her vow, as in duty she was bound to do.

*And her father shall hold his peace at her.*] If he did not declare that he disallowed what she had promised, it was supposed he consented to it: unless he said he would take time to consider, and neither allow nor disallow for the present; in which case, in all reason, she was to wait for his resolution.

*Then all her vows shall stand,* &c.] It was not in his power afterward to disannul any of them, if he did not contradict them when he was told of them, or after the time he had taken for deliberation.

Ver. 5. *But if her father disallow her in the day that he heareth.*] As soon as he comes acquainted with it.

*Not any of her vows, or her bonds, wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand.*] Though she had bound her vows with an oath, they were not to be performed, when her father had declared his will to the contrary.

*And the Lord shall forgive her.*] The not performing her vow shall not be imputed to her as a sin.

*Because her father disallowed her.*] Whose consent was supposed to be necessary, before the vow could be binding; she being, while a part of his family, under his power, and not her own. Some have fancied, that when her father was dead the vow revived, because then she was at her own disposal: but it is plain, her father wholly disannulled the vow, when he did not approve it; so that it could not recover a force it never had, being made without his consent. The same is to be said of a guardian, who was supposed to be in the place of a father, when he died and left his children to his care. And this power was fit to be reserved to parents (as a late learned man, Puffendorf, observes), not only lest women, in their imprudent years, should undo themselves, by vowing more than their fortunes could bear; but also, lest the paternal estate should be burdened by such vows, or the necessary affairs of the family hindered. So that this power did not flow from positive laws, but from natural reason; nobody that is subject to another having any right to dispose of those things which are under that power to which they are subject.

Ver. 6. *And if she had at all a husband when she vowed.*] Was a married woman, or espoused to a husband, though still in her father's house (as it appears from ver. 10. this must be interpreted), when she made this vow, then it was to be considered, not what her father, but her husband (under whose power she now was) should determine about it.

*Or uttered aught out of her lips, wherewith she bound her soul.*] Said any thing, which she confirmed by an oath.

Ver. 7. *And her husband heard it.*] Either was present when she spake it; or she told it him afterward.

*And he held his peace, in the day that he heard it.*] Said nothing to signify his disallowance of it: (see ver. 4.)

*Then her vows shall stand,* &c.] As before, (ver. 4.)

Ver. 8. *But if her husband disallow her,* &c.] See ver. 5. where there is the same case of a daughter under the power of her father, as here of a wife under the power of her husband.

Ver. 9. *But every vow of a widow, or of her that is divorced, wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand against her.*] The reason of this is so plain, that one would think it needed not to have been mentioned, because such women were wholly in their own power, being free from their husbands. Therefore it is very probable he speaks here of a widow, or divorced woman, returned to her father's house, (as the manner frequently was, Lev. xxii. 13.) who might be supposed to recover his ancient power over her, to disannul her vows, as he might before she was married: which is here absolutely condemned; for though she lived with him, she was her own woman (as we now speak), and might dispose of herself and her goods as she pleased, without his consent.

Ver. 10. *And if she vowed in her husband's house, or bound her soul by a bond with an oath.*] *i. e.* Engaged herself in a vow, and perhaps confirmed it with an oath, while she and her husband lived together, or before she was divorced from him.

Ver. 11. *And her husband heard it, and held his peace, and disallowed it not: then all her vows shall stand,* &c.] She was bound, in this case, to make them good after he was dead, or she was divorced from him.

Ver. 12. *But if her husband hath utterly made them void on the day he heard them,* &c.] Then, when she was in her

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own power, by his death, or by a divorce, she was not bound to make them good; because, when she made them, her husband, under whose power she then was, had utterly made them void.

Ver. 13. *Every vow, and every binding oath, to afflict the soul.*] This shews what the matter of these vows frequently was; to abstain from such or such meats, though in themselves lawful; or to fast, and eat nothing at all on other days, as well as on the great day of expiation; which was the only fast ordained by the law of Moses.

*Her husband may establish it, or her husband may make it void.*] There is an excellent discourse of Maimonides', in his More Nevochim, (par. iii. cap. 48.) to shew that this is most reasonable; where he observes, that, as the law prohibited some meats, so pious people sometimes vowed to forbear such as were not prohibited; that by this means they might learn contentment with a little, or continence, and give a check to an immoderate appetite. From whence the saying among the doctors, that *Vows are the hedge of separation; i. e.* a great guard to a holy life. But since, through the vehemence of their affections and passions, many women are prone to act unadvisedly, if vows were wholly in their power, great inconveniences, dissensions, and confusions, might arise in families, whilst this sort of meat is lawful to the husband, but not to the wife; this permitted to the daughter, but prohibited to the mother. For which reason (saith he) this authority was given to the governors of families; in all things to order them, as they saw would be for their profit, or detriment.

Ver. 14. *But if her husband.*] Or, *for* if her husband.

*Altogether held his peace at her, from day to day.*] When he knew what she had vowed; as it follows in the end of the verse.

*He establisheth all her vows,* &c.] His silence was to be interpreted a consent to allow what she vowed. There was no need to add the contrary; which is here to be understood: that if he said he did not allow them, then they should not bind her.

Ver. 15. *But if he shall any ways make them void, after he hath heard them.*] Hinder her from performing her vow, after he had given his consent, by saying nothing against it, when he heard her make the vow.

*Then he shall bear her iniquity.*] God will punish him, not her, for not performing the vow. Paulus Fagius thinks the meaning is, that if the first day he heard of her vow he did not disannul it, but attempted to do it the next day, or the third day after, he should bear the blame, if the vow was not made good.

Ver. 16. *These are the statutes which the Lord commanded Moses between a man and his wife, between the father and his daughter, being yet in her youth, in her father's house.*] It is likely some differences arose in some families about these matters; and therefore these laws were made for the settling the power of husbands over their wives, and parents over their children, while they were young, and continued a part of their family.

## CHAP. XXXI.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Not long before his death, as appears from the next verse.

Ver. 2. *Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites.*] This had been commanded before, but no time set for it; which now is determined. The Moabites are not mentioned; because the Midianites seem to have been the first or chief contrivers of that mischief which befel the Israelites, by the enticements of their women: (see chap. xxv. 17, 18.)

*Afterward shalt thou be gathered unto thy people.*] When he had given a few other directions, concerning their possessing the countries already conquered, and the land of Canaan, (chap. xxxii. xxxiv. xxxv.) and providing for the Levites there, (chap. xxxvi.) God had warned him to prepare for his death before this, (chap. xxvii. 12.) but he first let him have the satisfaction of seeing the Midianites punished; and gave him some time to settle the public affairs, and to make also a long exhortation to the Israelites, to observe all that he had commanded them.

Ver. 3. *And Moses spake unto the people, saying.*] He speedily put this command in execution; which might possibly be in the ninth month of the fortieth year.

*Arm some of yourselves unto the war.*] He doth not at first determine the number; but as many as pleased might offer themselves voluntarily, to be ready to obey him.

*And let them go against the Midianites, and avenge the Lord of Midian.*] The Lord bade him *avenge the children of Israel,* (ver. 2.) but Moses bids them *avenge the Lord:* for they had the same interest, and were both injured at the same time, and by the same means. And as God was so gracious as to resent the evil done to Israel, so Moses, in duty and gratitude to God, thought himself bound rather to consider the dishonour that was done to him, whose war this was; not only because undertaken by his command, but in his quarrel (with those who had drawn the Israelites to idolatry), and for the sake of his people.

Ver. 4. *Of every tribe a thousand, throughout all the tribes of Israel, shall ye send to the war.*] When a great many, perhaps all the people, appeared ready to go to war, he ordered, that only a select number should be sent, of a thousand out of each of the twelve tribes.

Ver. 5. *So there were delivered, out of the thousands of Israel, a thousand of every tribe.*] Their officers picked out this number from among the rest; or they were chosen by lot for this service; or they stepped out and offered themselves volunteers (as we speak), which the twenty-seventh verse may seem to countenance, where they are called, *those that took the war upon them.*

*Twelve thousand armed for war.*] This was but a small number, compared with the whole nation of the Midianites, (who had five kings, ver. 8.) But God would have them rely more upon him, than upon the multitude of a host; and let them see, by their success against this people, that they needed not fear the conquest of Canaan.

Ver. 6. *And Moses sent them to the war, a thousand of every tribe.*] He gave them their commission to fight the Midianites.

*Them and Phineas the son of Eleazar the priest.*] Who was not their commander-in-chief (or their general, as we now speak), for it did not belong to the priestly office to conduct armies: and it is said expressly in the words following, he went *with the holy instruments,* &c. to be ready to perform all such sacred offices, as should be required by the general, who, it is most likely, was Joshua. It is true,

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indeed, that Phineas was a man of great courage, and had lately performed a singular piece of service, which had won him great reputation. This hath made some think, he was the fitter to go and to avenge the Lord of Midian, as he had begun to do, (chap. xxv. 8.) In aftertimes also, in the days of the Maccabees, who were of the family of the priests, the armies of Israel were led by them against their enemies. But then it must be considered, that they were also the supreme governors of the people, and there were no other.

*With the holy instruments.*] By which Jonathan understands the *urim* and *thummim;* which some think Phineas carried along with him, wherewith to consult the Divine Majesty, in case of any difficulty that might arise about the management of the war. And to make out this, they suppose Eleazar to be old and crazy, or labouring under some infirmity; which was the reason that Phineas his son was substituted in his room to perform this office. (See our very learned Dr. Spencer, Dissert. de Urim et Thummim, cap. 6. sect. 2.) But this may be justly doubted, whether Phineas, being only the son of the high-priest, and not yet capable of that office, could be substituted to perform this great charge, which belonged to the high-priest alone. Nor do we find any warrant for consulting the Lord by *urim* and *thummim*, but only before the most holy place, (see chap. xxvii. 21.) And therefore it seems to me far more likely, that he means the *ark*, which was wont to be carried, in following times, into the field, when they went to fight with their enemies, (1 Sam. iv. 4, 5. xiv. 18. 2 Sam. xi. 1.) Yea, Joshua himself, not long after this time, ordered the ark to be carried, with priests blowing the trumpets before it, when he surrounded Jericho, (Josh. vi. 4. 6, 7, &c.) And therefore the *holy instruments* being here joined with *the trumpets to blow in his hand*, it makes it the more probable, that the *ark* may be here meant; there being also something in this very book to countenance this opinion: (see chap. xiv. 44. but especially chap. xxxii. 20. 22.)

But it must be confessed, that it is never thus expressed in any other place of Holy Scripture, but always called the *ark of God*, or of the *covenant*, or the *testimony*, or the like. And therefore, perhaps, they give the truest sense of these words, who take the following words to be an explication of them; that is, the *trumpets* were the *holy instruments*, which he carried in his hand.

*And the trumpets to blow in his hand.*] Which he delivered to the priests who followed him, to sound an alarm, when they went to fight, according to the direction, chap. x. 8, 9. and as the practice was in future ages, (2 Chron. xiii. 12.)

Ver. 7. *And they warred against the Midianites.*] It is not certain whether the Midianites came out of their country to give them battle; or they first broke into their country, and then fought their army.

*As the Lord commanded Moses.*] One would think this meant no more, but that they obeyed the commandment of God beforementioned, (ver. 2.) But the Jews think he hath respect to another particular commandment, which they say was given by Moses, when they went out to this war: that they should not, when they besieged any city, begirt it quite round, but only on three sides; leaving one naked, that the besieged might flee away, if they pleased; by which means effusion of human blood was prevented. So Guil. Schickard observes out of Siphri in his Mischpat Hammeleeh, cap. 5. Theor. 18. and Mr. Selden since him, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 15. where he shews they understand this of all wars but those against the seven nations in Canaan and Amalek; towards whom this kindness was not shewn, as appears by the siege of Jericho. But the laws about managing wars, which are mentioned in the book of Deuteronomy, do not seem to have been yet given; though the Jews fancy this law was now given about Midian, and observed ever after.

*And slew all the males.*] Who were in this fight, and did not save themselves by flight.

Ver. 8. *And they slew the kings of Midian.*] Little kings, called princes, Josh. xiii. 21. where they are said to be dukes of Sihon, *i. e.* great men tributary to Sihon, while he continued king of the Amorites. But after the Israelites had conquered him, they took, perhaps, the title of kings.

*Besides the rest of them that were slain.*] They made not only a great slaughter of the people, but killed their chief commanders, who led them on.

*Namely, Evi, and Rekem, and Zur,* &c.] They are particularly named, that all their neighbours might be satisfied of the truth of this history. And he that is called Zur, is thought to have been the father of Cozbi, whom Phineas slew.

*Balaam also, the son of Beor, they slew with the sword.*] He had seen such good success of his wicked counsel, (which he gave either as he went home, or returning again to them: see chap. xxiv. *ult.*) that, presuming the Israelites were forsaken of their God, he adventured to go along with the Midianites unto this battle; hoping he might curse the Israelites, now that iniquity (*i. e.* idolatry) was found among them; which he could not do while they were free from it. Thus he perished by his own wicked devices; and was so far from having his wish, that he might "die the death of the righteous" (that is, live long), that (as the Jews say) he was slain in the thirty-fourth year of his age. The doctors in the Gemara of the Sanhedrin, (cap. 11. sect. 11.) ask, "What did he here?" To which R. Johanan makes answer, "He went to receive his reward for the death of the twenty-four thousand Israelites, which he had procured," (chap. xxv. 9.) And thus, saith another, "it happened unto him, according to the proverb, *The camel went to desire horns, and they cut off his ears.*"

Ver. 9. *And the children of Israel took all the women of Midian captive, and their little ones.*] After they were masters of the field (as we speak) by the overthrow of their armies, they fell upon their cities; and, according to the ancient custom in the most bloody wars, they killed only the men, but no women nor children, (Gen. xxxiv. 25. 1 Kings xi. 16.) And so the law of God afterward required they should do, when they took any city that did not belong to the Canaanites, (Deut. xx. 13, 14.) who were utterly to be destroyed, ver. 16, 17. where he saith, "Thou shalt save nothing alive that breatheth."

*And they took the spoil of all their cattle, and all their flocks, and all their goods.*] As belonging to them, by the right of conquest, in a just war.

Ver. 10. *And they burnt all their cities wherein they dwelt, and their goodly castles, with fire.*] Made the country desolate, that they who fled might have no encouragement to return again; nor be able, without great hazard, to

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settle themselves there, where they had not a fortress left to defend them. This was but a necessary care; notwithstanding which they had peopled the country again so well, in the space of about two hundred years, that they were able to oppress the Israelites; as we read Judges iv. 1.

Ver. 11. *And they took all the spoil, and all the prey, both of men and of beasts.*] They had possessed themselves of them before, (ver. 9.) but now they carried them away.

Ver. 12. *And they brought the captives, and the prey, and the spoil.*] Here are three different words to express their booty, which they brought to the camp of Israel: the first of which signifies the women and children that were taken; the second, the cattle and the flocks (though sometimes it includes in it men and women); and the third, their money and goods.

*Unto Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and unto the congregation of the children of Israel.*] Unto the seventy elders, and princes of the tribes, who were assembled with them, (see chap. xxix. 1.) as it seems to be expounded in the next verse.

*Unto the camp at the plains of Moab,* &c.] From whence they marched against Midian; and had been encamped there a great while, (chap. xxii. 1. xxvi. 3. 63.)

Ver. 13. *And Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and all the princes of the congregation, went forth to meet them without the camp.*] Hearing they were returned victorious, they went to congratulate them, before they came at the camp: for which there was also another reason, mentioned ver. 19. This shews that Eleazar was not so infirm as some suppose; and affords an argument to strengthen their opinion, who think Joshua was now general of the host; otherwise he would have been mentioned, together with Moses and Eleazar, as going to meet them; being chosen his coadjutor, and therefore superior to all the princes that are here joined with them.

Ver. 14. *And Moses was wroth with the officers of the host, with the captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, which came from the battle.*] Who were more to blame than the soldiers, whose duty it was to obey, not to give orders; which they received, no doubt, from the officers, to kill only the men. Here now is an argument to the contrary, that Joshua did not command in chief: but this being only a detachment (as they now speak) from the host of Israel, was led by some inferior officer, the first captain of thousands, perhaps; for if Joshua had been there, Moses would have expostulated with him, or rather, there would have been no cause for this rebuke; he being a man *in whom was the spirit,* (chap. xxvii. 18.)

Ver. 15. *And Moses said unto them, Have ye saved all the women alive?*] Unless he had commanded them to be killed, one cannot see that they deserved to be chidden; because they proceeded according to the rules of all worthy warriors, who killed only those who could bear arms against them. But either he had given some directions who should be killed, or he expected they should have considered, that the women had killed more by their blandishments, than their husbands could do by their arms, (for they had not killed one man, ver. 49.) and therefore should have been destroyed, as the most mischievous: for so it follows in the next verse.

Ver. 16. *Behold.*] Reflect upon what is lately past, and consider.

*These caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the Lord, in the matter of Peor; and there was a plague among the congregation of the Lord.*] By these they had been inveigled into a heinous sin, and made obnoxious to a very heavy punishment, which God inflicted upon them on that account. For though the Moabitish women had a great hand in it, (chap. xxv. 1.) yet those of Midian seem to have been the chief seducers, (ver. 6. 17, 18.) and, perhaps, he feared might be so again.

Ver. 17. *Now therefore kill every male among the little ones.*] That the nation might be extirpated, as far as lay in their power.

*And kill every woman that hath known man, by lying with him.*] For these, it is to be supposed, had been the most instrumental in the crime beforementioned; either by prostituting themselves, or their daughters, to the lust of the Israelites; and thereby drawing them to idolatry: in which sin they were so settled, that there was no hope of reclaiming them; but they might rather (if they had been saved alive) have enticed the Israelites to commit the same again.

Ver. 18. *But all the women-children that have not known a man, by lying with him, keep alive.*] Being young, there was some hope they might be brought off from idolatry, and become proselytes to the true religion.

*For yourselves.*] To be sold as slaves to any other nation, or to be kept as servants, or taken to be their wives, after such preparation as the law required, (Deut. xxi. 16, 17, &c.) This was a peculiar case, wherein a middle course was held between those that were of the seven nations of Canaan, and those that were not. If they were not of those seven nations, the Israelites might take the women and little ones unto themselves: (Deut. xx. 14, 15.) if they were, every thing that breathed was to be destroyed, (ver. 16, 17.) But here the Midianites, being guilty of a very great crime against the Lord, and against his people, are punished more heavily than other nations; though not so heavily as those of Canaan were to be: for they killed all the women that were not virgins, as well as all the males, both little and great; but spared the rest, together with the cattle, &c. Such an execution was made, in aftertimes, upon one of the cities of Israel, upon a high contempt of public authority, in a very great exigency, (Judges xxi. 11.) There is a rule in Deut. xx. 10. that when they came to fight against any city, they should proclaim peace to it; and if they should accept it, they should only make the inhabitants tributaries to them. From whence, a question arising, whether this extended to the seven nations of Canaan? it is resolved by Maimonides, that it did; which he proves from Josh. xi. 19, 20. But so great was the sin of this people, that they neither sent offers of peace to them now, nor were they to make any peace with them hereafter, (Deut. xxiii. 6.) And the reason is there given; because they hired Balaam to curse them: which is as true of the Midianites as of the Moabites. Notwithstanding which, Maimonides determines, that though the Israelites did not send messengers of peace to them; yet if they, of their own accord, sent to desire peace of the Israelites, they were not to reject them: (see Cunæus de Hebr. Repub. lib. ii. cap. 20.)



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Ver. 19. *And do ye abide without the camp seven days.*] As unclean persons. For though it was lawful to kill men, in a just war against them, yet διὰ τὴν ἀνωτάτην καὶ κοινὴν συγγένειαν (as Philo speaks), *because of the most ancient and common kindred between all mankind,* it was fit men should use some purification to cleanse themselves from that which looked like a crime, though it was none.

*Whosoever hath killed any person, and whosoever hath touched any slain, purify both yourselves.*] The whole army that went to the war, were to stay without the camp seven days; and such of them as had had their hands in blood, or had touched a dead body, though killed by another, were to use a special purification; which was made by the water of separation, mentioned chap. xix. 9, &c.

*And your captives.*] Or the prey that they had taken; of garments, and other things, mentioned in the next verse: and so the word is translated ver. 26. For we cannot think that the persons they had taken, being gentiles, were to be purified with that water which was peculiar to the Jews.

*On the third day, and on the seventh day.*] So the law was, chap. xix. 11, 12. And such purifications were common among the gentiles, especially the Greeks, upon the like occasions, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. *ult.* Grotius, lib. ii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 24. n. 10.) To whom add our late learned Dr. Spencer, lib. iii. dissert. 3. sect. 1. where he takes this to have been a custom, derived from ancient time, before the law of Moses (which may be questioned): and Bonfrerius, upon this place, hath alleged the very same proofs, and several more; particularly this out of the scholiast upon Sophocles, in his Ajax Mastigoph. ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὅτε ἢ φόνον ἀνθρώπου, &c. *it was the custom among the ancients, when they either killed a man,* or made any other slaughter, to wash their hands in water, εἰς κάθαρσιν μιάσματος, *for the purification of the defilement.*

Ver. 20. *And purify all your raiment, and all that is made of skins,* &c.] With the same water of separation, (or else by washing them in running water, as the manner was in other cases, Lev. xi. 32, 33.) for they might all be supposed to be defiled by dead bodies, and so come under the law, (chap. xix. 14.)

Ver. 21. *And Eleazar the priest said unto the men of war that went to the battle, This is the ordinance of the law which the Lord commanded Moses.*] This law was to be observed hereafter by those who went to war; for though the law before was, as I observed, that he who touched a dead body should be purified with the water of separation; yet nothing is there said of him that killed a man in war, but did not, perhaps, touch his body; which now is brought under the same rule.

Ver. 22, 23. *Only the gold, and the silver, the brass,* &c. *every thing that may abide the fire, ye shall make it go through the fire,* &c.] All sorts of metals were to have this peculiar sort of purification; which the other things (mentioned ver. 20.) would not endure. And the same Bonfrerius observes, this was a way of purification among the gentiles as old as Homer's time; but they used sulphur with it. For so he makes Ulysses call to the old women to bring him sulphur, and then fire, that he might fume the house wherein the woers had been killed. Which is observed by Fort. Scacchus also, Myrothec. 2. cap. 30. where he also notes, that Ovid gives a long account why these two, *fire* and *water,* were chosen for the instruments of purification, lib. iv. Fastorum; where he saith particularly of fire,

> "Omnia purgat edax ignis, vitiumque metalli
> Excoquit."——

*Nevertheless it shall be purified with the water of separation.*] On the third day, I suppose, before it went through the fire.

*And all that abideth not the fire, ye shall make go through the water.*] All things that could abide the fire, were to be purified both by that and by the water of separation. And such things as could not abide it, were to be purified, not merely by sprinkling them with the water of separation, but by making them go through the water.

Ver. 24. *And ye shall wash your clothes on the seventh day, and ye shall be clean,* &c.] Thus he that sprinkled an unclean person with the water of separation, was bound to purify himself, (chap. xix. 19.)

Ver. 25. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] After they were purified, and come into the camp.

Ver. 26. *Take the sum of the prey that was taken.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *take the sum of the prey of the captivity:* which, it is plain by what follows, signifies the sum of the prey, and of the captives. For all that they took was of three kinds, (ver. 12.) the persons called *captives;* the *beasts,* which are called the *prey;* and *money and goods,* (such as are mentioned ver. 20, 21.) which are called the *spoil.*

*Both of man and beast.*] Here an account is ordered to be given of two parts of what had been taken; but nothing said of the third (which was the *spoil),* out of which they who had it made a voluntary oblation, (ver. 50. 53.)

*Thou, and Eleazar the priest, and the chief of the fathers.*] The same, perhaps, with the *heads of the tribes,* chap. xxx. 1.

Ver. 27. *And divide the prey into two parts, between them that took the war upon them, who went out to the battle, and between all the congregation.*] By this partition, a far larger share was given to every one of the warriors, who were but twelve thousand, than to any of their brethren, who were near six hundred thousand: for they had hazarded themselves, which the others had not; who, notwithstanding that, enjoyed some fruit of their labours; because it was a common cause in which they engaged, and the rest seem to have been ready to fight, as well as they, (ver. 3.) This division was made by a special direction of God, but was not the rule in after-ages; as appears from 1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25. nor had been in ancient times, as the Jews interpret Gen. xiv. 24. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 16. p. 747.)

Ver. 28. *And levy a tribute unto the Lord of the men of war,* &c.] The Lord was their sovereign, and therefore had a tribute due to him, out of that which they had taken in war; as a grateful acknowledgment that they owed their success to him.

*One soul of five hundred, both of the persons.*] *i. e.* Of the women and the children.

*And of the beeves, and of the asses, and of the sheep.*] The Hebrew word *tzon* signifies *goats* as well as *sheep;* and both being here intended, the LXX. express them both. Here is no mention of *camels,* which it seems their country

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was not stocked withal at this time: see ver. 34. and what I have noted upon Gen. xxxvii. 25. This tribute to God was but a very small proportion, in comparison with what their kings challenged in following times, if we may believe the Talmudists; who say, they had all the gold and silver, and such rich things that were taken, and half of the rest of the prey, which was divided between them and the people: (see Selden in the place abovenamed.) But anciently they had only the tenth part: (see Gen. xiv. 20.)

Ver. 29. *Take it of their half, and give it unto Eleazar the priest, for a heave-offering unto the Lord.*] For the maintenance of the priests, among whom this part of the tribute was divided. And it was just a tenth part of what the Levites had, as they had a tenth part of their tithes, which was paid them for their constant support. So the law was, chap. xviii. 21. 24. 26, &c. which was observed in this levy; which is called *trumah*, as the offering for the making of the sanctuary is called Exod. xxv. 2. where we translate it, as here, *a heave-offering*.

Ver. 30. *And of the children of Israel's half, thou shalt take one portion of fifty, of the persons, of the beeves,* &c.] A far larger share is demanded of the people (ten times as much as was paid by the soldiers), because they came more easily by it, without any pains or danger. And they pay it in a very just proportion to the number of those who went to the war, and of those who stayed at home, but were able to go to war, who were above six hundred thousand; (chap. xxvi. 2. 51.) of which twelve thousand, who were employed in this expedition, were the *fiftieth* part.

*And give them to the Levites.*] Who were far more numerous than the priests, and therefore had a greater proportion of the tribute.

*Which keep the charge of the tabernacle of the Lord.*] See chap. i. 50. iii. 6—8.

Ver. 31. *And Moses and Eleazar the priest did as the Lord commanded Moses.*] This command is peculiarly to Moses, (ver. 25.) but Eleazar was to assist him in the execution of it, (ver. 26.) and accordingly they took the sum of the prey both of man and beast, and divided it between the soldiers and people; and levied a tribute upon each for the Lord, who ordered it to his ministers.

Ver. 32. *And the booty, being the rest of the prey, which the men of Israel had caught.*] *i. e.* Besides what was necessarily spent for their subsistence, during the war, and while they lay out of the camp, (ver. 19.)

*Was six hundred thousand, and seventy thousand, and five thousand sheep.*] A vast stock; far exceeding the number of men of war which were in Israel.

Ver. 33. *And threescore and twelve thousand beeves.*] It seems their country had good pasture in it, as well as sheepwalks: for, as Arabia Felix, it is certain, had "agros latissimos et fertilissimos," (as Pliny speaks, lib. vi. cap. 28.) *most spacious and fertile fields;* so Arabia Petræa (in which Midian was) did not wholly want them.

Ver. 34. *And threescore and one thousand asses.*] The countries about Judea abounding with camels also, particularly Arabia, in which Job had a great number, it may seem strange that we read of none here; especially since they had vast numbers in following times, (Judges vi. 5. vii. 12.) and the Ishmaelites (with whom they were associates in trade) had them long before this time, (Gen. xxxvii. 27. 36.) But it is likely they did not yet find it for their profit to feed *camels* (of which they learnt to make a traffic afterward), no more than *mules*, of which we read nothing here, nor indeed in Judea, till the times of David. It may be supposed, that, if they had *camels*, they were of that kind called *dromedaries*, which were famous in this country in after-ages, (Isa. lx. 6.) and that the people, who escaped the slaughter, fled away upon them: and that there were other beasts in this country, besides beeves, and asses, and sheep, and goats, seems to be plain from ver. 30. where, after the mention of these, he adds, *of all manner of beasts*, he should take a portion for the Levites; but of *camels* or *dromedaries*, I suppose, none were found.

Ver. 35. *And thirty-two thousand persons in all, of women that had not known man,* &c.] It appears by this to have been a very populous country, in which were so many virgins.

Ver. 36. *And the half which was the portion of them that went out to war, was in number three hundred and seven-and-thirty thousand and five hundred sheep.*] There is no difficulty in this, or in the following verses; this being exactly the half of the whole number of sheep mentioned ver. 32.

Ver. 37. *And the Lord's tribute of the sheep was six hundred and threescore and fifteen.*] Which is exactly one in five hundred, out of this half of the booty; as God ordered, ver. 28.

Ver. 38. *And the beeves were thirty and six thousand, whereof the tribute was threescore and twelve.*] The very same proportions are observed here, as in the sheep, which appears by comparing this verse with ver. 33. And the two next verses (39, 40.) give the same account of the *asses* and the *persons*, which were as exactly divided; and the Lord had the same portion of them, as ver. 34, 35. compared with these, demonstrate.

Ver. 41. *And Moses gave the tribute which was the Lord's heave-offering unto Eleazar the priest,* &c.] This is recorded to shew how faithful Moses was in performing obedience to God's commands, (ver. 29.) and far from desiring the smallest portion for himself out of so great a booty: which, if he had acted by his own private spirit, he would scarce have avoided.

Ver. 42. *And the children of Israel's half, which Moses divided from the men that warred.*] There is nothing here, nor in the following verses, to ver. 48. but a repetition of what was said concerning the other half beforementioned; to shew that the same exactness was observed both in the division of the prey among the people, and in taking out of it such a portion as God assigned to the Levites; which was one out of fifty; as out of the men of war's part, one out of five hundred, (ver. 28. 30.)

Ver. 48. *And the officers which were over thousands of the host, the captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, came near unto Moses.*] The first words of this verse seem to suppose, that there were other great officers, as well as the general, who were above the captains over thousands, and the captains over hundreds: which is very probable.

Ver. 49. *And they said unto Moses, Thy servants,* &c.] The greatest men speak with the greatest reverence to Moses; who was in the place of God.

*Have taken the sum of the men of war which are under our charge.*] Made a muster of them (as we now speak) at our return from the war.

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*And there lacketh not one man of us.*] A wonderful victory; which shews the war was *the Lord's*, (ver. 3.) who struck such a terror into them, that one would think they turned their backs, and did not strike a stroke against the Israelites.

Ver. 50. *We have therefore brought an oblation for the Lord.*] For the uses of the sanctuary; either in purchasing sacrifices, or maintaining God's ministers, &c. For *korban* signifies every thing that is given to God, though not sacrificed upon the altar.

*What every man hath gotten.*] All of them offered something to the Lord out of the spoil he had gotten, according to the piety of ancient times, (Gen. xiv. 20.) For we find no precept in the law for this; and yet it was constantly practised by David in aftertimes, (2 Sam. viii. 11, 12.) and by the officers of his army, (1 Chron. xxvi. 26, 27.) and by other men, Samuel, Saul, Abner, &c. (ver. 28, &c.)

*Jewels of gold.*] Vessels, as the Hebrew word signifies, or all manner of ornaments made of gold; the particulars of which follow, *viz. chains, bracelets*, &c. but the Jerusalem Targum takes these *jewels* (as we translate it) to have been the golden attire about the heads of their women.

*Chains.*] These are commonly thought to have been the ornaments of their arms. But they may as well be thought to have been used about their legs, or their necks.

*Bracelets.*] These, it is apparent, were ornaments about their wrists or hands, (Gen. xxiv. 47. Ezek. xvi. 11.)

*Rings.*] They were ornaments of the fingers, (Gen. xli. 42. Esther iii. 10.)

*Ear-rings.*] Nothing more common in those countries, especially among the Midianites and Ishmaelites; as we find Judges viii. 24—26. where there is a different word used to express this ornament; yet the word *hagil*, here used, certainly signifying something *round*, and the ornaments encompassing the arms and other parts being before mentioned, it cannot well be thought to denote any thing but rings in the ears. And so we translate it, Ezek. xvi. 12.

*And tablets.*] Some ornaments about the breasts. (See Exod. xxxv. 22.)

*To make an atonement of our souls before the Lord.*] For the guilt of which Moses accused them, ver. 14. or any other, which they had contracted in the war.

Ver. 52. *And all the gold of the offering which they offered up to the Lord*, &c. *was sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels.*] It hath been observed before, that three thousand shekels made a talent: and therefore their offering amounted to above five talents and a half.

Ver. 53. *For the men of war had taken spoil, every man for himself.*] Or rather, *had taken the spoil*, mentioned ver. 12. of which part of the booty no division was made between the men of war and the people, (ver. 26.) but they kept it entirely to themselves, and now very gratefully made a present of a very considerable part of it to the Lord: see ver. 12. where the word *spoil* is used strictly for a part of the booty, distinct from the other two, the *captives* and the *prey*: and so it signifies here.

Ver. 54. *And Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold.*] This was said before, (ver. 51.) and therefore the sense here is, that, having received it as an offering to the Lord, they brought it into the tabernacle of the congregation; as it here follows in the conclusion of this verse.

*Of the captains of thousands and of hundreds.*] It was not their oblation only, but the oblation of every one of the men of war, (ver. 50, 51.) But the commanders received it from the common soldiers, and presented it unto Moses and Eleazar, from the whole host.

*And brought it into the tabernacle, for a memorial for the children of Israel before the Lord.*] That God might be mindful of them, *i. e.* propitious to them, who were so grateful to him for his benefits.

The Jerusalem Targum upon ver. 50. fancies these officers to have represented to Moses their great chastity, when they made this offering; saying, "We broke into the chambers and closets of the kings of Midian; and there we saw their beautiful and charming daughters, from whom we took the golden ornaments upon their heads, and in their ears, and on their arms, their fingers, and breasts; but did not cast a wanton look upon one of them:" and therefore they hoped this oblation they made would rise up for them, in the day of the great judgment, as a reconciliation for their souls before the Lord.

## CHAP. XXXII.

Ver. 1. *NOW the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad.*] Here the children of Reuben, who was Jacob's firstborn, are mentioned in the first place; but in the rest of the chapter (ver. 2. 6. 25. 29. 32.) the children of Gad are constantly first mentioned, because they were the first movers of that which follows, as the Hebrews conjecture.

*Had a very great multitude of cattle.*] More than any other tribe.

*And when they saw the land of Jazer.*] Which was lately taken from the Amorites, after they had slain Sihon their king, (chap. xxi. 32.) This city and country belonging to it, were near to the spring of the river Arnon; and there is frequent mention of it in the book of Joshua, and in Isaiah xvi. 8, 9. and Jeremiah xlviii. 34.

*And the land of Gilead.*] A noble country, so called from the mountain Gilead, which bounded it on the east, as Jordan did on the west, the river Jabbok on the south, and Mount Libanus on the north.

*That, behold, the place was a place of cattle.*] Which in the fourth verse is called *a land of cattle*, γῆν κτηνοτρόφον, as the LXX. translate it, *fit for feeding of cattle*; being famous for pasture and other grazing ground. For Bashan was in this country, (Deut. iii. 12, 13.) where every one knows the largest and fattest oxen were bred, (Psalm xxii. 12.) and sheep also, (Deut. xxxii. 14.) and therefore is joined with Gilead, (Micah vi. 14.) which, being woody and mountainous in some part of it, was no less famous for breeding goats, (see Cantic. iv. 1.) which delight to browse on such trees as Mount Gilead abounded withal. (See Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 51.)

Ver. 2. *And the children of Gad, and the children of Reuben.*] Neither here, nor in the foregoing verse, is there any mention of the children of Manasseh (half of which had their portion in this country), because they were neither the contrivers nor movers of this; but it is most probable had a lot assigned them here, because these countries were too much for the other two tribes alone; and they of Manasseh had much cattle also.

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*Came and spake unto Moses and Eleazar, and the princes of the congregation.*] Who were wont often to assemble to dispatch public affairs, (chap. xxvii. 2. xxx. 1.)

Ver. 3. *Ataroth.*] A place which was part of the portion of Gad; as appears by ver. 34.

*And Dibon.*] This is mentioned as a place in the kingdom of Sihon, chap. xxi. 30. and was given to Gad also; as we read ver. 34.

*And Jazer.*] See ver. 1. and 35. where we find this also belonged unto Gad.

*And Nimrah.*] Called Beth-Nimrah, ver. 36. and given to the same tribe. It is usual, I observed before, for the Hebrews to cut off the first part of the names of places, for brevity's sake, (chap. xxv. 1.) but this place is elsewhere called at length Beth-Nimrah, Josh. xiii. 27. where it is mentioned as a part of Sihon's kingdom, and signifies as much as *domus pardorum, a habitation of leopards*: so Bochartus, who observes, that when both Isaiah xv. 6. and Jeremiah xlviii. 34. speak of the waters of Nimrim, they mean this very place, which was given to Gad; but, in the days of those prophets, mentioned as in the country of the Moabites; who had usurped upon their neighbours the Gadites, and taken this place from them, as they had done Jazer also; as appears from the place abovementioned, (Isa. xvi. 8, 9. Jerem. xlviii. 34.)

*And Heshbon.*] The principal city of Sihon king of the Amorites, (chap. xxi. 26—28.) and was given to the Reubenites, (ver. 37.)

*And Elealah.*] This is frequently mentioned with Heshbon, as a place adjoining to it, (ver. 37. Isa. xvi. 9.)

*And Sheban.*] Called also Shibmah, ver. 37. and Sibmah, Isa. xvi. 8, 9. Jer. xlviii. 31. where it appears to have been a place famous for vines; and in the days of that prophet was fallen into the hands of the Moabites, as were Heshbon and Elealah also.

*And Nebo.*] Which was given to the Reubenites, (ver. 38.)

*And Beon.*] There is no mention of this place any where else; but it is probable was part of the Reubenites' portion, being mentioned together with other places that were given unto them; and possibly may be the place called Baal-Meon, (ver. 38.) which they changed into Beon, because of the name of Baal; but the Moabites, when it fell into their hands, restored part of its old name, calling it Beth-Meon, (Jer. xlviii. 23.)

Ver. 4. *Even the country which the Lord smote before the congregation of Israel.*] And gave it to them for a possession, as he intended to do the land of Canaan: (see chap. xxi. 24, 25.

*Is a land for cattle, and thy servants have cattle.*] Is very fit for us, (ver. 2.)

Ver. 5. *Wherefore, said they, if we have found grace in thy sight.*] A phrase often used by humble petitioners; even by Moses himself, when he speaks to God, chap. xi. 15.

*Let this land be given unto thy servants for a possession.*] The Israelites in common possessed it hitherto, as belonging to them all, (chap. xxi. *ult.*) but they desire to have it assigned to them, as their particular portion.

*And bring us not over Jordan.*] We desire nothing in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 6. *And Moses said unto the children of Gad, and the children of Reuben, Shall your brethren go to war.*] Can you think it reasonable, that the rest of the tribes should fight still for what they are to possess?

*And shall ye sit here?*] And you take up your rest here, and settle in their conquests, which they have already made?

Ver. 7. *And wherefore discourage ye the hearts of the children of Israel, from going over into the land which the Lord hath given them?*] He seems to have suspected that mere cowardice, and a vile love of ease, made them desire to stay where they were, and go no further: which ill example might dishearten all the rest of their brethren, and make them have the same inclination to settle in the land they had conquered; and not engage in a war with the Canaanites.

Ver. 8. *Thus did your fathers.*] *i. e.* They disheartened all their brethren.

*When I sent them from Kadesh-barnea to see the land.*] See chap. xiii. 3. 26.

Ver. 9. *For when they went up unto the valley of Eshcol.*] Men do not go up into a valley; therefore the meaning is, they went up to search the country, (as it is said they did, chap. xiii. 21, 22.) and went on in their search, till they came to the valley or brook of Eshcol, chap. xiii. 23. where they cut down a branch with a cluster of grapes, to shew what fruit the country afforded.

*And saw the land.*] Had taken a full view of the country.

*They discouraged the hearts of the children of Israel.*] Represented the people and the cities to be so strong, that they should not be able to deal with them, (chap. xiii. 28, 29.)

*That they should not go into the land which the Lord had given them.*] And, therefore, persuaded them not to attempt to possess themselves of it. For they said expressly, "We are not able to go against the people, for they are stronger than we," (chap. xiii. 31.)

Ver. 10. *And the Lord's anger was kindled at the same time, and he sware, saying.*] See chap. xiv. 21. 28.

Ver. 11. *Surely none of the men that are come out of Egypt, from twenty years old and upward.*] See chap. xiv. 22. 29. 35.

*Shall see the land which I sware unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.*] See chap. xiv. 23.

*Because they have not wholly followed me.*] See there, ver. 22.

Ver. 12. *Save Caleb the son of Jephunneh.*] See chap. xiv. 24.

*The Kenezite.*] A great deal has been said by many to prove that Caleb is called a Kenezite, because his father's name was Kenaz. And this they prove, because Othniel's father was Kenaz, and he was Caleb's brother, (Josh. xv. 17.) his younger brother, (Judg. i. 13. iii. 9.) So that their father must have two names, Kenaz and Jephunneh. But it is very strange, if this be true, that Caleb is no where called the son of Kenaz, but constantly the son of Jephunneh, (even there where Othniel is just before called the son of Kenaz, 1 Chron. iv. 13. 15.) nor is Othniel any where called the son of Jephunneh, but always of Kenaz. And, indeed, there is a demonstration against this opinion; for Othniel married Caleb's daughter, which by the law of Moses was utterly unlawful, whatsoever the practice might have been before the law was given. Therefore, others think it more probable, that Othniel was one of his brother's

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younger sons (for uncles and nephews are often called brethren, as Abraham and Lot were), and that from this brother, whose name was Kenaz, Caleb is also called a Kenezite: but this is very absurd; for the name of *Kenezzi* in the Hebrew, denotes the descendants from one who gave this denomination to the family; which one brother could not do to another. It is most probable, therefore, that Kenez was some common ancestor both of Othniel and Caleb, from whom Othniel's father took also his name. Accordingly, we find Jephunneh called a Kenezite in Joshua xiv. 14. where it is said, that "Hebron became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite."

*And Joshua the son of Nun: for they have followed the Lord.*] Fully, chap. xiv. 24. 30. 38.

Ver. 13. *And the Lord's anger was kindled against Israel.*] He had said this before, (ver. 10.) but repeats it again, to make them the more sensible of a thing that was done thirty-eight years ago; and to deter them from giving him the like provocation.

*And he made them wander in the wilderness forty years, till all that had done evil in the sight of the Lord were consumed.*] See chap. xiv. 31—33. xxvi. 64, 65.

Ver. 14. *And, behold.*] Mark what I say.

*You are risen up in your fathers' stead, an increase of sinful men, to augment yet the fierce anger of the Lord towards Israel.*] Are multiplied to as great a number as your fathers, only to succeed them in their sins, and thereby bring down still more heavy punishments upon the nation.

Ver. 15. *For if ye turn away from after him.*] As your fathers did; who refused to go and possess the good land which he had bestowed upon them.

*He will yet again leave them in the wilderness.*] Lead them back again into the desert, where your fathers perished; and there forsake you.

*And ye shall destroy all this people.*] Who, following your example, will refuse to go over Jordan, (ver. 5.) to take possession of the land of Canaan.

Ver. 16. *And they drew near unto him.*] As petitioners are wont to do when they are assured of their integrity, and hope to obtain their request, (Gen. xliv. 19.)

*And said, We will build sheepfolds here for our cattle.*] There are five words in the Hebrew language for folds for sheep and cattle; all signifying a place fenced in, that they might lie safely and be defended from wild beasts. And so this word *gedera* plainly imports: (see Bochartus in his Hierozoic. par. i. lib. i. cap. 45.)

*And cities for our little ones.*] Which stood in need only of repairing and fortifying, (ver. 17.) for they already dwelt in those cities of the Amorites, (chap. xxi. 25.)

Ver. 17. *But we ourselves will go ready armed before the children of Israel, until we have brought them unto their place.*] That is, a considerable number of them, as many as should be thought necessary, (Deut. iii. 18.) in all forty thousand, (Josh. iv. 12.)

*And our little ones shall dwell in the fenced cities.*] Where it was necessary to leave some men to guard them from their bad neighbours, and to take care of their cattle.

*Because of the people of the land.*] That is, the Moabites, who were the ancient owners of this country, (chap. xxi. 26.) and the Edomites, who had shewed no good-will to the Israelites, as they passed through the wilderness.

Ver. 18. *We will not return unto our houses, until the children of Israel have inherited every man his inheritance.*] Be settled in the possession of the land of Canaan, as we desire to be in this country.

Ver. 19. *For we will not inherit with them on yonder side Jordan, or forward.*] We will not desire any share in the country beyond Jordan, though it lie near to us; nor in that country which lies still further westward.

*Because our inheritance is fallen on this side Jordan eastward.*] We look upon this as our inheritance (with which we shall be fully satisfied), here in the land of Gilead: which lay eastward of Jordan, and of the land of Canaan.

Ver. 20. *And Moses said unto them, If ye will do this thing.*] Be as good as your word.

*If ye will go armed before the Lord to war.*] To go *before the Lord*, was to go before the ark; which was the symbol of God's presence, over which his glory resided. And it is to be observed, that these two tribes, Reuben and Gad (together with Simeon), always lay encamped before the sanctuary; as appears from the second chapter of this book, ver. 10. 14—17. And accordingly, when the camp removed, they marched immediately before it; as is particularly noted, chap. x. 18—21. So that here he requires them only to hold their usual place, when they went to the war against the Canaanites; and accordingly it is expressly said, they did (together with half the tribe of Manasseh, who were joined with them) *pass over before the Lord unto battle*, Josh. iv. 12, 13.

Ver. 21. *And will go all of you.*] As many as shall be required, and can be spared, (ver. 17.)

*Armed over Jordan before the Lord, until he hath driven out his enemies from before him.*] Not only bring us into Canaan, but continue with us, till we have expelled the inhabitants of that country: which he encourages them to undertake, by representing the Canaanites as the enemies of the Lord, who would therefore fight for them.

Ver. 22. *And the land be subdued before the Lord.*] By this expression, and that in the foregoing words, it appears that the ark was carried along with them to the war every where till it was ended; as it was when it begun, at the taking of Jericho, (Josh. vi. 6, 7, &c.)

*Then afterward ye shall return, and be guiltless before the Lord, and before Israel; and this land shall be your possession.*] Not only be free from all blame in this desire, but have what you desire.

*Before the Lord.*] By his order and appointment.

Ver. 23. *But if you will not do so.*] If this be not your intention; or if you go back from your word.

*Behold.*] Observe what I say.

*Ye have sinned against the Lord; and be sure your sin will find you out.*] Your guilt is exceeding great, and shall be most certainly punished, as it deserves.

Ver. 24. *Build ye cities for your little ones, and folds for your sheep, &c.*] As for the rest of their proposals, about their children and cattle, he consented to them, without any exception.

Ver. 25. *And the children of Gad, and the children of Reuben, spake unto Moses, saying.*] The word for *spake*, in the Hebrew, being *jomer*, in the singular number, instead of *jomru*, in the plural, their doctors take it for an indication that some one principal person spake in the name of all the rest. But there is no need of this; for the singular number in this language is often used for the plural; and

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they never spake all of them together, but some one in the name of their brethren. And it had been better, if they had observed, that this signifies one and all (as we now speak) were of the same mind.

*Thy servants will do as my lord commandeth.*] And as they themselves had proposed, (ver. 17.)

Ver. 26. *Our little ones, our wives, our flocks, and all our cattle, shall be there in the cities of Gilead.*] Here they promise to leave all that was dear to them in this country, and go to serve their brethren.

Ver. 27. *But thy servants will pass over every man armed for war,* &c.] We ourselves will go and fight for our brethren. It hath been often said (ver. 17. 21.) that this doth not signify all the men of war among them should go, but as many as could be spared, and as were thought sufficient. For it is manifest, the far greater half of them were left in this country to defend their wives and children, and look after their flocks and herds; as will appear by computing all the men of war that were found in the tribes of Gad and of Reuben, which were above fourscore and four thousand, (chap. xxvi. 7. 18.) to which if we add half the tribe of Manasseh (who were, in all, above fifty-two thousand), there were much above a hundred thousand men able to bear arms; and not above forty thousand of them marched into Canaan, as was before observed.

Ver. 28. *So concerning them, Moses commanded Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the chief fathers of the tribes of Israel.*] He left this in charge with the principal persons, who had the government of affairs under him; particularly with Joshua, who was not unmindful of it, but remembered these tribes what Moses had said when he was about to attempt the conquest of Canaan, (Josh. i. 13, 14, &c.)

Ver. 29. *And Moses said unto them, If the children of Gad and the children of Reuben will pass with you over Jordan,* &c.] He repeats to these great men, who were to see it executed, what he had said to the Gadites and Reubenites themselves, (ver. 21, 22.)

*Then ye shall give them the land of Gilead for a possession.*] They had not a right to it till they had performed the condition upon which it was granted, *viz.* till their brethren were in possession of their inheritance in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 30. *But if they will not pass over before you armed.*] Perform their promise, ver. 17.

*They shall have possession among you in the land of Canaan.*] Take what falls to their share there; and this country be disposed of, as God shall order.

Ver. 31. *And the children of Gad, and the children of Reuben said, As the Lord hath said unto thy servants, so will we do.*] They confirm what they had promised to Moses, ver. 25. and here take all that he had said, as spoken by the order of God, who bestowed this land upon them on the condition often mentioned.

Ver. 32. *We will pass over armed before the Lord into the land of Canaan.*] This they offered at first of themselves, (ver. 17.) and solemnly promised, when Moses accepted their proposal, (ver. 27.) and again here ratify and confirm it before Eleazar, and Joshua, and all the princes, (ver. 28.)

*That the possession of our inheritance.*] Which we have desired to have for our inheritance.

*On this side Jordan.*] They were now in the land of Gilead, and so might properly call it *on this side Jordan;* but when they were in the land of Canaan, it was said to be *on that side Jordan.*

*May be ours.*] Settled upon us and our posterity.

Ver. 33. *And Moses gave unto them.*] Not an absolute grant, but a conditional; if they did as they engaged, (ver. 29—31, &c.)

*Even to the children of Gad, and the children of Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph.*] This half tribe is not mentioned before, because they did not put in any claim till they saw how those of Gad and Reuben would succeed in their petition: which being granted, it is likely that thereupon they represented also what store of cattle they had; and that the country would be more than enough for those who had desired it. This being found to be true, Moses thought fit to give them a portion in it, rather than any other; because the children of Machir, the son of Manasseh, had, by their valour, subdued part of this country, (ver. 39. Josh. xvii. 1.)

*The kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan.*] See chap. xxi. 24. 29. Which were the first countries that the Israelites possessed; and were the first that were carried captive out of their land, (2 Kings xv. 29.)

*The land with the cities thereof in the coasts, even the cities of the country round about.*] The land with the cities, within such a compass or limits; and all the towns within that circuit.

Ver. 34. *And the children of Gad built Dibon and Ataroth.*] Repaired and fortified these towns, which are mentioned before, ver. 3. for they were not destroyed, but only their inhabitants, (Deut. ii. 34, 35.) and if they had, there was not time now to rebuild them. Thus Jeroboam is said to have built Shechem, (1 Kings xii. 25.) which was a city before, but gone to decay; and Azariah to have built Elah, (2 Kings xiv. 22.) which he restoreth to Judah as a city formerly belonging to them.

*And Aroer.*] A city of the Amorites, upon the brink of the river Arnon; as Moses tells us, Deut. ii. 36. iii. 11. iv. 48. It formerly belonged to the Moabites, but was taken from them by Sihon.

Ver. 35. *And Atroth, and Shophan, and Jaazer, and Jogbehah.*] We do not read of any of these towns elsewhere, but only of Jaazer, which seems to be that called Jazer, ver. 3.

Ver. 36. *And Beth-Nimrah.*] Called, ver. 3. Nimrah for shortness' sake; as (it may be further observed) Jemini is put for Benjemini, Esther ii. 5. Sheba for Beer-sheba, Josh. xix. 2. where we find these two mentioned; but they do not signify two several cities, but are two names for one and the same city; as if he had said, Beer-sheba, which is also called Sheba. This is clear to a demonstration; for otherwise there would be more than thirteen cities in the tribe of Simeon, contrary to ver. 6. of that chapter.

*And Beth-haran.*] A place, some say, between Dibon and Jordan.

*Fenced cities, and folds for sheep.*] All these cities the children of Gad fortified, and built folds for sheep in the pastures near to them.

Ver. 37. *And the children of Reuben built.*] Repaired and fortified; as I said, ver. 34.

*Heshbon and Elealah.*] Mentioned above, ver. 3.

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*And Kirjathaim.*] A place where giant-like people formerly dwelt, called Emims, Gen. xiv. 5. who were expelled by the Moabites, as they were by the Amorites.

Ver. 38. *And Nebo.*] This city is mentioned in Jerem. xlviii. 2. when it was fallen again into the possession of the Moabites, as was also Kirjathaim. It seems to have been near Dibon, mentioned together with it, Isa. xv. 1. At least there were in these places two famous temples; for the destruction of which, the prophet represents the people making lamentation. So the LXX. ἀπολεῖται ὁ Νεβῶν, οὗ ὁ βωμὸς ὑμῶν, *Nebo is destroyed where your altar is.* And Hesychius saith of Δεηβὼν (i. e. *Dibon*), that it was τόπος ἔνθα ἵδρυται ἱερὸν Μοαβήτων, *a place where a temple of the Moabites was built.* And St. Jerome suspects that there was an oracle at this place; the word *Nebo* importing *prophecy*, or *divination*, as he speaks.

*And Baal-Meon.*] Another place, where, it is likely, Baal was worshipped; which made them change the names of these places, as it here follows.

*Their names being changed.*] For Nebo, as well as Baal, was the name of a god; as we learn from Isaiah xlvi. 1. and seems to have been an Assyrian deity; there being footsteps of it in the names of several great men there; such as Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan, and many others. And it is not unlikely, that they therefore changed the names of these cities into some other, because they would abolish all remainders of idolatry in this country, according to the precept, Exod. xxiii. 13. that they should not take the name of their gods into their mouth: but, notwithstanding this, they still retained their ancient names; as appears from Josh. xiii. 17. Ezek. xxv. 9. so hard it is to alter any thing for the better!

*And Sibmah.*] See ver. 3.

*And gave other names unto the cities which they builded.*] If this refer to all the cities here mentioned, it is manifest they either retained or recovered their former names: for we read of them all in future times; particularly in the fifteenth and eighteenth chapters of Isaiah; and Kirjathaim is mentioned in the place I now quoted out of Ezekiel.

Ver. 39. *And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead, and took it.*] Here Gilead is used in a strict sense, not so largely as before, ver. 1. 26. 29. where it is taken for all the country on that side Jordan where Gilead was; but here, for a part of it about Mount Gilead. This is plain from the next verse; and Gilead the son of Machir, one would think, was the person that took it, (Josh. xvii. 1.)

Ver. 40. *And Moses gave Gilead unto Machir, the son of Manasseh.*] *i. e.* To the children of Machir (for he was dead long ago), who had a considerable portion of that half of the land of Gilead, which was given to the half tribe of Manasseh. For one half was given to the Reubenites and Gadites, and the other half to them, Deut. iii. 12, 13. where Gilead signifies all that country properly so called; neither so much as the whole territory, which these tribes demanded, ver. 1. nor so little as was given to Machir, ver. 15. where Moses says, "And I gave Gilead unto Machir;" *i. e.* to that family of Manasseh, which were properly called Machirites, Numb. xxvi. 29. and to that family descended from his son, which from him were called Gileadites. For as Manasseh had only this son Machir, so Machir had only Gilead; but he had many, (chap. xxvi. 30—32.) who all raised families. And as to the Machirites (and I suppose the Gileadites) was given a portion in this country, (Josh. xiii. 29, 30, &c.) so Joshua gave to the rest an inheritance in the land of Canaan, (chap. xvii. 2.) And he gives a reason, in the foregoing verse, why he gave Gilead and Bashan to the posterity of Machir, because they were a warlike people, inheriting their father's valour, who was a man of war; and therefore fit to be placed in the frontiers of that country.

Ver. 41. *And Jair, the son of Manasseh.*] One of the posterity of Manasseh, by his mother's side: for he was the grandson of Gilead, the son of Machir, by his daughter, (1 Chron. ii. 21, 22.) but his father was of the tribe of Judah. It seems he joined with the children of Machir in their expedition against Gilead, (mentioned ver. 39.) and was so successful, that he took several small towns in that country, and so had his inheritance among the children of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, where they now were. There were threescore of them in the whole, which were afterward called cities, (Josh. xiii. 13. 1 Kings iv. 23.) but he had only twenty-three for his possession, (1 Chron. ii. 22, 23.)

*And called them Havoth-Jair.*] That is, the *habitations of Jair.* For *havah* is a *dwelling*, as Bochartus observes in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 29. And among the Arabians the word *Havoth* properly signifies many tents orderly disposed in a ring or circle; which in those countries made that which we call a village. For *hava* in their language signifies to compass. The same he observes in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 44. p. 466.

Ver. 42. *And Nobah.*] Who he was we find in no other place; but an eminent person, no doubt, in some of the families of the Manassites; either of the Machirites or the Gileadites. For they only, as I take it, inherited on this side Jordan.

*Went and took Kenath, and the villages thereof.*] At the same time, I suppose, that Jair took the towns abovementioned; of which this was one, (1 Chron. ii. 23.) But, though Jair was the chief conductor in that expedition, yet he kept, as I said, only twenty-three towns to himself: the rest were given to them who accompanied him, of whom, it is probable, Nobah was one.

*And called it Nobah, after his own name.*] But it retained its old name also: for St. Jerome says, in his time there was a city called Canatha, in the region of Trachonitis, not far from Bosra.

Thus this country being settled upon these two tribes and a half, the land of Canaan was divided, by God's command, for an inheritance to the remaining nine tribes, and the other half of the tribe of Manasseh, (Josh. xiii. 7.)

## CHAP. XXXIII.

Ver. 1. *THESE are the journeys of the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt.*] A brief recapitulation of the travels of the children of Israel through the wilderness; whereby the wonderful providence of God over them appears, in their protection and preservation, from the time they departed out of Egypt, till they came to the borders of the land of Canaan.

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*With their armies.*] For they marched in an orderly manner, as armies do. (See Exod. xii. 41. 51. xiii. 18.)

*Under the hand of Moses and Aaron.*] By whom they were conducted, as the ministers of God, (Exod. xii. 1. 28. 50.)

Ver. 2. *And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys.*] Every removal which they made from the place where they were, unto another whither they journeyed.

*By the commandment of the Lord.*] This may refer either to their journeys, (which were by God's commandment, chap. x. 13.) or rather to Moses's writing this epitome of their travels, of which God ordered him to give a distinct account: which was no unnecessary work, but most useful to posterity; there being no history extant in the world, as David Chytræus well observes (except that of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ), which contains so many wonderful instances of Divine providence, as this of bringing the children of Israel out of Egypt, and leading them through the Red Sea, and through the wilderness; concerning which Maimonides hath an excellent discourse in his third part of More Nevochim, cap. 50. the substance of which is this: that it being impossible any miracles should continue throughout all generations, due care should be taken that the memory of them be not lost, but faithfully preserved by the history and narration of them in future times. Now there being no greater miracle than the subsistence of the children of Israel in the desert for forty years; a desert full of scorpions and serpents, destitute of water, uninhabited, through which no man had been wont to pass, as Jeremiah speaks, chap. ii. 6. where they ate no bread, nor drank wine, or strong drink, (Deut. xxix. 6, &c.) God would have the particular places set down distinctly where they pitched in that howling wilderness; that all men might be satisfied (who would take the pains to examine things), by what a marvellous providence such a multitude of people were fed every day for forty years together; and none might be able to cavil and say, that they travelled through a country good enough, and pitched in habitable places, where they might plough, and sow, and reap; or where they might have herbs and roots for their sustenance; or where manna ordinarily came down from the clouds for men's support.

*And these are their journeys according to their goings out.*] As if he had said, Having received this commandment from God, this is a true and exact account, which here follows, of their travels from place to place.

Ver. 3. *And they departed from Rameses.*] See Exod. xii. 37. Here, in all likelihood, they sacrificed the paschal lamb, and were preserved from the destroying angel; which made this place very remarkable: for they seem to have been all summoned hither, to meet here as in a common rendezvous (as they now speak), to be ready to march away when God gave the word of command.

*In the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month, on the morrow after the Passover.*] Which they had kept in Egypt on the fourteenth, (Exod. xii. 46.)

*The children of Israel went out of Egypt with a high hand.*] Exod. xiv. 8.

*In the sight of the Egyptians.*] Who thrust them out, (Exod. xii. 39.)

Ver. 4. *For the Egyptians buried all their first-born.*] They were so terrified with the sudden death of all their first-born, that they pressed them to be gone, lest they should be slain also, (Exod. xii. 33.) And were so employed in mourning for them, and giving them decent burial, that they thought not of pursuing the Israelites till some days after.

*Which the Lord had smitten among them.*] At midnight, between the fourteenth and fifteenth days, (Exod. xii. 29.)

*Upon their gods also the Lord executed judgment.*] Which still more astonished them, (Exod. xii. 12. xviii. 11. 2 Sam. vii. 23.) just as he did with Babylon afterward, (Isa. xxi. 9.)

Ver. 5. *And the children of Israel removed from Rameses, and pitched in Succoth.*] Exod. xii. 37. Here they received the command to set apart all the first-born unto the Lord, in memory of God's sparing them when he slew all the first-born of the Egyptians, (Exod. xiii. 1. 12, 13, &c.)

Ver. 6. *And they departed from Succoth, and pitched in Etham,* &c.] See Exod. xiii. 20. where it immediately follows, that they were conducted hither by a miraculous cloud, which ever after led them in all their journeys.

Ver. 7. *And they removed from Etham, and turned again unto Pi-hahiroth.*] So it is expressly recorded, Exod. xiv. 2. Hither they were led on purpose, that they might see the wonderful power and goodness of God, in a place where they had high mountains on each side of them, and the army of Pharaoh behind them, and the Red Sea before them, through which God made them a passage, rather than let them fall again under the Egyptian tyranny. Here is also the singular number for the plural, in the word *turned again,* (as was observed before in another word, chap. xxxii. 25.) but the observation of the Hebrew doctors upon it seems to be frivolous, "That with one heart they did what Moses commanded."

*Which is before Baal-Zephon, and they pitched before Migdol.*] This is explained in Exod. xiv. 2.

Ver. 8. *And they departed from before Pi-hahiroth, and passed through the midst of the sea.*] See Exod. xiv. 23. Where Pharaoh and his host were drowned; as they could not but call to mind when they read this brief history: which, it might be expected, would also call to remembrance their own distrust of God, notwithstanding which he most graciously delivered them, (Exod. xiv. 11, 12, &c.)

*Into the wilderness, and went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham.*] Called in Exod. xv. 22. *the wilderness of Shur:* where they were very much distressed for want of water.

*And pitched in Marah.*] Where God obliged them, by a new miracle, in making the bitter water sweet, (Exod. xv. 23. 25.)

Ver. 9. *And they removed from Marah, and came to Elim; and in Elim were twelve fountains of water,* &c.] See Exod. xv. *ult.*

Ver. 10. *And they removed from Elim, and encamped by the Red Sea.*] Not by that part of it, where they lately came out of it; but by a more southerly part of it, where it bends towards Arabia. For the Red Sea, which Ptolemy calls the Arabian Gulf, runs a long way, like the Adriatic, now called the Gulf of Venice, or the Baltic Sea, as David Chytræus observes; who compares these three together as much of a length, and all in some places broader, and some narrower. This station is not mentioned in the book of Exodus.

Ver. 11. *And they removed from the Red Sea, and en-*



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*camped in the wilderness of Sin.*] Exod. xvi. 1. where manna first began to rain upon them, with which God fed them forty years.

Ver. 12. *And they took their journey out of the wilderness of Sin, and encamped in Dophkah.*] This and the next station (Alush) are not mentioned in Exodus; because nothing remarkable (it is supposed) fell out in these two places, as there did in the next; and they made no long stay there.

Ver. 13. *And they departed from Dophkah, and encamped in Alush.*] The Jewish doctors find something remarkable here, though Moses saith nothing of it. For, as the sabbath was first commanded at Marah, which was their fifth station, so it was first observed here at Alush, as they fancy, which was their tenth. And more than that, this was the only sabbath, in their opinion, which they exactly kept; the very next being profaned. (See Selden, lib. iii. de Jure Nat. et Gentium, &c. cap. 11. and lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 1.) The author of Sepher Cosri saith, the ancient tradition is, "that at this place the manna first descended," (par. ii. sect. 20.)

Ver. 14. *And they removed from Alush, and encamped at Rephidim.*] See Exod. xvii. 1.

*Where was no water for the people to drink.*] And thereby an occasion given to the Almighty Goodness to shew his wonderful power, in bringing water out of a rock for them, (ver. 5, 6.) And here also "Amalek lay in wait for Israel, in the way when they came out of Egypt," (1 Sam. xv. 2.) and smote some that lagged behind, (Deut. xxv. 16.) but were vanquished by Joshua in a pitched battle. (Exod. xvii. 8, 9, &c.) And here Jethro also came to see Moses, and gave him advice about the government of the people with more ease both to himself and them, (Exod. xviii.)

Ver. 15. *And they departed from Rephidim, and pitched in the wilderness of Sinai.*] Exod. xix. 1, 2. This was forty-seven days after they came from Rameses, on the first day of the third month; three days after which (*viz.* on the fiftieth day after they came out of Egypt) God gave them his law from Mount Sinai; where Moses was called up to him, and stayed with him twice forty days; and was instructed there how to make the tabernacle, and set it up when it was made, with all the furniture belonging to it. All sorts of sacrifices were ordered while they remained in this place; priests consecrated; laws given about clean and unclean things; and about marriages, and feasts, and the year of jubilee, with several other things, mentioned in the book of Leviticus. Here also the people were numbered; their encampment ordered; a second Passover kept; laws given about the water of jealousy and the Nazarites, with several other matters: and then, after they had lain here eleven months and twenty days, they are commanded to leave this famous station; the most remarkable of all other, (Numb. x. 11, 12.)

Ver. 16. *And they removed from the desert of Sinai, and pitched at Kibroth-hattaavah.*] A place in the wilderness of Paran, three days' journey from Mount Sinai, Numb. x. 23. xi. 34. where there was a dreadful slaughter of the people, that wantonly despised manna, and lusted after flesh. Yet here God was pleased to vouchsafe to send his Spirit upon the seventy elders, for the assistance of Moses.

Ver. 17. *And they departed from Kibroth-hattaavah, and encamped at Hazeroth.*] See chap. xi. 35. where Miriam was punished for her envy at Moses, chap. xii. 1. 10.

Ver. 18. *And they departed from Hazeroth, and pitched at Rithmah.*] A place also in the wilderness of Paran, as appears from this book, (chap. xii. 16.) and was not far from Kadesh-barnea, from whence the spies were sent to search out the land of Canaan. (See chap. xiii. 26.) In which place they lay a long time, (Deut. i. 46.)

Ver. 19. *And they departed from Rithmah, and pitched in Rimmon-Parez.*] This and the following stages are no where else mentioned; and seem to have all been in the wilderness of Paran before spoken of; which was a very long tract of ground, from Elana, a port in the Arabian Gulf, to Kadesh-barnea; which, as David Chytræus computes it, was thirty German miles.

Ver. 20. *And they departed from Rimmon-Parez, and pitched in Libnah.*] This and the rest to ver. 31. are places of which, as I said, we no where else read, and so can give no account of them. They were all uninhabited, and out of the road of all travellers; and perhaps had no names till they were given them by the Israelites; who encamped in so many various places (sometimes in mountains, as appears from ver. 23. and sometimes in the plain), that they might be taught, that God was alike present every where to protect, defend, and provide for them; even there where no man dwelt. The Jews made this use of their travels, here recorded by Moses, through so many unknown places, by which he brought them at last to Canaan; to keep up their spirits under this long captivity (as they call it) wherein they now are, and have wandered uncertainly from mountain to mountain, from kingdom to kingdom, from banishment to banishment (as they themselves speak), till their Messiah come to redeem them: which he will do, when their eyes are opened to see what one of their ancient rabbins (Moses Hadarschan) hath told them, as he is quoted by Paulus Fagius, that "the Redeemer was born before him who reduced Israel into this last captivity."

Ver. 31. *And they departed from Moseroth, and pitched in Bene-Jaakan.*] In Deut. x. 6. Moses seems to say the quite contrary, that they *took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan to Mosera.* But there he may be thought to speak of a different place, as Drusius notes upon those words: or if he doth not, it is no wonder if, while they wandered in this tedious wilderness, they went backward and forward from Bene-Jaakan to Moseroth, which he mentions in Deuteronomy; and from Moseroth back again to Bene-Jaakan, which he mentions here.

Ver. 32. *And they journeyed from Bene-Jaakan, and encamped at Hor-hagidgad.*] This place was also called Gudgodah, Deut. x. 7. if Moses speaks there of the same places he doth here.

Ver. 33. *And they went from Hor-hagidgad, and pitched in Jothathah.*] Called Deut. x. 7. Jotbath.

Ver. 34. *And they removed from Jotbathah, and encamped at Ebronah.*] All their removals mentioned from ver. 16. to this and the next place, are an account of their wanderings in the wilderness, from the second year after their coming out of Egypt till the fortieth; in which time all the congregation, above twenty years of age, were consumed, and buried in some part or other of this great desert.

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Ver. 35. *And they departed from Ebronah, and encamped at Ezion-Gaber.*] A place on the Red Sea, unto which they were brought before they ended their travels, (1 Kings ix. 26. xxii. 18.) It had its name from the snagged rocks, like to the backbone, which stretched out a great way on that shore, as Bochart observes: which rocks made this part so dangerous, that it was forsaken in aftertimes, and Elah frequented as a safer harbour. (See lib. i. Canaan, cap. 44.) It is not recorded how long they remained in any of these places; but it is likely a considerable time in some of them; for they spent thirty-eight years in these removals.

Ver. 36. *And they removed from Ezion-Gaber, and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh.*] See chap. xx. 1. He doth not mean Kadesh-barnea, which was on the borders of Canaan; but another Kadesh, in the skirts of this wilderness, towards the south, not far from the port I now mentioned (which the Greeks call Elana), on the border of Edom; where Miriam died, and where water was brought out of a rock. (See chap. xx. 8. 14. 16.)

Ver. 37. *And they removed from Kadesh, and pitched in Mount Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom.*] See chap. xx. 28.

Ver. 38. *And Aaron went up into Mount Hor, at the commandment of the Lord.*] See chap. xx. 23, 24. 27. Deut. xxxii. 50. The Hebrew doctors are too conceited in their observation, that, because it is said of him, and of Moses, that they died *al pi (at the mouth)* of the Lord, the Lord took their souls out of their bodies with a kiss. But Maimonides endeavours to make a sober sense of this, by making their meaning to be, that they *expired with the transcendent pleasure of Divine love,* (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 51.)

*And died there, in the fortieth year after the children of Israel came out of the land of Egypt, in the first day of the fifth month.*] A few months before his brother Moses.

Ver. 39. *And Aaron was a hundred and twenty and three years old when he died in Mount Hor.*] He was just eighty and three years old, when he and Moses first went with a message to Pharaoh, (Exod. vii. 7.) By which it appears, that they were not long in working all the miracles in Egypt, before they brought the people forth; for now, forty years after, he was but a hundred twenty-three years old.

Ver. 40. *And king Arad the Canaanite, which dwelt in the south in the land of Canaan.*] See chap. xxi. 1.

*Heard of the coming of the children of Israel.*] Had news brought him, that the Israelites were coming towards his country; whereupon he went out to oppose them; and God gave them (as we read there) a glorious victory over him. This shews that Moses intended, in the recital of all these places where they had been, to bring to remembrance the most remarkable passages of God's providence over them; some of which he expressly sets down.

Ver. 41. *And they departed from Mount Hor, and pitched in Zalmonah.*] We read in the twenty-first chapter of this book, ver. 4. that they journeyed from Hor to compass the land of Edom, but are not told there where they pitched; which is here supplied, the name of the place being Zalmonah; which carries in it the signification of an *image;* and therefore here, perhaps, the brazen serpent was erected. (See chap. xxi. 9.)

Ver. 42. *And they departed from Zalmonah, and pitched in Punon.*] Where Bochartus rather thinks the brazen serpent was set up; because after Moses hath given us the history of that, he saith, they set forward and pitched in Oboth, (chap. xxi. 10.) which was the place of their abode next to Punon, as it here follows, Hierozoic. par. i. lib. iii. cap. 12. in the latter end of it.

Ver. 43. *And they departed from Punon, and pitched in Oboth.*] See chap. xxi. 10.

Ver. 44. *And they departed from Oboth, and pitched in Jie-abarim, in the border of Moab.*] See chap. xxi. 11. This name is translated in the margin, *heaps of Abarim;* which may possibly signify many heaps of stones, which lay not far from the mountains of Abarim, (ver. 47.)

Ver. 45. *And they departed from Jim, and pitched in Dibon-gad.*] Here half the name of the first place is omitted; as is usual when the names are long. This may seem not to agree with chap. xxi. 12. where it is said they removed from thence, and pitched in the valley of Zered; near unto which, in all probability, was this Dibon-gad. See what I have noted there.

Ver. 46. *And they removed from Dibon-gad, and encamped in Almon-Diblathaim.*] See chap. xxi. 13.

Ver. 47. *And they removed from Almon-Diblathaim, and pitched in the mountains of Abarim before Nebo.*] We read no where when they came to this mansion: but it is plain they were not far from it, when God bade Moses go into one of these mountains, and take a view of Canaan. (See chap. xxvii. 12.) But this followed their last mansion; and therefore it is most likely this is the place mentioned chap. xxi. 20. See there; where I have observed other places mentioned, ver. 18, 19. of which there is no notice taken in this catalogue. But they seem to have been places where they only touched, and made no encampment in them; which is the thing of which Moses here gives an account.

Ver. 48. *And they departed from the mountains of Abarim, and pitched in the plains of Moab,* &c.] See chap. xxii. 1.

Ver. 49. *And they pitched by Jordan, from Beth-Jeshimoth.*] A place where there was a temple, in all likelihood, to some deity: for so Beth denotes in many compositions; as Beth-Peor (the house or temple of Baal on the top of Peor), Beth-Astaroth, and Beth-Baal-berith, (Judg. ix. 4.) and Beth-Shemesh is often mentioned; where the sun was worshipped. And possibly Jeshimoth may be the same with Jeshimon, (chap. xxi. 20.)

*Even unto Abel-Shittim,* &c.] Called simply Shittim, chap. xxv. 1. which some fancy had the name of Abel added to it (which signifies mourning), because of that lamentation which was made there, by some, for the grievous sin there committed; and by others, for the heavy punishment inflicted in that place. But it seems to have been anciently called Abel-Shittim, before this time. (See there.)

Ver. 50. *And the Lord spake unto Moses in the plains of Moab,* &c.] After he had prepared them for their entrance into Canaan, he ordered the first and principal work they should there undertake.

Ver. 51. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye are passed over Jordan into the land of Canaan.*] Accordingly Moses did deliver this command unto them, (Deut. vii, 1, 2.)

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Ver. 52. *Then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you.*] Not suffer them to dwell in the land any longer; but either destroy, or expel them; because they were abominable idolaters, devoted to extermination, (Exod. xxiii. 33. Deut. xx. 16—18.) by whom the Israelites would have been in danger to be corrupted, if they were not rooted out.

*And destroy all their pictures.*] Or their temples, or houses of worship, as Onkelos interprets it. But others (particularly the Jerusalem Targum), understand it of the idols or statues set up in those temples; or some representations of their gods. (See concerning the Hebrew word *maskith*, Lev. xxv. 1.)

*And destroy their molten images.*] Exod. xxiii. 24. xxxiv. 13. for if they suffered them to remain, they might be enticed to worship them. These were idols, perhaps, in public places, or private houses, out of their temples.

*And quite pluck down all their high places.*] They could not throw down the mountains, upon which the people of Canaan worshipped; but the meaning is, that they should cut down the groves which were there planted, and demolish all the altars that stood in them. For there were no other temples, at first, but these groves upon mountains; where the ancient heathen worshipped the sun, moon, and stars: unto which they thought the mountains approached nearer than the rest of the earth; and therefore their sacrifices there would be most prevalent. But of this I have said enough elsewhere.

Ver. 53. *And ye shall dispossess the inhabitants of the land, and dwell therein: for I have given you the land to possess it.*] Yet he did not intend they should dispossess the old inhabitants all at once, but by degrees; as he himself saith in Exod. xxiii. 29, 30. Deut. vii. 22.

Ver. 54. *And ye shall divide the land by lot for an inheritance among your families.*] Follow the directions I have already given for the dividing of the land, after the old inhabitants are expelled, (chap. xxvi. 53. 55.)

*And to the more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer the less,* &c.] See chap. xxvi. 54. 56.

Ver. 55. *And if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you.*] At the first they could not drive them all out; nor was it God's design, as I before observed. Therefore Joshua would not attempt it while he lived; but left several nations, or part of them, unsubdued, (Judg. ii. 21. 23.) Of which he himself takes notice a little before he died, Josh. xxiii. 4. 7. where he warns them to have nothing to do with them; promising them that God would in time expel them quite, (ver. 5.) But when the Israelites grew slothful and cowardly, and negligently suffered the people of Canaan to dwell among them, and made friendship with them (as they did after Joshua and all that generation were dead), then followed what is here threatened in the next words.

*Then it shall come to pass, that those which ye let remain of them.*] Voluntarily permit to live among you, without endeavouring to dispossess them.

*Shall be pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your sides.*] Bring very sore calamities upon you; as grievous and as mischievous as a wound made in the eye, which is a most tender part; or in the side, when a thorn sticks and festers in it. Some are so curious, as, by the first part of these words *(pricks in your eyes)*, to understand their being stimulated to idolatry, by beholding their rites of religion and manner of worship: and the next they take to signify the effect of it in sharp punishments, which should befal them for their forsaking God. Joshua threatened the same before he died, chap. xxiii. 13. Of which an angel, or messenger of the Lord, minded them, Judg. ii. 3. And so it came to pass, as we read there, ver. 14. and throughout that whole book.

*And shall vex you in the land wherein ye dwell.*] Make you very uneasy, nay, sigh and groan, in the good land which God gives you, by reason of their oppression, (Judg. ii. 18. iv. 3. vi. 6, &c.)

Ver. 56. *Moreover, I will do unto you as I thought to do unto them.*] As I purposed to do unto them; *i. e.* make you their slaves; as they were to several people whom they served many years, Judg. iii. 8. 14. vi. 2. and many other places. Or make you flee before them; and at last expel you from the land I give you.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] In the same place, where they were when he last spake to him; for they made no other removals till they marched for Canaan.

Ver. 2. *Command the children of Israel.*] Charge them to take notice of this.

*And say unto them, When ye come into the land of Canaan, this is the land that shall fall unto you for your inheritance.*] Having spoken to them concerning their dispossessing the Canaanites, and dividing their land among their tribes; it was fit to describe the bounds of their country, that they might know whom they were to destroy, and into whose possessions they were to enter.

*Even the land of Canaan, and the coasts thereof.*] The land beyond Jordan; and the limits or bounds thereof.

Ver. 3. *Then your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin.*] Mentioned in the foregoing chapter, ver. 36.

*Along by the coast of Edom.*] Which bordered upon this wilderness, (chap. xx. 1. 14.)

*And your south border shall be the utmost coast of the Salt Sea.*] From the very tongue of it, as it is expressed Josh. xv. 2. where it appears this was the portion of the tribe of Judah. The Salt Sea is that which is called sometimes the Dead Sea, and in other authors, Lacus Asphaltites: (see Gen. xiv. 3.) The Hebrews call all great lakes by the name of seas; and this is called the Salt Sea, because the water of it is very salt, or, as some express it, bitter; and the Dead Sea, *propter aquæ immobilitatem*, as Justin speaks, lib. xxxvi. *because of the immoveableness of the water*, which is never stirred by the greatest winds. (See Vossius de Orig. et Progr. Idolol. lib. ii. cap. 68.)

*Eastward.*] Where the eastern and southern borders meet.

Ver. 4. *And your border.*] That is, this south border.

*Shall turn.*] Not go on in a straight line; but bending towards the west.

*From the south to the ascent of Akrabbim.*] Or, to Maale-Akrabbim, a mountain on the south end of the Dead Sea, (Josh. xv. 3. Judg. i. 36.) so called, as Bochartus conjectures, from the vast multitude of scorpions

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found here: from which mountain also, it is probable, the region called Acrabatena, near to Idumæa, had its name, (1 Maccab. v. 3.) See Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 29.

*And pass on to Zin.*] Either to a place called Zin, or part of the wilderness of Zin; which lay on the south of the land of Canaan, (chap. xiii. 21.)

*And the going forth thereof shall be from the south.*] That is, still on towards the south; as appears from what goes before, and follows after.

*To Kadesh-barnea.*] From whence the spies were sent to search out the land; and are said expressly to have gone up by the south, chap. xiii. 22. 26.

*And shall go on to Hazar-Addar.*] Or, to the village of Addar, as the Vulgar Latin renders it; which seems to be justified by Josh. xv. 3. where it is simply called Addar. There is indeed a place called Hezron joined with it, which may be thought to be the same with Hazar: but so is another place also called Karkaa; both which may as well be thought to be here omitted, for brevity's sake.

*And pass on to Azmon.*] A place lying on the west end of the mount of Edom.

Ver. 5. *And the border shall fetch a compass.*] There shall be a greater turn than that mentioned ver. 4. bending still more westward.

*From Azmon unto the river of Egypt.*] By the *river of Egypt* is properly understood Nile; and so Jonathan here renders the Hebrew word *Nahal* (*river*) by Nilus: which may seem to have taken its name from the word *Nahal*; which the ancients did not pronounce as we now do, but called it *Neel*, as we find in Epiphanius; from whence Nilus was very easily made, as Bochartus observes, Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. v. cap. 15. But if Nile be here meant, it must be the more northerly mouth of it, where Pelusium stood. (See Gen. xv. 18.)

*And the goings out of it shall be at the sea.*] This border ended at the sea, called the Great Sea in the next verse.

Ver. 6. *And as for the western border, ye shall have even the Great Sea.*] That is, the Mediterranean, or Midland Sea, which lay on the west of Judea; and is called by the Hebrews the Great Sea, in comparison with the Lake of Genesaret and Asphaltites, which they also called seas.

*For your border.*] On the west, as it here follows.

*This shall be your western border.*] From the river of Egypt as far as Zidon, which was a part of the promised land, as appears from Josh. xiii. 6. Judg. i. 31. All the cities, indeed, on the shore of this sea were held by the Philistines and others, till the time of David; but the Israelites had a right to them. And the famous Rabbi Juda understands these words, as if they should have the western ocean itself for their portion, as well as the land adjacent to it: for so he expounds these words, as if Moses had said, This shall be your western border; *viz.* the border of the sea, and the isles near unto it. And the Jerusalem Targum more plainly, "And let the Great Sea be your border; *i. e.* the ocean, and the isles thereof, and the cities, and the ships with the ancient waters, that are in the midst of it." See Selden, in his Mare Clausum, lib. i. cap. 6. where he alleges this as a proof, that men anciently thought they might have a dominion over the sea, as well as the land.

Ver. 7. *And this shall be your northern border from the Great Sea.*] From the Mediterranean, which lay on the west.

*Ye shall point out for you.*] Mark out for your direction.

*Mount Hor.*] Not that mount where Aaron died; for that was on the south of the land of Canaan, towards Edom; but this was diametrically opposite, on the north of it; and therefore must, in all likelihood, be some part of Mount Libanus, which, with Antilibanus (more towards the Great Sea), bounded the promised land on the north. But there were several parts of Mount Libanus which were called by several names; and probably one of them was called Hor, because of its eminency or height above the rest. So the Vulgar translates it; reading, I suppose, the Hebrew, not *Hor hahar*, i. e. *Hor the mountain*, but *Har hahar, the mountain of mountain, i. e.* the highest mountain. The Jews generally by this Mount Hor understand Amanus, which is a part of Taurus (as Mr. Selden observes in the place beforenamed), which the Jerusalem Targum calls more briefly Manus.

Ver. 8. *From Mount Hor ye shall point out your border to the entrance of Hamath.*] There were two Hamaths; one called by the Grecks Antiochia, the other Epiphania. The former called Hamath the Great, Amos vi. 2. to distinguish it from the latter, which is the city that is always meant, when we read the bounds of Judea were to the *entrance of Hamath* northward; as here and chap. xiii. 21. For it is certain, as Bochartus observes, they did not reach to Antiochia, but came near to Epiphania, (lib. iv. Phaleg. cap. 36.) And this makes it probable, that Hor, as I said before, may be a promontory of Libanus; because in Josh. xiii. 5. Hermon is joined with the *entrance of Hamath*, as Hor is here. Now Hermon was certainly a part of Libanus: by some called Sirion; by others Senir, (Deut. iii. 9.) and by others Sion, (Deut. iv. 48.)

*And the going forth of the border shall be to Zedad.*] Which in Ezekiel's time was reckoned the northern border (together with Hamath) from the Great Sea; just as it is here. (Ezek. xlvii. 15, 16.)

Ver. 9. *And the border shall go on to Ziphron.*] Another town in those parts; of which I find no mention any where else.

*And the goings out of it shall be at Hazar-Enan.*] Here it ended; which was a place that retained its name till Ezekiel's time, (chap. xlvii. 17.) David Chytræus seems to have given a full account of this northern border in a few words. It extended, saith he, from the Mediterranean, by the mountains of Libanus, to the fountain of Jordan; in which tract are the towns of Hamath, Zedad (in the tribe of Naphtali), Ziphron (in the same tribe at the foot of Libanus), and Hazar-Enan, which he takes to signify a village at the fountain, *viz.* of Jordan.

Ver. 10. *And ye shall point out your east border from Hazar-Enan.*] From the fountain of Jordan, as was said before.

*To Shepham.*] A place not far from thence; for the river Jordan was certainly the eastern limits.

Ver. 11. *And the coast.*] The limits, or bounds.

*Shall go down from Shepham to Riblah.*] A place, no doubt, near to Jordan; with which river the eastern limits go along. St. Jerome takes Riblah to be Antiochia; but that was in Syria, to which the promised land did not reach.

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*On the east side of Ain.*] The Vulgar reads it, *the fountain of Daphne.* And, indeed, *Ain* signifies a *fountain;* and both Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum take Riblah for Daphne; as they do Shepham beforementioned for Apamia. But this is only a vain conceit of the Jews, who would extend their bounds beyond what God gave them. For it is certain the land of Canaan never extended to these places, as Bochartus observes, lib. i. Canaan, cap. 16. And therefore Daphne (which was in the suburbs of Antiochia) cannot be here meant, unless we understand another place, mentioned by Josephus, (lib. iv. de Bello Judaico, cap. 1.) which lay near the lake of Semechonites, through the middle of which Jordan ran. And then Ain must signify another fountain of Jordan, for it had more than one. And thus David Chytræus explains this part of the verse, and the foregoing: The eastern bounds were the river Jordan, near to which were these places; Enan, which had its name from the fountain of the river; and Shepham, not far from thence; Riblah, which was also near to Jordan, lying between the lake of Semechonites and Genesaret.

*And the border shall descend, and shall reach unto the side of the sea of Cinnereth eastward.*] To the east side of this sea or lake, which had its name from a city so called, Josh. xix. 35. and a country, 1 Kings xv. 20. or else it gave them their names: for David Chytræus will have it called Cinnereth, from the Hebrew word *cinnor*, which signifies a *harp*, or *lute*, the lake being of that shape and figure, about four German miles long, and two and a half broad. It is called the sea of Galilee, or Tiberias, in the gospel.

Ver. 12. *And the border.*] *i. e.* This eastern border.

*Shall go down to Jordan.*] That is, to the river which was eminently so called, (and was on the east part of Canaan, Gen. xiii. 11.) for it was very small till it came to the lake of Genesaret beforementioned. From whence, being augmented by several torrents and rivulets, it ran in a wider stream, till it fell into the Salt or Dead Sea. (See Bonfrerius out of Josephus, lib. iv. de Bello Judaico, cap. 1.)

*And its goings out shall be at the Salt Sea.*] There was the end of this border; where it met with the southern, as was observed above, (ver. 3.)

*This shall be your land, with the coasts thereof, round about.*] As was said before, (ver. 2.) therefore they were not to extend their right any further; this being the country he promised Abraham, when he bade him lift up his eyes, and look from the place where he was, "northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward, and walk through the length of the land, and breadth of it," which he assures to his posterity, Gen. xiii. 14—17. which now he lays out for them, with the exact limits of it, in all those four quarters.

Ver. 13. *And Moses commanded the children of Israel, saying, This is the land which ye shall inherit by lot.*] He repeats it so often, that they might know what people they were to dispossess, and with whom they might make friendship; and not to extend their desires beyond the bounds of God's gracious grant to them. By which they were placed in a very fertile and pleasant country, bounded, as appears by the foregoing description, on the south, (ver. 4, 5.) by great mountains, which sheltered them from the burning air of the deserts of Arabia; on the west, by the Midland Sea, which sent to them refreshing breezes; and on the north, by Mount Libanus, which kept off the colder blasts from that quarter; and on the east, the delightful plains of Jordan, abounding with palm-trees, especially about Jericho, which yielded them a great revenue.

*Which the Lord commanded to give to the nine tribes, and to the half tribe.*] This he had not said plainly before, though it was necessarily inferred, from his granting to two tribes and a half their inheritance beyond Jordan.

Ver. 14. *For the tribe of the children of Reuben, according to the house of their fathers, and the tribe of the children of Gad,* &c. *have received their inheritance.*] Upon condition they performed their promise, to help the rest of their tribes to win their inheritance in Canaan. So those words are to be understood, I observed xxxii. 33. "Moses gave unto them the kingdom of Sihon," &c.

Ver. 15. *The two tribes and a half have received their inheritance on this side Jordan,* &c.] By the gift of God, as they themselves understood it, xxxii. 31. The bounds of which the Jerusalem Targum here undertakes to set down, and makes them extend eastward as far as the great river Euphrates; having respect, I suppose, to Gen. xv. 18. and Exod. xxiii. 30. where he sets down the utmost bounds of the countries he intended to bestow upon them in future times (see there), but here only describes the limits of that land, which they were to enjoy in present possession; and was all that God granted to Abraham, when he brought him out of Chaldea, and made his first promise unto him, (Gen. xii. 1. 7. xiii. 14, 15. 17. xv. 7.)

Ver. 16. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] Having told them what they should divide, it was proper to appoint some persons to take care to see the division made.

Ver. 17. *These are the names of the men which shall divide the land.*] Though the land was to be divided by lot, yet it was fit there should be some persons to oversee the business, and take care there should be no fraud in the drawing of them: and when they were drawn, to prevent all quarrels, by determining what portion those who had too much should give to those who had too little, (xxvi. 54, 55.)

*Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun.*] These were the principal persons concerned in this great affair; who were so conscientious therein, that they did it in the presence of God, at the door of the tabernacle, (Josh. xviii. 6. 8. 10. xix. 51.)

Ver. 18. *And ye shall take one prince of every tribe, to divide the land by inheritance.*] They are called in the place last named, *the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel.*

Ver. 19. *The names of the men are these: Of the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son of Jephunneh.*] I have nothing to observe upon this and the following verses, to the end of the chapter, but that the tribes are not mentioned in such order as they were at their first numbering, (i. 5, 6, &c.) or at their second, (xxvi. 5, &c.) yet great exactness and a particular direction of God may be noted in their placing here; for they are set down according to their situation which they had afterward in the land of Canaan; as if Moses foresaw who should be next neighbours one to another. For Judah having his inheritance given him first, (Josh. xv.) Simeon, who is here next mentioned, was so near him in the land of Canaan, that he had a portion given him out of the lot of Judah, which proved too large for that tribe, (Josh. xix. 9. Judg. i. 3. 17.) Then Benjamin, who here follows, in the

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third place, was so near to Judah, that they never separated when the ten tribes were rent from them. Dan was not far from Judah; and the children of Joseph also were their neighbours. And the rest of the tribes, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, are set down here just in the order wherein their lots fell to them in Canaan, (Josh. xix. 10. 17. 24. 32.) An evidence that Moses was guided by a Divine Spirit in all his writings.

## CHAP. XXXV.

Ver. 1. *AND the Lord spake unto Moses, in the plains of Moab, by Jordan, near Jericho, saying.*] Sec xxii. 1. Hitherto nothing had been said of the Levites; but that they should have no lot in the land of Canaan. But now God provides that they should have habitations assigned them to dwell in, though they had no fields, nor olive-yards, &c. as the rest of their brethren had. They might, indeed, have been able to purchase houses for themselves out of the tithes, and other things, which God had long ago bestowed upon them for their portion: but it was not fit that God's ministers should be left without any certain dwelling. And besides, God would have them live comfortably, and not only have houses, but a little ground about them, for their more commodious subsistence.

Ver. 2. *Command the children of Israel, that they give unto the Levites of the inheritance of their possession.*] Out of their share that shall fall to them in the land of Canaan, and on this side Jordan.

*Cities to dwell in.*] That they might not be in danger to wander up and down to seek a habitation.

*And ye shall give also to the Levites suburbs for the cities round about them.*] Some ground lying round about their cities, the reason of which is given in the next verse.

Ver. 3. *And the cities they shall have to dwell in.*] That they may build houses for themselves to dwell in. Which did not make it unlawful for them to hire or purchase houses in any other city, particularly at Jerusalem, or the place where the tabernacle was settled; for we find in Scripture many proofs of their dwelling in other cities, beside these which are here assigned to them. And, in like manner, other people, with their permission, might dwell with them in these cities, without any breach of this law.

*And the suburbs shall be for their cattle.*] To afford pasture for their oxen and sheep.

*And for their goods.*] The Hebrew word signifies, not only *all* kind of household stuff, but whatsoever was necessary for them and their cattle without doors.

*And for their beasts.*] Horses, asses, mules, and all sorts of living creatures, as the Hebrew word signifies. But it was not lawful for them to build houses in these fields, nor plant vineyards, nor sow corn: but they were given them only to make their dwellings more sweet; and that they might have the convenience of cattle about them, for provisions, and all other uses.

Ver. 4. *And the suburbs and cities which ye shall give unto the Levites.*] To be their possession, by as good and full a right, as their brethren of the other tribes had in their lands, which fell to them for their inheritance by lot: see Lev. xxv. 31—33. where they themselves are disabled to alienate either the houses or fields of their cities. But if they sold a house, it was to revert at the jubilee; and the fields they could not so much as sell till that time.

*Shall reach from the wall of the city and outward a thousand cubits round about.*] This space was for their outhouses; as stables, places for hay and straw, and such-like things, and perhaps for gardens of herbs and flowers. The Gemara, upon the ninth chapter of Sota, sect. 9. saith, that, under the second temple, the Levites had no suburbs; which were not restored to them after the captivity of Babylon. But there being great care taken that the people shall pay all the *tithe of their ground unto the Levites,* (Nehem. x. 37.) it is unreasonable to think that care was not taken for places to lay them in.

Ver. 5. *And ye shall measure from without the city.*] It is not said, as in the foregoing verse, *from the wall* of the city; therefore I take it to signify from the outside of the suburbs beforementioned.

*On the east side two thousand cubits, and on the south side two thousand cubits,* &c.] So there was in the whole three thousand cubits round about the city: a thousand for the *suburbs,* properly so called; and two thousand more for their pasture, called properly *the fields of the suburbs,* Lev. xxv. 34. This is the most natural and easy explication of this place.

*And the city shall be in the midst.*] So that there was exactly, every way, such a circuit of ground about it.

*This shall be the suburbs of the cities.*] Here the word *suburbs* comprehends the *fields* also. And Maimonides saith, that, by the constitution of the elders, they set forth also a burying-place for every city beyond these limits: for they might not bury their dead within the suburbs or fields; which they ground upon the foregoing verse, which appoints them for other uses, (Schemita ve Jobel, cap. 13.)

Ver. 6. *And among the cities which ye shall give unto the Levites, there shall be six cities for refuge.*] Three in the land of Canaan, and three on the other side Jordan, (ver. 14.) the names of which are set down, Josh. xx. 7, 8. and those on the other side Jordan were set apart by Moses himself before he died, (Deut. iv. 43.) The reason of their being called *cities of refuge,* is given in the next words.

*Which ye shall appoint for the manslayer.*] Such a *manslayer* as is afterward described; who killed another against his will.

*That he may flee thither.*] And there be preserved, and kept in safety, if he was not found guilty of wilful murder. The cities of the Levites were appointed for this purpose, rather than any other, because they were a kind of sacred places, inhabited by sacred persons. And here men might spend their time better than in other cities, being among God's ministers; who might make them sensible of the negligence which men were commonly guilty of in such cases, and of such sins as they might have otherwise committed.

*And to them ye shall add forty-two cities.*] Which had all the same privilege, if we may believe the Hebrew doctors; but not equally with the six. For in the six a manslayer was to have a house to dwell in for nothing; but in the other forty-two, he was to pay for it. And the Levites could not refuse him entrance into the six; but as for the rest, it was in their choice whether they would receive him or not. Thus Maimonides, out of their ancient authors. See Selden, lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Discipl. Hebr. cap. 2. where he observes, that the altar also was a

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place of refuge, according to Exod. xxi. 14. but with many exceptions; both with relation to the parts of the altar, and to the persons who fled thither, and to the quality of the offence, and their stay there; which very much lessened the privilege of this refuge.

Ver. 7. *So all the cities which ye shall give to the Levites shall be forty-eight cities,* &c.] Accordingly we read Joshua gave them so many, Josh. xxi. 41. Thirteen of which the priests had; and the rest the Levites. And in the days of the Messiah (whom they vainly still expect), other cities shall be added to them (saith Maimonides), which shall belong to the Levites.

Ver. 8. *And the cities which ye shall give them shall be of the possession of the children of Israel.*] And so it is said, Josh. xxi. 3. that "the children of Israel gave unto the Levites, out of their inheritance, these cities and their suburbs." Where we read also, they were given them by lot, as the children of Israel had their inheritance given them.

*From them which have many ye shall give many, and from them that have few ye shall give few.*] According to the rule in distributing their inheritances to the Israelites, xxxiii. 54.

*Every one shall give of his cities unto the Levites according to the inheritance which he shall inherit.*] Thus they gave nine cities out of the two tribes of Judah and Simeon, (Josh. xxi. 16.) and but four out of Benjamin, which was a small tribe, (ver. 18.) out of the tribes of Issachar and Asher, four a-piece, (ver. 28. 31.) and out of Naphtali, no more than three, (ver. 32.)

Ver. 9. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying.*] This being a matter of great importance, that guiltless men should not suffer, nor the guilty escape punishment, the Lord gives Moses further direction about it, as he promised he would in Exod. xxi. 13.

Ver. 10. *Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them.*] Repeat this command to them; which God himself repeated to Joshua, xx. 1. 2.

*When ye be come over Jordan into the land of Canaan.*] When they had possession of it, and divided it, and were settled in it: so it is explained Deut. xix. 1, 2.

Ver. 11. *Then shall ye appoint you cities to be cities of refuge for you.*] This seems to signify, that all the cities of the Levites were in some sort a protection to the manslayer, as I said upon ver. 6. Such places the temples were among the Athenians, as Sam. Petitus observes in Leges Atticas, p. 12, 13. yet not all of them; for he can find only six; that of Mercy, and that of Eumenides and Minerva, and those dedicated to Theseus (one of them within the city, the other without the walls), and that in Munychia.

*That the manslayer may flee thither, which killeth any person at unawares.*] Or, as it is Josh. xx. 3. *unwittingly,* Deut. xix. 4. *ignorantly;* that is, besides his intention, having no such design, nor hatred to him, as is there expressly said, and here below, (ver. 22.) This is repeated ver. 15. And the instances of it are such as these, mentioned by Georg. Ritterhusius de Jure Asylorum, cap. 4. If a man cutting wood, the hatchet flying from the helve, should hit a man, and kill him; or a huntsman shooting at a deer in a thicket, should kill a man, whom he did not see lying there: an example of which we have in Adrastus, mentioned by Herodotus, lib. i.

Ver. 12. *And they shall be unto you cities for refuge from the avenger.*] From him who had a right to call a murderer to account for the blood he had shed, and is therefore called *the avenger of blood,* ver. 19. who, being stimulated with anger and grief for the death of a near relation, might, in a heat of rage, hastily kill him who was not guilty of murder. And therefore this provision is made for the preservation of an innocent person against the violent prosecution of the avenger. In the Hebrew, the word for avenger is *goel,* which signifying a *redeemer,* plainly denotes that the next of kin to him that was slain is here meant. For to that person belonged the right of redemption of estates, (Lev. xxv. 25.) and of marrying the wife of a kinsman deceased without issue, (Ruth iii. 12, 13.) And consequently such a person, that is the nearest of kin, is here intended to be the revenger of blood: and therefore no man might undertake this office, but he alone who was the next heir to him that was slain; as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1. p. 469. Grotius observes the like custom among the ancient Greeks, of private men taking revenge for the death of their relations or friends, (lib. ii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 20. sect. 8. n. 6.)

*That the manslayer die not.*] By a sudden heat of passion. This was a merciful provision (as Maimonides observes), both for the manslayer, that he might be preserved, and for the avenger, that his blood might be cooled, by the removal of the manslayer out of his sight, by his flight to another place, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 40.)

*Until he stand before the congregation.*] The city of refuge protected him that fled thither, "Salvo tamen juris et justitiæ examine" (as the lawyers speak), *yet so that the matter should be brought to a fair trial before proper judges.* They of the city of refuge examined him before his admittance into the place, (Josh. xx. 4.) But they were not judges, nor could they examine witnesses. And therefore he was delivered, upon demand, to the senate, or court of judgment, of that city where the fact was committed, that they might try whether he were guilty or not of wilful murder. So the Hebrews understand the word *edah, congregation,* in this place (as in many others), to signify the Sanhedrin of Twenty-three, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 5. n. 2. and lib. iii. cap. 8. n. 3.) And as by *congregation* is meant the court where causes were tried, so it is reasonable to interpret it of that court which sat in the city where the fact was committed, and not that in the city of refuge, because there the witnesses were; and it is expressly said, ver. 25. that if the congregation found him to be innocent, he should be *restored to the city of refuge.* Which evidently supposes he was not judged there, but in another place; and none so proper as that before mentioned.

Ver. 13. *And of these cities which ye shall give, six cities ye shall have for refuge.*] They might flee unto any other cities of the Levites; but in these six they were most certain to find protection. (See ver. 6.) And the best provision was made for the manslayer's easy and safe flying thither: for the ways that led thither were to be made very plain and broad (thirty-two cubits wide), and to be kept in good repair; for which they alleged (in the title Maccoth, cap. 2. sect. 5.) those words Deut. xix. 3. "Thou shalt prepare the way," &c. And two students in the law were to ac-

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company him; that if the avenger of blood should overtake him, before he got into the city, they might endeavour to pacify him by wise persuasions; and that he might not miss his way to the place whither he intended to flee, there were posts erected, where two or three ways met, with this inscription, *MIKLAT*, i. e. *the city of refuge*, to direct him into that road which led to it. A certain day also was appointed, which was the fifteenth of February, for the repairing of the highways, and of the bridges, which might have been broken by the winter rains or floods.

Ver. 14. *And ye shall give three cities on this side Jordan, and three cities in the land of Canaan.*] This seems not to be an equal partition; the land of Canaan being far bigger than the territory beyond Jordan; for it contained above three parts of four of the tribes of Israel. But it is to be considered, that the country beyond Jordan was as long as the land of Canaan, though not so broad: and they also beyond Jordan might flee to any of the cities in Canaan, if they were nearer to them. And besides, God commanded those in Canaan, if he enlarged their coast, to add three cities more, besides these, (Deut. xix. 8, 9.)

Why six cities are appointed for this purpose, and no more; and why three on one side of Jordan, and three on the other, Philo alleges some mystical reasons; but so far-fetched, that I do not think fit to mention them.

Ver. 15. *These six cities shall be a refuge.*] They all began to be so at the same time, according to the Talmudists. For till those three in Canaan were set out, these three on the other side Jordan (though set out by Moses before they went into Canaan, Deut. iv. 43.) did not receive any manslayer. Which they prove in the forenamed title, Maccoth, cap. 2. sect. 4. from these very words, *these six shall be cities of refuge;* that is, when the other three were appointed, then they all received those that fled to them.

*Both for the children of Israel, and for the stranger, and for the sojourner among them.*] Both *strangers* and *sojourners* had renounced idolatry, but had not equally embraced the Jewish religion; yet both of them had the same share in this benefit, with the native Israelites; it being a natural right, that every man who was innocent should be protected. The difference between a *stranger* and a *sojourner* hath been often observed, particularly upon Lev. xix. 33, 34. Numb. xv. 15, 16.

*That every one that killeth any person unawares may flee thither.*] That is, *every one* beforementioned, whether Israelites, strangers, or sojourners. But as for such as were mere gentiles, and not so much as proselytes of the gate, if they killed another, though a gentile, they had not the benefit of this law; because they were not suffered to dwell among them, though they trafficked in the country. And if a proselyte of the gate killed an Israelite, or one that was circumcised, he also, if we may believe the Jewish doctors, was denied protection in these cities. But if he killed one like himself (*i. e.* a proselyte of the gate), then he had the same privilege with the Israelites, as they explain it. (See Selden, lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 2. p. 477.)

Ver. 16. *And if he smite him.*] Or rather, *but if he smite him.*

*With an instrument of iron, so that he die, he is a murderer.*] For it was to be presumed, that he who run at a man with a sword, or any such weapon, intended to do him a mischief; though perhaps he had no malice to him beforehand, but did it in a passion.

*So that he die.*] He never going abroad after he was wounded, (Exod. xxi. 19, 20.)

*The murderer shall surely be put to death.*] Be taken away by the judges, though he were in a city of refuge; and, the fact being proved, condemned to die for it.

Ver. 17. *And if he smite him with throwing a stone.*] In the Hebrew it is, *with a stone of the hand.* That is, say the Jews, with a great stone that *fills the hand;* not with a small stone, with which he could not be presumed to intend to kill him; though he chanced to do it, by hitting him in the eye, or some other very tender part.

*Wherewith he may die.*] With a stone big enough to kill him.

*And he die.*] So that it appears he died of that blow.

*He is a murderer; the murderer shall surely be put to death.*] He is as guilty as the forenamed person, who smote with an instrument of iron; and his fleeing to the city of refuge shall not protect him from death.

Ver. 18. *If he smite him with a hand-weapon of wood.*] Such as a batoon (as we now speak), or a club, or any such kind of instrument, as is likely to kill him.

*Wherewith he may die,* &c.] It made no difference with what kind of weapon or instrument he was killed, whether it were of iron, wood, or stone; if he were killed wittingly and knowingly, it was murder; and the guilty person was to suffer for it. Aul. Gellius hath collected the names of the several weapons, which were mentioned in ancient history; of which there are near thirty, (lib. x. Noct. Attic. cap. 25.) one of which, called *ligula*, he is pleased to explain, being then not common; and saith, it was a little sword, in the form of a *tongue*, like our poniard, I suppose, or dagger, or long knife; which was a dangerous weapon; because men might hide it under their clothes, and kill others while they were in familiar discourse with them.

Ver. 19. *The avenger of blood himself.*] See ver. 12.

*Shall slay the murderer.*] This is thought by many to be a mere permission, not a precept; but the Jews think otherwise: that the next kin (*i. e.* the heir of him that was slain) stood bound to do his endeavour to avenge his blood. If he would not (saith Maimonides), or if he was not able; or if no such avenger was to be found (*i. e.* the murderer himself was the next heir, or the man slain was a proselyte of justice without issue), he was to be prosecuted, and put to death, by the court of judgment, and that by the sword. (See Selden, lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1.)

*When he meeteth him he shall slay him.*] He was not bound to stay for the sentence of the court, but might kill him wheresoever he found him. (See ver. 31.)

Ver. 20. *But if he thrust him of hatred,* &c.] Or rather, *for if he thrust him,* &c. that is, if by any other means, besides those mentioned ver. 16—18. he killed a man wittingly, either by pushing him down violently from a high or steep place; or throwing him into the water; or hurling a stone at him; or letting any thing fall down upon his head, though never so slily; if death followed, and it appeared he bore a hatred to him, he was to suffer death, as in the former cases. (See Deut. xix. 11.) Now this was a sufficient proof of hatred to him; if being a neighbour, and they having some difference, he had not spoken to him for three whole days together.



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Ver. 21. *Or in enmity smite him with his hand that he die, he that smote him shall surely be put to death.*] If he gave him only a blow with his fist, of which he died, and it was proved he had enmity to him, it was sufficient to make him a murderer; and it warranted the avenger of blood to kill him, or obliged him to prosecute him, so that the city of refuge should not save him.

*The revenger of blood shall slay the murderer when he meeteth him.*] The civil law declared him to be unworthy to enjoy the inheritance of one that was murdered, if he neglected to prosecute the person that killed him in some court of justice. But the Jewish law allowed, or rather required, a great deal more; that the next of kin should kill the murderer with his own hands, if he met him. And thus the Abyssines, at this day (as Ritterhusius observes out of Alvarez), deliver the murderer into the hand of the next kinsman, to torture him. The reason of which law, among the Jews, was, (as the same Ritterhusius observes, de Jure Asylorum, cap. 4.) because they being all descended from one and the same stock, and equally taking of the same right, they were all concerned in the shedding of the blood of any one of them, especially they who were nearest to him in blood, who seemed to be all struck at and injured in him. So that the law, with great reason, allowed them to avenge the blood of him that was slain. With which these verses of Ovid, he thinks, agree:

"Cum tibi sint fratres, fratres ulciscere læsos.
Cumque pater tibi sit, jura tuere patris."

Ver. 22. *But if he thrust him suddenly without enmity.*] Killed him (after the manner forementioned, ver. 20.) in a violent passion, having no such intention, and being perhaps highly provoked by him, or by chance, as we speak, and unawares, it being proved that there was no enmity between them, no signs of hatred before this fact.

*Or cast upon him any thing, without laying in wait.*] Happen to hit him with any thing, without design to hurt him: (see Exod. xxi. 13. Deut. xix. 5.)

Ver. 23. *Or with any stone wherewith he may die.*] See ver. 17.

*Seeing him not, and casting it upon him, that he die.*] Throwing it at something else, or playing with it; and having no thought of him, because he did not see him.

*And was not his enemy, neither sought his harm.*] Not having any quarrel with him, not threatening, or any other way discovering that he sought to do him mischief.

Ver. 24. *Then the congregation.*] That is, the judgment to whom the trial of such causes belonged: see ver. 12. where I observed, that the elders of the city of refuge judged whether the manslayer, who fled thither, should be received or not, upon a summary hearing of the cause, and such examination as they could make at present. But the full examination of it was reserved to the judges of the place where the fact was committed.

*Shall judge between the slayer and the avenger of blood.*] They sent for him out of the city of refuge, to be brought before them; who heard what could be alleged against him, and what he could say for himself.

*According to these judgments.*] Upon trial they proceeded to give judgment according to the foregoing rules; which, in brief, are these: if a man had no intention to kill another, but it was purely involuntary, he was to be acquitted. If there appeared any design upon his life, or such hatred and enmity as might move them to conclude he had an intention to kill him, he was to be put to death. But here the Hebrew doctors (as Mr. Selden observes) distinguish the killing of a man into three kinds: the first was, when, though it was from pure ignorance and error, yet there was some negligence in it, which a prudent man might have avoided. The second, when a man kills another ignorantly, and cannot be blamed for any negligence, because such a thing seldom happens. An example of the first they make to be, when a man, coming down a ladder, falls upon another and kills him. An example of the second, when going up a ladder, a man happens to do the same. The former is more frequent, and therefore they say hath some kind of blame in it; the other seldomer, and therefore hath none. A third kind, when any man kills another out of ignorance and error also; but it approaches nearer to voluntary murder: as when a man, intending to kill one man, happens to kill another with a stone, or otherwise. In none of these cases, they say, the court of judgment could put any man to death. And the cities of refuge were not provided for the second or third sorts, but only for the first; and that when the man died presently, and did not lie and languish of the wound; for if he did, it might be supposed he died by his own negligence, or otherwise, as well as by the wound. In which case, there was no need that the man who wounded him should flee to the city of refuge; nor could the avenger of blood meddle with him, no more than he could with a father, when he gave his son, or a master, when he gave his scholar, correction, and happened to kill him. The same was the case of him, whose office it was to arrest men, by public authority, and bring them before the judges, if he struck a man that refused to go along with him, and killed him: (see Selden, lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disciplin. Heb. cap. 2.)

Ver. 25. *And the congregation shall deliver the slayer out of the hands of the avenger of blood.*] If the court found the man was killed casually, as the person accused pretended, (Josh. xx. 4.) then they charged the avenger of blood not to prosecute any further.

Both here, and in the foregoing verse, and in the next words to these, by *congregation* is meant the judges of the city, (as I observed, ver. 12.) who were to determine in the presence, and in the behalf of the people, whether the manslayer were capable of the privilege of the city of refuge or not; as we read Josh. xx. 4. 6. Now these things (as a very learned person of our own argues), which were done by the elders (or judges), being said to be done by the *congregation*, or assembly of the people, in whose behalf they were done; it is no wrong to the Holy Scriptures, when we say, that which they report to have been done by the church was acted by the chief power of the apostles and elders, with the consent of the people. For it is manifest in the New Testament, that in the apostles' time all the public acts of the church were passed at the public assemblies of the same. As ordinations, (Acts i. 23. v. 36.) excommunications, (Matt. xviii. 18—20. 1 Cor. v. 4. 2 Cor. ii. 10.) councils, (Acts xv. 4. 22.) and other acts, (2 Cor. vii. 19.) And herewith agrees the primitive custom of the church for divers ages; whereby they gave satisfaction to the people of the integrity of their proceedings, and by the same means obliged superiors to that integrity, by making

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the proceedings so manifest, and so to preserve the unity of the church. And from this interest of the people in such acts it is, at this day, that the people of the church of England are demanded, what they have to say against ordinations and marriages to be made. (See Mr. Thorndike, in his Rites of the Church in a Christian State, chap. iii. p. 159, &c.)

*And the congregation shall restore him to the city of his refuge, whither he was fled.*] They were to send him back again, from the place where he was tried, to the city where he had taken refuge, there to remain till the time prescribed in the next words. This was more merciful than the punishment inflicted by the Attic laws (which plainly shew they were borrowed, in great part, from Moses), for he who slew a man involuntarily was forced to fly his country. So the scholiast upon the last of Homer's Iliads, Ἔθος ἦν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον ἐργασάμενον, φεύγειν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, &c. *It was the manner, in ancient times, for a man that had killed another involuntarily, to flee his country; and, betaking himself to some neighbouring place, to sit with his face covered, begging to be expiated.* But this was only for a certain time, as Demosthenes tells us (in his oration in Aristocratem): ὁ νόμος κελεύει τὸν ἁλόντα ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ ἔν τισιν ὡρισμένοις χρόνοις ἀπελθεῖν τακτὴν ὁδὸν, καὶ φεύγειν, &c. *The law requires him that is condemned of killing a man involuntarily, for some limited time to go away, and keep at an appointed distance, till he can make his peace with the kindred of him that was slain: after which he may return again,* &c.

*And he shall abide in it.*] Not stir out of the limits of the city, that is, beyond the suburbs, and the two thousand cubits which encompassed them, (ver. 4, 5.) within which bounds he was to keep.

*Unto the death of the high-priest, which was anointed with oil.*] This looks like a punishment to the manslayer; whereby others were taught to be very watchful over themselves, lest by negligence they chanced to kill any body, and so be forced to leave their own home. But Maimonides takes it for "a prudent charity to the manslayer, and to the relations of him that was slain: for by this means the manslayer was kept out of the sight of the avenger of blood, who might have been tempted, some time or other, to fall upon him, if he had come in his way: but by long absence his anger might be mitigated, at least by the death of the high-priest, the most excellent of all other persons, and most dear to every one in the nation. Which made the public grief so great when he died, that men forgot their private resentments: for nothing could fall out more grievous to all people (saith he) than the death of the high-priest, which swallowed up all other grief." (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 40.) And in the mean time the Jews say, that the citizens of the place were bound to teach him some trade, whereby he might provide himself with necessaries: and he had this comfort also, during his absence from his own family, that the mother of the high-priest sent him many gifts, that he might remain there more contentedly, and not pray for the death of the high-priest. So they tell us, in the place forementioned, Maccoth, cap. 2. sect. 6. where they also observe, that if a man killed the high-priest, or the high-priest himself happened to kill a man involuntarily, they were to stay in the city of refuge as long as they lived: yet they found this temperament, that if one who had been high-priest, but removed from his office, was alive when the slaughter was committed; after his death, both he that killed the high-priest, or any other unawares, and the high-priest himself, who had done the same, were set free from the city of refuge. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 9. sect. 6. and lib. iii. cap. 8. sect. 3.)

There may seem to be some inequality in this law, because, as some high-priests lived long, and others but a short time, so some manslayers fled to the city at the beginning of their priesthood, and others just before their death. But it must be considered, that this could not be better ordered than to make the manslayer's liberty depend upon the death of the high-priest, whensoever it fell out, that a higher value might be set upon him; and that it might represent our deliverance only by the death of the Son of God: of which many great men look upon this as a type, or shadow; though it must be confessed, there is not the least signification of this in the New Testament. And since the great expiation, which the high-priest made every year on the day of atonement, did not procure such men their liberty, I cannot look upon it as the effect of the high-priest's death, but only as that which followed upon it, by virtue of this law. For the high-priest having a great power every where, and particularly in these cities of the priests and Levites, over whom he was the chief, it is possible the manslayer might be confined here by some peculiar act of his authority; which expiring together with himself, he was released.

Ver. 26. *But if the slayer shall at any time.*] During the life of the high-priest.

*Come without the border of the city of refuge, whither he was fled.*] If he went beyond the bounds of the fields, in which he had liberty to walk, and might not be touched. For if a tree was planted (as the Mischna resolves in Maccoth) within the borders of the fields of the city, though the boughs stretched themselves beyond the borders, yet the manslayer was safe under the tree. In like manner, when churches became places of refuge, the civil law allowed the privilege to extend to the church gate: and the council of Toledo to thirty paces from the church; which pope Nicholas enlarged to forty. Thus, among the heathen, the bounds of the refuge at the temple of Diana at Ephesus were sometimes more, and sometimes less, as Ritterhusius observes in his book beforenamed, where he shews how far it was extended by Alexander, and afterward farther by others. And Tacitus, lib. iii. Annalium, mentions a temple of hers, to which was granted, by several emperors, "duobus millibus passuum eandem sanctitatem," *the same sanctity for two miles round about it.*

Ver. 27. *And the avenger of blood find him without the borders of the city of his refuge, and the avenger of blood kill the slayer, he shall not be guilty of death.*] The court of judgment were not to put him to death; though perhaps he was obnoxious to the judgment of God, because he had killed an innocent person: but he was free from the punishment of the law, that manslayers might be the more careful to keep within their bounds; which was a profitable restraint upon them, for the public good. All men seeing how much God hated murder, by the confinement of him who had slain a man unawares, to a kind of imprisonment.

But it may be said, on the other side, that he who killed a manslayer in this case was perfectly guiltless; because



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he did not herein act as a private person, but executed a sentence against him, who was condemned by public authority. Which gave no protection to the manslayer, but within the borders of his city of refuge; leaving him to the avenger of blood, if he came out of those bounds, till the death of the high-priest. After which, if the avenger of blood killed him, no doubt he was to be punished as a murderer.

Ver. 28. *Because he should have remained in the city of his refuge, until the death of the high-priest.*] These words give the reason, why the avenger of blood was not to be punished in this case; because the manslayer was guilty of breaking another law, and so in some sort accessory to his own death; for he might have been safe, if he had pleased.

*But after the death of the high-priest, the slayer shall return to the land of his possession.*] Where he was not only to remain safe, but to be restored to all his honours, if he had any before he fled to the city of refuge.

Ver. 29. *So these things shall be for a statute of judgment unto you.*] A rule whereby to judge between manslayers and murderers.

*Throughout all generations.*] The like clauses are usual in the ancient civil law: "Hoc perpetua lege sancimus. Hoc generali et in perpetuum valitura lege decernimus," &c.

*In all your dwellings.*] This the Jews interpret as an obligation upon them to have courts of judgment wheresoever they dwell. Thus R. Solomon, upon these very words: "They teach us (saith he) the use of courts of judgment, which ought to be even out of the land, all the time that they were used in the land." So the ancient book Siphri, and many others mentioned by our most learned Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 5. n. 1.

Ver. 30. *Whoso killeth any person, the murderer shall be put to death by the mouth of witnesses.*] This direction for their proceedings in this case, was to be the rule in all others of like nature, by examining witnesses, who were to be competent. Upon which account ten sorts of persons were incapable to be witnesses, according to the Hebrew doctors; *viz.* women, servants, minors, fools, the deaf and dumb, the blind, impious, and audacious people, dear relations, and those that had been convicted of bearing false witness: and they endeavour, after their manner, to find reasons against all these in the law itself. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 11.)

*But one witness shall not testify against any person, to cause him to die.*] This was such an established rule in the civil law, that it saith, "ubi numerus testium non adjicitur, sufficiunt duo;" *where the number of witnesses is not mentioned, two suffices.* "Pluralis enim locutio, duorum numero contenta est:" *for where witnesses in the plural number are spoken of, two are enough to answer the intention of the law.* Which number, therefore, is frequently mentioned expressly in Scripture, as necessary in all cases, (Deut. xvii. 6.) particularly in this of murder, (xix. 15.) Yet, where there was but one witness, or not two who both together saw the man killed, so that he who was accused of the murder could not be put to death, he was thrown into a very strait prison, and there fed with bread and water of affliction, till his bowels were sorely pinched, &c. if we may believe the Jewish doctors, mentioned by Selden, lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1.

Ver. 31. *Moreover, ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer.*] If a murderer would have given all his estate to save his life, or the avenger of blood would have accepted a compensation, or freely let him go, the judges (when they had found him guilty) could not restore him to the city of refuge, but he was to suffer death. For the life of him that was slain, was not (as Maimonides speaks) part of the goods of the avenger of blood, but belonged to Almighty God; who set such a value on a man's life, that he would not suffer any price to be taken for it. (See Selden in the same chapter, p. 470.)

Ver. 32. *And ye shall take no satisfaction for him that is fled to the city of refuge, that he may come to dwell in the land, until the death of the high-priest.*] No money was to purchase his liberty to dwell any where else but there, till the time appointed by the law: but this punishment for manslaughter, was as indispensable as death for murder. And therefore, if any man happened to kill another in the city of refuge, to which he was confined, he was forced to flee to another city of refuge, and there abide till the death of the high-priest.

Ver. 33. *So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are; for blood defileth the land.*] By this it appears, that the next of kin was bound to prosecute the murderer unto death, for the good of his country, which otherwise would have had a guilt upon it, and that very grievous. For they are the greatest crimes, as Maimonides observes, which are said to pollute the land, or them, or God's sanctuary, *viz.* idolatry, (Lev. xx. 3.) all the filthiness that is forbidden, xviii. 24, 25. and murder, here mentioned, (More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 47.)

*And the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it.*] The same Maimonides observes, in the forty-first chapter of that book, "That it is a piece of universal justice, to make a man suffer what he hath made another suffer. If he hath hurt his body, he must suffer for it in his own body; if in his money, his own purse must pay for it; if he have taken away his life, he must die for it himself. And the punishment can neither be mitigated, nor any compensation accepted for it. For which he quotes these words; and upon this account resolves, that if he that was murdered should live a few days or hours after his deadly wound, and, being in sound understanding, should desire he that killeth him might not die for it, declaring that he freely forgave him, his desire was not to be granted, but blood was to be punished with blood: whether he that was slain was a great man or a mean, a freeman or a slave, a wise man or a fool; because there is no sin committed by men greater than this is."

Ver. 34. *Defile not therefore the land which ye shall inhabit.*] By suffering a murderer to live.

*Wherein I dwell.*] This is given as a reason elsewhere, (see ver. 3.) why they should put all polluted people out of their camps, because God dwelt in them, *viz.* in his sanctuary, which made this land be called the Holy Land, and God's possession, (2 Chron. xx. 11.)

*For I the Lord dwell among the children of Israel.*] See Exod. xxv. 8. The very same was practised among the Athenians, with some little alteration. For Demosthenes says, it was one of their laws τὸν ἐκ προνοίας ἀποκτείναντα θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, *that he who out of forethought killed a man, should be put to death.* And he tells us also, that it was not lawful for the judges to take money to remit the

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punishment after he was condemned: though if the prosecutors compounded with him or his friends beforehand, and desisted from the prosecution, his life was saved. If he fled from justice, all his goods were confiscated, and he forfeited all the rights of a citizen, both civil and sacred. (See Sam. Petitus's Comment. in Leges Atticas, lib. vii. tit. 1.)

## CHAP. XXXVI.

Ver. 1. *AND the chief fathers of the families of the children of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh,* &c.] Not the fathers of those families, whose inheritance had been assigned them already on this side Jordan, in the land of Gilead; but the other half of the tribe of Manasseh, who were to have their inheritance in Canaan, where the daughters of Zelophehad also had their portion, as appears from Josh. xvii. 3, 4, &c.

*Came near and spake before Moses, and before the princes, the chief fathers of the children of Israel.*] Who were met together in a great assembly, as they used to do about public affairs. (See xxvii. 2. xxxi. xxxii. 2.)

Ver. 2. *And they said, The Lord commanded my lord.*] This shews that one of them was the mouth of the rest.

*To give the land for an inheritance by lot to the children of Israel.*] See xxvi. 52, 53. For there the foundation of all these doubts was laid.

*And my lord was commanded by the Lord to give the inheritance of Zelophehad.*] Which would have fallen to Zelophehad, had he been alive.

*Our brother.*] So they called their near relations.

*Unto his daughters.*] Who petitioned him for the possession which should have been their fathers', and it was granted them. (See xxvii. 6, 7.)

Ver. 3. *And if they be married to any of the sons of the other tribes of the children of Israel.*] They being rich, many, it may be supposed, of the other tribes, as well as their own, would court them for their wives: and if they should choose a husband that was not of their own tribe, they represent to Moses the inconveniences which from thence would follow.

*Then shall their inheritance be taken from the inheritance of our fathers.*] *i. e.* Go out of our tribe, to which it originally belonged.

*And shall be put to the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received.*] Become a part of the inheritance of that tribe into which they married.

*So shall it be taken from the lot of our inheritance.*] For it must have descended unto their children, who were of another tribe by the father's side; which alone was considered, and not the mother's, in this case.

Ver. 4. *And when the jubilee of the children of Israel shall be.*] Which was ordained for the preserving estates in the tribes and families to which they originally appertained, (Lev. xxv. 10. 13.)

*Then shall their inheritance be put unto the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received.*] The jubilee will not help us in this case, by making their inheritances return as other lands do; because they are become the inheritance of another tribe by the right of marriage.

*So shall their inheritance be taken away from the inheritance of the tribe of our fathers.*] So will their estate go out of our tribe, without remedy, because the jubilee itself will give us no relief.

Ver. 5. *And Moses commanded the children of Israel, according to the word of the Lord.*] Whom, I suppose, he consulted about this matter, (as he did when the first doubt was moved about the inheritance of these women, xxvii. 5.) and received the answer by which he here commanded the Israelites to govern themselves.

*The tribe of Joseph.*] In whose name the chief fathers of their several families made this representation to Moses; as became men who took care of the concerns of the whole tribe.

*Hath said well.*] In desiring the inheritance of these women might not go out of their tribe, which was prevented by the following law.

Ver. 6. *This is the thing which the Lord doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, Let them marry to whom they think best.*] They were not confined to any particular persons; but might have their choice among those who were descended from the same stock, as it immediately follows.

*Only to the family of the tribe of their father shall they marry.*] Only with these two limitations, that they might not marry a man of another tribe, nor a man of another family in their own tribe. For it is very manifest, that they are tied to marry into the family of their father; and accordingly they did actually marry their cousin-germans, as we now speak, (ver. 11.) For this law was made for the preservation of families (as well as of tribes), as the law for the redemption of lands was. And therefore these words, *the family of the tribe of their father,* are well translated by Grotius, (upon Matt. i. 16.) *familia stirpis paternæ, the family of the stock of their father,* which was that they desired might not perish, (xxvii. 4.) and was the ground of the law, which commanded a man to marry the wife of his brother, who left no issue, (Deut. xxv. 16.) Therefore, there being several families in the tribe of Manasseh, (xxvi. 29—32.) these women could marry only into the family of the Hepherites.

Ver. 7. *So shall not the inheritance of the children of Israel remove from tribe to tribe.*] For by preserving it in the family to which it was given, it was necessarily preserved in the tribe.

*For every one of the children of Israel shall keep himself to the inheritance of the tribe of his fathers.*] And not endeavour to get any part of the inheritance of another tribe, by marrying an heiress in it. Plato himself took care of this, that when a man left only a daughter, his estate should not be carried by her to a stranger, but she should be bound to marry Κατ' ἀγχιστείαν, *one that was nearest of kin to her.* And if there was a want of near kindred μέχρι μὲν ἀδελφοῦ υἱιδῶν, &c. *it should descend to the children of her father's brother, or the children of the grandfather, some of which he ordains should marry her.* (Lib. xi. de Legibus, p. 924, 925. edit. Serrani.)

Ver. 8. *And every daughter that possesseth an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel.*] Here this law is made general, that all women who were heiresses, as the daughters of Zelophehad were, should do as they are here commanded. And this was one of the Attic laws, which, as Grotius observes, were plainly borrowed from the law of Moses, Μὴ ἐξεῖναι ταῖς ἐπικλήροις ἔξω τῆς ἀγχιστείας γαμεῖν,

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&c. *That an heiress should not marry out of her kindred,* but dispose of herself and estate, τῷ ἐγγύτατα γένους, *to one nearest of kin to her;* which was one of the laws of Solon, as Sam. Petitus observes out of Isæus, Pollux, and others, in his Comment. in Leges Atticas, lib. vi. tit. 1. p. 441.

*Shall be wife to one of the family of the tribe of her father.*] Here she is confined to her family, and not merely to her tribe. But this concerned only such as were heiresses: all other women might marry into what tribe they pleased; as appears by those very books, wherein we read that Aaron himself married the sister of the prince of Judah, (Exod. vi. 22.) And if any object, that this was before the giving of the law, it is evident that Jehoida, a priest, and consequently of the tribe of Levi, married king Jehoram's sister, who was of the tribe of Judah, (2 Chron. xxii. 11.) And long before this, all the tribes of Israel, being in great solicitude how to find wives for their brethren of Benjamin, did not scruple their having them out of any tribe, if it had not been for their oath, (Judg. xxi. 18.) And, to add no more, David himself, of the tribe of Judah, married Michal, the daughter of Saul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin.

The Talmudists add, that even these heiresses might marry into what tribe they pleased, after the first division of the land by Joshua: to which they imagine this law was restrained; it being a common saying among them, "that it did not belong to any age, but that in which it was made." In the following ages they pretend a man might purchase land in any tribe, and possess it alway; or have the inheritance of it by marriage, though he were of another tribe, as Selden shews their opinion to be, (lib. de Successionibus ad Leges Hebr. cap. 18. and lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 4. n. 1. and Buxtorf. de Sponsal. et Divortiis, sect. 44.) But this is well confuted by Grotius in his Annotations upon Matt. i. 16.

Ver. 9. *Neither shall the inheritance remove from one tribe to another tribe.*] This establishes in general what he had said before, (ver. 7.) with particular respect to the daughters of Zelophehad. But Moses ben Nachman, upon these very words, asserts the Talmudic opinion beforementioned, that this concerns only the present time, not future ages. And puts this case (which is the strongest that can be thought of), if a woman were married into another tribe, after which marriage, her father and all her brethren dying without children, the inheritance fell to her, and consequently, saith he, the possession must devolve from one tribe to another, into which she had married. But, according to the letter of these words, the inheritance was rather to descend to the next of her kindred, than by her be carried out of the tribe to which it belonged.

*But every one of the tribes of the children of Israel shall keep himself to his own inheritance.*] Shall *cleave* or *stick* close to his own inheritance, as the Hebrew word signifies; and as the Greek and Latin express it. The reason of the command was, as Procopius Gazæus observes, to prevent the confusion of tribes. How the Vulgar Latin came to deviate so much from the Hebrew text, and from the intention of this law (as it hath done in this and the two preceding verses), I shall not here examine. It is sufficient to note, that Onkelos hath expressed the Hebrew text word for word; and the LXX. do not depart from the sense of it.

Ver. 10. *Even as the Lord commandeth Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad.*] Accordingly they followed this direction when they came into the land of Canaan, and had received their portion there. Now there being no such words added here, as there are in other cases, *this shall be unto the children of Israel a statute of judgment,* (xxvii. 11.) much less *a statute of judgment throughout your generations,* (xxxv. 29.) it led, I conjecture, the Talmudic doctors into the forementioned opinion, that this law concerned only the present generation.

Ver. 11. *For Mahlah, Tizzah, and Hoglah, and Milkah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad.*] Thus they are called both in xxvi. 33. and xxvii. 1. though they are not there mentioned in the same order; for Tizzah is there named last, who is here named in the second place. Perhaps they are set down here in the order wherein they were disposed in marriage; and Tizzah, who was the younger, was married in the second place.

*Were married unto their father's brother's sons.*] For Hepher, no doubt, had other sons besides Zelophehad, who had issue-male, though Zelophehad had not. What their names were, or how many of them, we do not know; but some suppose them to have been six; one of which died in the wilderness without issue. See Selden, de Successionibus, cap. 23. where he discourses at large of the portion which fell to them in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 12. *And they were married into the families,* &c.] In the margin, more exactly out of the Hebrew, *to some that were of the families; i. e.* to one of the families of Manasseh, from whom several families descended, (xxvi. 29, &c.)

*And their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father.*] The word for *tribe* signifies sometimes merely a family in a tribe. And so the LXX. (as Grotius observes in the place beforenamed) in this very business, uses sometimes the word δῆμος, and sometimes φυλή; the former of which signifies a part of a whole tribe. And thus Josephus also uses the word φυλή, to signify a *family.* Mr. Selden hath the same observation in his book de Successionibus, cap. 18. that משפחת is sometimes translated φυλή; and then it signifies not a tribe, but πατριὰν, συγγένειαν, *familiam, cognationem, seu genus sanguine proximum; a family, a kindred, or those that are next in blood.* But there is no need of these observations, if the words be translated, as they may, rightly; *And their inheritance remained in the tribe and the family of their fathers.* (See ver. 6.)

Ver. 13. *These are the commandments and the judgments which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses to the children of Israel, in the plains of Moab, by Jordan near Jericho.*] He began to deliver the precepts here intended at chapter xxvi. (see ver. 3.) and continues them to this place. By *commandments,* seem to be meant the precepts about the worship of God, (chap. xxviii. xxix. xxx.) and by *judgments,* the civil laws about dividing their inheritances, and regulating their descent to their posterity, and establishing cities of refuge for manslayers, which are expressly called *a statute of judgment,* (xxvii. 11. xxxv. 29.) Some other things are interspersed, as God's commandment to number the people (which was in order to the assigning them their inheritances proportionable to their families), to execute judgment on the Midianites, and to set down in writing their travels in the wilderness; of which I have given an account in their proper places.

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THE

# FIFTH BOOK OF MOSES,

CALLED

# DEUTERONOMY.

THIS book had the name of DEUTERONOMY given it by the Greeks, from the principal scope and design of it; which was to repeat unto the Israelites, before Moses left them, the *chief laws of God*, which had been given them: that they who were not then born when they were first delivered, or were incapable to understand them, or had not sufficiently regarded them, might be instructed in them, and awakened to attend them. (See ver. 1. 5.) In order to this, he premises a short narrative of what had befallen them since they came from Mount Sinai unto this time, in the three first chapters; and then in the fourth urges them, by a most pathetical exhortation, to the observance of those laws which he had taught them, especially the ten commandments, with which he begins the fifth chapter; where he makes a solemn rehearsal of the covenant God made with them in Horeb; and what immediately followed upon the delivery of the law by God himself from Mount Sinai. And then, having earnestly pressed the observation of the first commandment, in the former part of the sixth chapter, and in the latter part of it, and in the several chapters that follow (to the end of the eleventh), reminded them of a great many things which God had done for them, and given them several cautions, lest they let them slip out of their minds, and used many arguments, from several topics (as we call them), to move them to be obedient to all the other commandments; he proceeds in the twelfth chapter, and so forward to the twenty-eighth, to remember them of a great many other laws besides the ten commandments, which he had delivered to them. Some of which he explains; others he enforces with further reasons; and in several places adds new laws for the greater security of the whole, (particularly, he orders the writing of God's law upon stones, when they came into the land of Canaan, chap. xxvii.) and then pronounces those promises which God had made to the obedient, and his threatenings to the disobedient, more largely, and with greater force, than he had done in the twenty-sixth of Leviticus. After which he again remembers them of several wonderful works of God for them, (chap. xxix.) and renews the covenant between God and them; using several arguments to persuade them to a dutiful observance of God's law: which he commands (chap. xxxi.) to be read to all the people in the conclusion of every seventh year, that none might pretend ignorance of it. And then concludes all with a most admirable song, which he orders every one to learn; and with a blessing upon the twelve tribes.

All this was done in the two last months of the last year of Moses's life. But not all at once, as plainly appears by several parts of the book; in which he writes what he delivered to them at several times. Which is the reason of the repetition of the very same thing over and over again: that he might make it sink into their minds by being often inculcated. Some have been so foolish as to make this an objection against this book being composed by Moses. But it shews their great ignorance; all wise men having ever judged it necessary to say, τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, *the very same things concerning the same things;* that they might be thoroughly understood, and fixed in the memory of their auditors, and settled in their hearts and affections. Particularly Epictetus (as David Chytræus long ago observed) delivered this as a profitable rule in all studies; Εἰδέναι χρὴ, ὅτι οὐ ῥᾴδιον δόγμα παραγενέσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ, εἰ μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ λέγῃ τις καὶ ἀκούῃ, καὶ ἅμα χρᾶται πρὸς τὸν βίον. *This must be known* (as a certain truth), *that it is not easy for a man to attain the solid knowledge of any thing, unless he both read and hear the same things every day; and also set himself to the practice of them.* This course Moses took with the children of Israel: spending every day, it is likely, of the latter end of his life in calling to their mind, again and again, what he had taught them; and the reason they had to do accordingly.

## CHAP. I.

Ver. 1. *THESE be the words.*] This book contains the words.

*Which Moses spake unto all Israel.*] All the people could not hear what he said, but he ordered the elders and heads of the several tribes to communicate to the whole congregation what he delivered to them, in the audience of many of the people who were assembled with them. Thus these words are commonly understood. But, considering the great weight of what is here said, I rather think that Moses himself, at several times, spake what here follows in the ears of the people. (See v. 1.)

*On this side Jordan.*] The Vulgar Latin having translated the Hebrew words [*beeber*] *on the other side Jordan*, it hath furnished some ill-disposed minds with an argument, that Moses was not the author of this book: for he that wrote plainly shews that he was in Canaan when he wrote it. But a very little consideration would have prevented this frivolous objection; there being nothing more certain, than that the Hebrew words signify indifferently, either one side or the other; and may be literally translated, *in the passage over Jordan*, or as they were about to pass over it; as

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Huetius observes and proves, by plain examples, that the Hebrews have no other word to express their mind, when they would say either on this side or beyond. (See Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 14.) To which another learned writer, since him, (Hermannus Witsius, lib. i. Miscel. Sacr. cap. 14.) hath added several other places, which evidently shew, that *beeber* is a word that indifferently belongs to either side of any place, (see 1 Sam. xiv. 40.) and must be determined by the matter in hand, to which it is to be applied. And here, undoubtedly, it is to be rendered *on this side Jordan.* (See iii. 8.)

*In the wilderness in the plain.*] In the plain of Moab, where they had remained a long while; as appears from the foregoing book, (Numb. xxii. 1. xxvi. 3. 63. xxxi. 12. xxxiii. 48. 59. xxxv. 1. xxxvi. 13.)

*Over against the Red Sea.*] There is no word in the Hebrew text for *sea;* and therefore the marginal translation is to be preferred, which is, *over against Suph;* which was a place in the country of Moab, (see Numb. xxi. 14.) over against which they now lay encamped; but were so far distant from the Red Sea, that there can be no respect to it here.

*Between Paran.*] He doth not mean the *wilderness of Paran* frequently mentioned in the foregoing book (for that was as remote from hence as the Red Sea), but some place in the country of Moab, as Suph was, and the rest of the places which here follow.

*And Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab.*] There was a place called Hazeroth, where they had encamped a long time ago, (Numb. xi. 35. xxxiii. 17.) but it was in another wilderness far from this place, as appears by the account Moses gives of their removals from that place to this, where they now lay, (Numb. xxxiii. 17. 48, 49.) And therefore I take this, and the other three places here mentioned, to have been frontier-towns in the country of Moab, which lay upon the borders of this plain. The last of which, Dizahab, is translated by the LXX. and the Vulgar, as if it signified a place where there were mines of gold.

Onkelos and the Jerusalem Targum, who take Suph to signify the Red Sea, and Paran for the wilderness through which they had come many years ago, &c. are forced to add several words to make out the sense of this verse in this manner: *These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan, &c. reproving them because they sinned in the desert, and provoked God in the plain over against the Red Sea; and murmured in Paran about manna; and at Hazeroth for flesh,* &c. And so they proceed to mention other sins committed in other places; but not in these here named: which they force, from their natural sense, to comply with this conceit.

Ver. 2. *There are eleven days' journey from Horeb,* &c.] Or *eleven days* (we were a coming) *from Horeb, by the way of Mount Seir, unto Kadesh-barnea.* Which cannot be understood of the whole time they spent between these two places, but only of the time they spent in travelling: for they stayed a month at Kibroth-hattaavah, and a week more at Hazeroth, (Numb. xi. 21. xii. 15, 16.) before they came to Kadesh-barnea. This he represents to them, to make them sensible they had been kept in the wilderness so many years as had passed since they came out of Egypt; not because it was a long way to Canaan, but for the reason mentioned in the fourteenth of Numbers. For from Horeb (whither he ordered them to go when they came out of Egypt) they came in eleven days, and took no long journeys, to the borders of the land of Canaan, where Kadesh-barnea lay. So Maimonides; The way was plain and known between Horeb (whither God brought them on purpose to serve him) and Kadesh: which was the beginning of a habitable country; according to what he saith, Numb. xx. 16. (See More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 1. see Numb. xiii. 26.)

*By the way of Mount Seir.*] The country of the Edomites, (chap. ii. ver. 12.)

*Unto Kadesh-barnea.*] How they were ordered to come hither, and what they did here, he relates, ver. 6. 19. and so proceeds to give an account of several remarkable things which befel them, unto the time when he wrote these things, which he sets down in the next verse.

Ver. 3. *And it came to pass in the fortieth year.*] After they came out of Egypt.

*In the eleventh month, on the first day of the month.*] In the first month of this fortieth year they came into the wilderness of Zin, unto another Kadesh, (Numb. xx. 1.) From whence they removed to Mount Hor; where Aaron died on the first day of the fifth month of this year. See there, ver. 28. where it appears, ver. 29. they mourned for him thirty days, that is, till the beginning of the sixth month. In which they fought with king Arad, (Numb. xxi.) and from Mount Hor travelled from place to place (as we read there, and Numb. xxxiii.) till they came to these plains of Moab. In which journeys, and in the rest of the transactions, mentioned in the latter end of the book of Numbers, they spent the other five months of this year; as I have observed in their proper places. And now began the eleventh month, when Moses, being to leave the world before the end of this year, spake all that follows in this book. And this speech (which he begins ver. 6. and continues to the fortieth verse of the fourth chapter), the great primate of Ireland thinks, he made to the people on the twentieth of February, and on the sabbath-day, as the reader may find in his Annals.

*That Moses spake unto the children of Israel, according unto all that the Lord hath given him in commandment unto them.*] Made a rehearsal of all that at several times he had received from the Lord, and delivered unto them.

Ver. 4. *After he had slain Sihon the king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon.*] About five months ago; for it was after Aaron's death, which was the first day of the fifth month, (Numb. xxxiii. 38.) and they mourned for him all that month. (See Numb. xxi. 21, &c.)

*And Og the king of Bashan, which dwelt at Astaroth.*] This was a city in the country of Bashan, (Josh. xiii. 31.) and a city it was of very great antiquity, as appears from Gen. xiv. 5. (See there.) From whence some think the famous goddess Astarte had her name, being here worshipped. But whether that goddess took her name from this city, or the city from the goddess, is not certain; as Mr. Selden observes in his Syntagma ii. de Diis Syris, cap. 2. But that the heathen deities were wont to have their names from the groves, mountains, cities, and caves, where they were worshipped, is as certain as it is uncertain from whence Astarte, or Astaroth (as the Scripture name is), was so called.

*In Edrei.*] His royal palace was at Astaroth (as Sihon's

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was at Heshbon), but he was slain in Edrei, (Numb. xxi. 33.)

Ver. 5. *On this side Jordan, in the land of Moab.*] In the plains of Moab; before they passed over Jordan. (See ver. 1.)

*Began Moses to declare this law, saying.*] To call to remembrance that which any one had forgotten; and to explain that which any one did not understand. So Maimonides expounds these words in Seder Zeraim. "In the end of the fortieth year, in the beginning of the month Shebat, Moses called the people together, saying; The time of my death draws near, if any one, therefore, hath forgot any thing that I have delivered, let him come and receive it; or if any thing seem dubious, let him come that I may explain it. And so they say in Siphri, *If any one have forgotten any constitution, let him come and hear it the second time; if he need to have any thing unfolded, let him come and hear the explication of it.*" For which he quotes this verse; and says that Moses spent all his time in this, from the beginning of the month Shebat to the seventh day of Adar. And what he now said was likely to be more regarded, because these were, in a manner, his dying words; for he lived but till the seventh day of the next month; and seems to have composed this book as a compendium of his whole law, for the familiar use of the children of Israel; from whence it is called Deuteronomy, *i. e.* a second law. (See Huetius in his Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 1.)

Ver. 6. *The Lord our God spake unto us in Horeb, saying.*] Numb. x. 13.

*Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount.*] From the third month of the first year (Exod. xix. 1.) to the twentieth day of the second year after they came out of Egypt, (Numb. x. 11.) they stayed at Mount Sinai, which is the same with Horeb, they being only two tops of the same mountain, one of them something higher than the other, as they are described by those who have taken a view of them. For Moses was twice with God, for the space of forty days, in this mount: and here the tabernacle and all things belonging to it were made, according to the orders he there received; and then was erected and consecrated; and the people all numbered and disposed under several standards, to march in such order as God appointed, (Numb. ii. 3. 10. 17, &c. x. 14, 15, &c.)

Ver. 7. *Turn you.*] From this mountain.

*And take your journey.*] Resume your journey, which you have so long intermitted.

*And go to the mount of the Amorites.*] A mount on the south part of Canaan, inhabited by the Amorites, together with some Canaanites and Amalekites, (Numb. xiv. 25. 43. 45.) But the principal possessors of it were Amorites, as is expressed more than once in this chapter, ver. 19, 20. 44. This is the mountain to which Moses bade the spies go up, Numb. xiii. 17. and so they did, ver. 22.

*And unto all the places nigh thereunto.*] And so pass into all the neighbouring country which lies near it.

*In the plains, in the hills, and in the vale.*] This is a description of the country nigh unto this mountain; some of which was champion (as we speak), and other parts of it consisted of hills and dales.

*And in the south, and by the sea-side, to the land of the Canaanites, and unto Lebanon, and unto the great river, the river Euphrates.*] And so go into all the rest of the land of Canaan: the several quarters of which he here sets forth. The southern part lying towards this mountain; the western upon the sea (where the people properly called Canaanites dwelt); the northern towards Lebanon; and the eastern towards the river Euphrates. Which by other authors, as well as Moses, is called the *great river*. So Callimachus, in his hymn to Apollo, v. 103.

Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος——

*The great flood of the Assyrian river;* which the scholiast observes is meant of Euphrates. And Lucan,

——"Cum Tigride magnus
Euphrates"—— Lib. iii. ver. 253.

Ver. 8. *Behold, I have set the land.*] In the Hebrew, *given the land, i. e.* bestowed it upon you, and am ready to bring you into possession of it.

*Before you.*] That every one of you may have his share of it. Or, that you may go whither you please, and settle yourselves in it, (Gen. xiii. 9. xxxiv. 10.)

*Go in and possess the land.*] Therefore make no longer stay here in the wilderness; but go and take possession of my gift.

*Which the Lord sware unto your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,* &c.] Gen. xv. 18. xvii. 7, 8. xxvi. 3. xxviii. 13.

Ver. 9. *And I spake unto you at that time, saying.*] About the time of their coming to Horeb, or Mount Sinai. For the story of Jethro, unto which this relates, preceded that immediately, (Exod. xviii.) Many great men place it after the giving of the law: of which, see Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 2. n. 4.

*I am not able to bear you alone.*] We do not read, before now, that Moses spake thus to the people. But Jethro spake in this manner to him, Exod. xviii. 18. and gave him advice to take some others to his assistance, (ver. 21.) which advice he followed, (ver. 24.) And then spake to the people what Jethro had said to him; and enlarged upon it, in the words we read here, in the following verses: where he gives them the reason why he could not perform the office of a judge alone.

Ver. 10. *The Lord your God hath multiplied you; and, behold, ye are this day as the stars of heaven for multitude.*] Increased unto a greater number than can easily be told.

Ver. 11. *The Lord God of your fathers make you a thousand times so many as you are.*] As if he had said, I am not troubled at your vast increase, but bless God for it; and beseech him to make you a thousand times more numerous than at present you are.

*And bless you, as he hath promised you.*] In the promise often repeated to their fathers, (Gen. xii. 2. xv. 5. xvii. 5, 6, xviii. 18. xxii. 17. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14.)

Ver. 12. *How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burden, and your strife?*] But how is it possible for one man alone to undergo the labour of hearing all the complaints of such a multitude; and of remedying all their grievances, and determining all their controversies? So the last word signifies, *suits at law* (as we speak), as the two former signify other differences, which arose between one man and another, about such things as are mentioned in the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third chapters of Exodus. The first word, which we translate *cumbrance*, signifies *tædiosam litigantium serram*, (as Hottinger



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interprets it, in his Smegma Orientale, lib. i. cap. 6.) the tedious pleadings of those that manage causes before a judge, by bills and answers (suppose) and rejoinders, &c.

Ver. 13. *Take ye.*] In the Hebrew it is *give ye, i. e.* present unto me such persons as you think fit, according to the following characters.

*Wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes.*] Men of known wisdom, prudence, and integrity; skilful in Divine and human laws. (See Exod. xviii. 21.) Some take *wise men* to signify such as knew much; and *understanding*, such as had prudence to make use of their knowledge, being men of experience, and they were to be noted for both these; otherwise the people would not have reverenced them.

Ver. 14. *And ye answered me, and said, The thing which thou hast spoken is good for us to do.*] This consent of the people is not recorded before; but sufficiently implied in their submission to this regulation, mentioned Exod. xviii. 26.

Ver. 15. *So I took the chief of your tribes, wise men, and known.*] From among those men that they presented to him, he took, I suppose, such persons among the chief of their tribes, as were endowed with the qualities here named, and were known by all so to be. For obscure persons, either for birth, or experience in affairs, would have been contemned: and therefore he chose the noblest of those that were presented to him (called here the *chief of their tribes*), if they were no less worthy than others. For some such, no doubt, there were among their great men, as might be thought fit for this high employment. And they were the fitter, because, being men of quality (as we speak), they were less liable to be corrupted by bribery. From which Moses took care all judges should be so free, that he expressly requires they should be men *hating covetousness*, (Exod. xviii. 21.) And Solon did not forget to make this a part of the oath, which every judge in Athens took (which is mentioned at large by Demosthenes: in his oration against Timocrates) οὐδὲ δῶρα δέξομαι τῆς ἡλιάσεως ἕνεκα, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, οὔτ' ἄλλος ἐμοὶ, &c. *I will receive no gift upon the account of my sentence; neither I myself, nor any body else for me, nor others with my knowledge, by any artifice or device whatsoever.*

*And made them heads over you.*] Set them to govern and rule the people, (as it is expressed ver. 13.) by deciding all causes which were brought before them; as far as they were able to understand them.

*Captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, and captains over fifties, and captains over tens.*] It is a question, whether they were commanders over so many families, or persons; as I observed upon Exod. xviii. 25. Hermannus Conringius thinks they were rulers (as the word signifies) over so many fathers of families, understanding by a family that which we now call a household, (De Republ. Hebræorum, sect. 18.)

*And officers among your tribes.*] The same great man, in the twenty-sixth section of the same book, takes *schotrim* to have been judges, as well as the rest. His great reason is, because the seventy elders were ordered to be chosen out of them, among others, (Numb. xi. 16.) Now it is altogether improbable, he thinks, that such a *prophetical college* as that was, should be chosen out of such mean officers, as the Hebrew doctors make these *schotrim* to have been. But see what I have noted upon Exod. v. 14. and Numb. xi. 16. And let me here add, that if they were judges (and not attendants upon them), they were very mean ones, being put below the *rulers of ten*. But howsoever this be, it is certain some of these judges had greater authority than others, being entrusted with a larger jurisdiction; and, it is likely, greater abilities were required in those over thousands, than in those over tens. As in the great Sanhedrin afterward, the Jews make more things necessary to qualify men for a place in it, than were requisite for those in lower courts; where no man could sit (much less in the highest) unless these seven things were remarkable in him, as Maimonides saith, (Halacah Sanhedrin, cap. 4. sect. 7.) *wisdom, humility, the fear of God, contempt of riches, love of truth, a good fame;* and he was *beloved also of others.*

Ver. 16. *And I charged your judges at that time, saying.*] As the quality of their persons and their endowments made them considerable, so they were dignified with the honourable name of *schofetim*, and were also called elders, which had been a long time a title of honour among the Jews, and in other nations.

*Hear the causes between your brethren.*] This was a necessary quality in a good judge, to give audience to every one that brought a cause before him; and not to delay any man. But the Jews infer from these words, that it was not lawful to hear any man when his adversary was absent; but both parties were to be there present. And they were also to be heard speak for themselves, if they pleased: which was part of the forenamed oath which Solon ordered all the Athenian judges to take, Ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ τε κατηγόρου καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν, *I will hear the accuser and the defender, both alike.*

*And judge righteously.*] The next thing required of a judge, was to be upright and impartial, not considering what the man was, but his cause. This is implied in the following words.

*Between every man and his brother.*] *i. e.* Between one Israelite and another.

*And the stranger that is with you.*] *i. e.* Between an Israelite and a proselyte: whether he were received into the covenant by circumcision, or not. For of this latter sort there were, no doubt, a great number, amongst that mixed multitude, who came with them out of Egypt, (Exod. xii. 38.) And while they were in the wilderness, there was not a distinct court for Israelites and proselytes; but their causes were tried in one and the same, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 3. n. 1.

Ver. 17. *And ye shall not respect persons in judgment.*] Not be swayed by particular affection or interest; but judge sincerely, without respect to relation, or any benefit or injury received.

*Ye shall hear the small as well as the great.*] Be equally disposed patiently to attend to the cause of a poor man, as of a great; and to do him as speedy and impartial justice. (See Lev. xix. 15.) And here the Hebrew doctors tell us of some singular practices in their courts, to preserve the dispensation of exact justice: for if one of the contending parties came into them richly clothed, and the other poorly, they would not hear them till both were clothed alike. Nor would they suffer one of them to sit, and the other stand; but both of them either sat, or stood. And if they sat, one of them was not permitted to sit higher than the

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other; but they sat by each other's side, &c. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 10.)

*Ye shall not be afraid of the face of men.*] Courage and undaunted resolution is another necessary qualification in a judge; who must not be overawed by what any man can do unto him; but remember (as it here follows) that he is in God's place.

*For the judgment is God's.*] God gave them their commission by Moses; so that they were his ministers, and acted by his authority: and therefore might be confident he would defend them in the discharge of their office. This shews, that though Moses alone acted by immediate authority from God, yet these always being constituted by him, were to be looked upon as pronouncing sentence in his name; who, after a peculiar manner, was the King and supreme Governor of the people of Israel.

*And the cause which is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it.*] Another quality is humility, in not adventuring to judge of things above their reach. Some think there were certain causes reserved to the cognizance of Moses, (as I observed upon Exod. xviii. 12.) but the contrary appears by these words, that all manner of causes were brought before these judges; and they, not the people, brought such causes before Moses, as they found too hard for them to determine. So that they, not the person whose cause it was, judged of the difficulty of the cause. (See Selden, lib. i. de Synedriis, cap. 16.)

Ver. 18. *And I commanded you at that time all the things that ye should do.*] As he rightly informed their judges, so he instructed the people also in their duty, before they went from Horeb, by delivering to them the judgments which God commanded him to set before them, Exod. xxi. 1. contained in that and in the two following chapters; whereby both they and their judges were to govern themselves.

Ver. 19. *And when we departed from Horeb.*] See Numb. x. 2.

*We went through all that great and terrible wilderness.*] It may well be called *great* because it extended a great way. For after three days' journey (Numb. x. 12.) they settled at Kibroth-hattaavah; which was in this wilderness of Paran. From whence they went to Hazeroth, which is still said to be in this wilderness, (Numb. xi. 35.) And when they went from thence, they were in the same wilderness, (xii. 16.) where Kadesh was, (xiii. 26. and see xxxiii. 19.) And this wilderness was very *terrible*, or dreadful; because there were no inhabitants in it but wild beasts.

*Which you saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites.*] All the way you went towards that mountain. (See ver. 7.)

*As the Lord our God commanded us.*] According to the direction which God gave them, by the motion of the cloud that went before them.

*And we came to Kadesh-barnea.*] Where they rested at the foot of that mountain, in the wilderness of Paran, (Numb. xiii. 2. 26.)

Ver. 20. *And I said unto you, Ye are come to the mountain of the Amorites, which the Lord our God doth give unto us.*] For this was part of the country which God bestowed upon them for their possession; as appears from Numb. xxxiv. 4. where Kadesh-barnea is mentioned as a frontier-place in their south border. And indeed the Amorites, wheresoever they found them, were to be expelled; as they had already dispossessed them of the whole kingdom of Sihon, who was king of the Amorites, (Numb. xxi. 21. 25, 26.)

Ver. 21. *Behold, the Lord thy God hath set the land before thee.*] All the country beyond this mountain, (ver. 8.)

*Go up.*] For there was a great ascent to it, (Numb. xiii. 17.)

*And possess it.*] Enter upon the possession of it.

*As the Lord God of thy fathers hath said unto thee.*] According to the promise made by God long ago, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, (see ver. 8.) which he is now ready to perform.

*Fear not, neither be discouraged.*] Do not dread either their number or their strength; but trust in the Lord (whose name he repeats four times in these three verses), that he will make good his word.

Ver. 22. *And ye came near unto me every one of you.*] The heads of every tribe, in the name of the whole congregation, whose desire this was.

*And said, We will send men before us.*] Some select persons.

*And they shall search out the land.*] Give us an account how it lies, and what kind of country it is.

*And bring us word again by what way we shall go up.*] Inform us which way to direct our march into it.

*And into what cities we shall come.*] What cities we shall first attack, to make our way the clearer into the country. Moses also charges the men that went to search the land with many other inquiries, (Numb. xiii. 18—20.) that the people might receive the fullest satisfaction.

Ver. 23. *And the saying pleased me well.*] He thought this a reasonable motion, proceeding only from a prudent caution; whereas, in truth, they were timorous and distrustful of God's promise.

*And I took twelve men of you, one of a tribe.*] That every body might be satisfied when they heard the report of their brethren, Numb. xiii. 2—4, &c. and God directed him so to do, as we read there.

Ver. 24. *And they turned.*] From Kadesh-barnea.

*And went up into the mountain.*] Numb. xiii. 17. 21.

*And came into the valley of Eshcol.*] It appears by the relation, (Numb. xiii. 21—23.) that this was the last place unto which they came when they had ended their search.

*And searched it out.*] After they had gone through all the quarters of the country.

Ver. 25. *And they took of the fruit of the land, in their hands, and brought it down unto us.*] Both grapes, pomegranates, and figs, (Numb. xiii. 23.)

*And brought us word again, and said, It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us.*] So they all said unanimously, and brought along with them a demonstration of it; (Numb. xiii. 27.) only they added, that they were not able to deal with the inhabitants of it.

Ver. 26. *Notwithstanding ye would not go up, but rebelled against the commandment of the Lord your God.*] Who bade you go up and not be afraid, (ver. 8. 21.) Which was the greater sin, because he had not only brought them to the borders of the land, but convinced them that he had not deluded them with fair promises of a better country than really it was: for they all saw the goodly fruit which it produced; and ought therefore to have believed he would fulfil his word, and give them the possession of it.



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Ver. 27. *And ye murmured in your tents.*] After great lamentations for a whole night together, (Numb. xiv. 1.)

*And said, Because the Lord hated us, he hath brought us forth out of the land of Egypt.*] Unto which therefore they desired and conspired to return, (Numb. xiv. 4.)

*To deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to destroy us.*] Nothing can be more pernicious (as Grotius here observes) than a persuasion that God doth not love us, but hath a design upon us, to destroy us.

Ver. 28. *Whither shall we go up?*] Moses, I suppose, still pressed them to go up, and take possession of the land: to which they gave him this snappish answer.

*Our brethren have discouraged our hearts.*] The men that you yourself sent to search the land, dispirited us by the report they have brought us. Which would not have had that effect upon them, if they had minded one part of it as much as the other, and calmly considered what Caleb and Joshua said, who made no doubt of success.

*Saying, The people is greater and taller than we.*] More numerous, and of far greater stature and strength, (Numb. xiii. 28. 33.)

*Their cities are great, and walled up to heaven.*] The spies only told them, that their *cities were walled, and very great,* (Numb. xiii. 28.) but their fear and confusion of thoughts augmented the danger of attempting the conquest of them: yet Moses himself thinks good afterward to use the same hyperbole, (ix. 1.) which is common in the best authors. For thus Homer, in Odyss. E. ver. 239. speaks of a fir-tree as high as heaven, *i. e.* exceeding tall:

——— ἐλάτη δ' ἦν οὐρανομήκης.

Many other instances may be seen in Bochartus's Phaleg. lib. i. cap. 13.

*And moreover, we have seen the sons of the Anakims there.*] See Numb. xiii. 28. 33. Const. L'Empereur will rather have it translated *the sons of the giants,* as the LXX. and Onkelos take it. Yet he acknowledges that Anak seems to have been the first parent and propagator of the race of giants after the flood; and, therefore, it may be properly translated as we do. (See Annot. in Itiner. Benjamini Tudelensis, p. 136.)

Ver. 29. *Then I said unto you.*] Moses here at large relates what he said unto their fathers upon this occasion; which he doth not mention in the book of Numbers (where we read only of his falling down before God), that he might awaken this generation to a greater confidence in God, and a dread of his judgment.

*Dread not, nor be afraid of them.*] Do not consider so much how strong they are, as how powerful the Lord your God is, who hath promised you this good land.

Ver. 30. *The Lord your God which goeth before you.*] In a glorious pillar of cloud and fire.

*He shall fight for you.*] As he had done hitherto, (Exod. xiv. 14. xvii. 8, &c.)

*According to all that he did for you in Egypt before your eyes.*] Why should you think he is less able to bring you into Canaan, than he was to redeem you from Egypt, where you were oppressed by very powerful enemies?

Ver. 31. *And in the wilderness.*] Ever since they came from thence through the wilderness of the Red Sea, (Exod. xiii. 18.) and in the wilderness of Sin, (Exod xvi. 1.) and the wilderness of Sinai, (Exod. xix. 1, 2.) and then through that terrible wilderness of Paran. (See above, ver. 19.)

*Where thou hast seen how the Lord thy God bare thee, as a man doth bear his son.*] The long experience they had of his tender care he had over them (which was as indulgent as that of a kind father towards his only son, when he is a child, whom he carries in his arms), should have made them confident of his gracious providence for the future.

*In all the way that ye went, until ye came to this place.*] He made provision for them in the most desolate places; bringing them water out of a rock; sending bread down to them from heaven; defending them from wild beasts, and from their fiercer enemies, &c.

Ver. 32. *Yet in this thing ye did not believe the Lord your God.*] He could not prevail with them to trust God; and go up, as he commanded, in his power and might to possess the land. Nor could all that Caleb and Joshua said at all move them, (Numb. xiv. 7—9.)

Ver. 33. *Who went in the way before you.*] Never failed constantly to direct and guide you in your journeys, (Exod. xiii. 22.)

*To search you out a place to pitch your tents in.*] But always marked out your encampments where they should be, (Numb. x. 17.)

*In fire by night, to shew you by what way you should go, and in a cloud by day.*] That they might be able to travel by night, as well as by day: which was most convenient in summer-time, when the sun was very scorching in a wilderness where there was no shelter, (Exod. xiii. 21. Numb. x. 16. 21.)

Ver. 34. *And the Lord heard the voice of your words.*] They not only distrusted God, (ver. 32.) but murmured against their leaders, and against God, in a mutinous manner; consulting to return into Egypt, (Numb. xiv. 1—4.) And moreover spake of stoning Caleb and Joshua for their good advice, (ver. 10.)

*And was wroth, and sware, saying.*] Which so provoked the Divine Majesty, that he irrevocably determined what follows; confirming it with an oath, (Numb. xiv. 21.)

Ver. 35. *Surely there shall not one of these men of this evil generation see that good land,* &c.] See Numb. xiv. 21. 28, 29.)

Ver. 36. *Save Caleb the son of Jephunneh.*] And Joshua the son of Nun. (See xiv. 24. 30. and see below, ver. 38.)

*He shall see it, and to him will I give the land that he hath trodden upon,* &c.] This was as exactly fulfilled as their disinheriting was, Josh. xiv. 9. 12. where the particular portion of land is mentioned which God promised to him, and which Joshua gave him in the mountain where the Anakims dwelt. For such was the wonderful faith and courage of Caleb, that he doubted not to dispossess those whom the rest of the Israelites dreaded as invincible.

Ver. 37. *Also the Lord was angry with me.*] Not at that time, but afterward; when they came into the wilderness of Zin, to another Kadesh, (Numb. xx. 1. 12.)

*For your sakes.*] By occasion of their fresh discontents and mutinous upbraidings of him, (Numb. xx. 2—4.) which provoked him so, that he spake unadvisedly with his lips; as the Psalmist observes, Psal. cvi. 31, 32. This was a high aggravation of their guilt; that they not only undid themselves, but brought great displeasure upon their worthy leader and governor, whom they wearied with their tumults

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and rebellions. Or the meaning may be (which doth not much differ from the account now given), that they murmuring in a tumultuous manner, when they saw the water did not flow out of the rock at the first stroke, he himself also was put into such a commotion, that he began to doubt, and say God would do nothing for such a rebellious people, though he had declared he would. If this be true, he soon recovered himself, and smote the rock again, in confidence God would be as good as his word. But God was so angry at the words he had spoken, that he so far punished him for them, as to deny him entrance into Canaan.

*Saying, Thou shalt not go in thither.*] Which threatening is renewed a little before his death, (Numb. xxvii. 13, 14.) and he could not get repealed by any entreaties, as we read in this book, iii. 26.

Ver. 38. *But Joshua the son of Nun, which standeth before thee.*] *i. e.* Waits upon thee.

*He shall go in thither.*] So God promised, when he, as well as Caleb, endeavoured to put courage into the people to go and possess the land, (Numb. xiv. 6, 7, &c. 30.)

*Encourage him, for he shall cause Israel to inherit it.*] Not only go thither, and have his portion there, but be the captain of Israel, and conquer the land for them, and divide it among them. This intimates as if Joshua was afraid he might be excluded as well as his master; being extremely troubled, it is likely, that he was not suffered to reap the fruit of his long labours. Therefore God bids Moses encourage his hope, and command him to take heart (as we speak), for undoubtedly he should do more than go into Canaan. Which may be the reason why his name is not put into the exception, (ver. 35, 36.) together with Caleb's; but they are mentioned separately, because there was something to be said peculiar to each of them.

Ver. 39. *Moreover, your little ones, whom ye said should be a prey.*] See Numb. xiv. 31.

*Which in that day had no knowledge of good and evil.*] And, consequently, did not provoke God by their disobedience.

*They shall go in thither,* &c.] Their innocence moved pity towards them: though children, in some cases, were cut off for their fathers' sins.

Ver. 40. *But as for you, turn you.*] From the land of Canaan; to which they were not permitted to go.

*And take your journey into the wilderness.*] And get you back again into the wilderness, out of which I have brought you, (Numb. xiv. 25.)

*By the way of the Red Sea.*] Thus they had their desire, in some part, of returning into Egypt, (Numb. xiv. 4.) which was not far from the Red Sea.

Ver. 41. *Then you answered and said unto me, We have sinned against the Lord.*] They repented when it was too late to do them any good. (See Numb. xiv. 40.)

*We will go up, and fight, according to all that the Lord our God commanded us.*] Now they resolve to encounter those enemies of whom they were before so afraid, as to speak of stoning those who exhorted them not to fear them, (Numb. xiv. 9, 10.)

*And when you girded on every man his weapons of war, ye were ready to go up into the hill.*] They not only made a stout resolution, but actually prepared themselves for the onset: as if there were no difficulty in that, which a little before they dreaded to think of. So De Dieu translates the last words, *Ye thought it an easy matter to ascend the hill;* or, ye despised going up the mountain; in our language, *made nothing of it.*

Ver. 42. *And the Lord said unto me, Say unto them, Go not up.*] See Numb. xiv. 41, 42.

*Neither fight.*] Much less think of fighting.

*For I am not among you.*] By my powerful presence to subdue your enemies, or to defend you from them (so the phrase is often used); for the ark of the covenant, the token of God's presence, did not go with them, (Numb. xiv. 44.)

*Lest ye be smitten before your enemies.*] Which would be a far greater disgrace than marching away from them.

Ver. 43. *So I spake unto you.*] See Numb. xiv. 42, 43.

*And ye would not hear.*] No more than before; when he bade them go up.

*And rebelled against the commandment of the Lord.*] For now it was against his will, as before it was his will, that they should go up.

*And went presumptuously up into the hill.*] Would venture against the express command of God, which was the highest presumption.

Ver. 44. *And the Amorites which dwelt in that mountain came out against you.*] As soon as they saw the Israelites ascend to assault them, they came down upon them, (Numb. xiv. 45.)

*And chased you, as bees do.*] Which pursue those that disturb their hives in great swarms, and with great fury, (Psal. cxviii. 12.) For though *bees* have very small bodies, yet they have great spirits, and a vast force, as Bochart observes in many instances, to make out the aptness of this comparison, in his Hierozoicon, par. ii. lib. iv. cap. 10.

*And destroyed you in Seir.*] It seems they fled towards that part of Idumea where Mount Seir was; which they afterward compassed many days, (ii. 1.) when they removed from Kadesh-barnea. And there some of them fell by the sword of the Amorites, who were the fiercest of all the people of Canaan, and might, on that account, be well compared to bees, who cease not their pursuit till they have fixed their stings.

*Even unto Hormah.*] See Numb. xiv. 45.

Ver. 45. *And ye returned.*] After the Amorites retreated.

*And wept before the Lord.*] Beseeching him to go along with you, and assist you to conquer the land.

*But the Lord would not hearken to your voice, nor give ear unto you.*] To consent that they should now go and possess the promised land, or stay near to it; but remained fixed in his resolution, that they should go back again, and wander in the wilderness as long as they lived.

Ver. 46. *So ye dwelt in Kadesh many days.*] God had commanded Moses to lead them into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea, the very next morning after their mutiny upon the return of the spies, (Numb. xiv. 25.) But they prevented this, by their early rising next morning to assault the Amorites in the mountain, (ver. 40.) After which they being discomfited, he permitted them to stay some time here to bemoan themselves. But how long, is not certain: for sometime the cloud stayed but two days; sometime a month, sometime a year, before it stirred from the tabernacle; which was the sign of their removal, (Numb. x. 22.) And in some stations, it is likely, they stayed several years: for from the time of their removal

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from Kadesh-barnea, till they came to Mount Hor, which was thirty-seven years, we find but nineteen stations. (See Numb. xxxiii. 18—37.)

*According to the days that ye abode there.*] Some expound it, As long as they did in all the rest of their stations, *i. e.* nineteen years, as the Jews compute in Seder Olam. But, as the learned Dr. Lightfoot thinks, it signifies, *as long as they did at Mount Sinai:* and so they stayed near a whole year, as they had done at Sinai. But the most simple explication seems to be, that they tarried here so long after this, as they had done before it, at least forty days; which was the time the spies spent in searching out the land. Though there is no necessity to confine it to that number, but simply to interpret it, that *as they stayed there many days before this mutiny, so they did as many after it.*

## CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. *AND we turned,* &c.] From the borders of the land of Canaan, to go southward, till they came to the very shore of the Red Sea. Which, as David Chytræus computes it, was thirty German miles from Kadesh-barnea.

*As the Lord spake unto me.*] According to the command formerly mentioned, Numb. xiv. 25.

*And we compassed Mount Seir.*] The mountainous country of Edom; whereof Mount Seir was but a part. For when they came to Ezion-Gaber, which was upon the Red Sea, they were still in the country of Edom, (1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17.) For it stretched a long way; from the confines of Canaan, unto Elath and Ezion-Gaber, on the Red Sea.

*Many days.*] Some think that they were marching to and fro along the borders of this country, all the time they spent from this removal, till they returned to go towards Canaan again. So that by *many days,* they understand the whole thirty-eight years which passed between their departure from Kadesh-barnea till they came over the brook Zered, (ver. 14.) For when they were at Ezion-Gaber (which was farthest from Canaan), they were, as I said, upon the borders of Edom: and so they were when they came back again, seven-and-thirty years after at Mount Hor, (Numb. xx. 23. xxi. 4.) But this must not be understood, as if all the stations mentioned Numb. xxxiii. after they left Kadesh-barnea till they came hither again, were near to the country of Edom: some of them might be remote, though they all lay in that wilderness, which reached from one end of Idumea to the other.

Ver. 2. *And the Lord spake unto me, saying.*] This was in the end of the thirty-ninth year after their coming out of Egypt; when they had spent thirty-seven years going to and fro since their departure from Kadesh-barnea. In all which time he gives us no account what passed, either in the foregoing book, or in this: but only sets down the places of their abode, as I observed in the thirty-third of Numbers.

Ver. 3. *Ye have compassed this mountain long enough.*] *i. e.* The mountainous country of Edom, mentioned ver. 1.

*Turn ye northward.*] From Ezion-Gaber, which was in the south, towards the north, that is, directly towards the land of Canaan.

Ver. 4. *And command thou the people, saying, Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir.*] For they went from Ezion-Gaber to Kadesh, (Numb. xx. 1.) and from thence to Mount Hor, (ver. 22. which was in the edge of the land of Edom, Numb. xxxiii. 37.) and from thence they travelled to compass the land of Edom, (xxi. 4.) *i. e.* the eastern quarter of it. So that though they did not pass *through* the coast of Edom, as we translate it, yet they passed *by* it, and very near unto it; as the particle *beth* frequently signifies, (Gen. xxxvii. 13. Josh. v. 13. 1 Sam. xxix. 1.) Though they may be truly said to *pass through their coast,* if thereby we understand *their border,* or the confines of their country.

*And they shall be afraid of you.*] Lest, wanting a settlement, the Israelites should seize upon their country. Accordingly we find, they raised all the force they could make to oppose them, Numb. xx. 20.

*Take ye good heed to yourselves therefore.*] Let not that encourage you to assault them.

Ver. 5. *Meddle not with them.*] Make not the least attempt upon them.

*For I will not give you of their land; no, not so much as a foot-breadth.*] *i. e.* Not the smallest portion.

*Because I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession.*] So Joshua saith expressly, Josh. xxiv. 4. wherein he made good the blessing of Isaac, (Gen. xxvii. 39.)

Ver. 6. *Ye shall buy meat of them for money, that ye may eat,* &c.] If you have a mind to any provision that their country affords, you shall not take it, but purchase it; as they did their very water, (ver. 29.) which was a scarce thing in those dry countries. And so the Israelites offered to do, when they treated with them about a passage through their country, (Numb. xx. 19.)

Ver. 7. *For the Lord thy God hath blessed thee in all the works of thy hand.*] Or, *though the Lord hath blessed thee,* &c. that is, though there is no need of it, God having abundantly provided you with all things necessary. But if we follow our translation, the sense is plain: *You have wherewith to buy of them what you need or desire; therefore do not take it away by force.*

*He knoweth thy walking through this great wilderness.*] Hath directed and prospered thee (as the world *knoweth* signifies in many places, Psal. i. 6. xxxi. 7.) in thy travels through a dangerous wilderness.

*These forty years the Lord thy God hath been with thee; thou hast lacked nothing.*] He had mercifully provided for them so constantly, that he let them want nothing necessary for their support. This was the sum of the argument why they should not molest the Edomites, nor take any thing by stealth from them, because they were in no need; and God hath given that country to the children of Esau, as he intended to give Canaan to the Israelites.

Their being in the wilderness forty years, is mentioned also viii. 2. xxix. 5. besides other places of Scripture. For, from the fifteenth day of the first month, in which their fathers came out of Egypt, (Numb. xxxiii. 5.) to the tenth day of the same month in which they went over Jordan into Canaan, (Josh. iv. 19.) there were but five days wanting of complete forty years. I cannot but here note also, that this is one of those places wherein Onkelos mentions the Memra, *i. e.* Word of Jehovah, which can signify nothing but a Divine person: for thus he translates these

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words, *The Word of the Lord thy God hath been thy helper; thou hast not wanted any thing.*

Ver. 8. *And when we had passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, through the way of the plain.*] *i. e.* Through the wilderness of Zin.

*From Elath, and from Ezion-Gaber.*] Two places upon the Red Sea; the last of which [Ezion-Gaber] signifies as much as the spine, or backbone of a man. So called, because there were great ragged rocks in that port (as Bochart observes), like those at Dyrrachium in Macedonia; which had its name also from thence, (lib. i. Canaan, cap. 44.)

*We turned.*] After they were denied passage through their country, and had gone through those stations mentioned Numb. xxxiii. 41, 42, &c.

*And passed by the wilderness of Moab.*] See Numb. xxi. 11. Going by the east side of their country, (Judg. xi. 18.)

Ver. 9. *And the Lord said unto me, Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle.*] He would not have them force their way through his country; because the king of Moab refused them a passage, as the king of Edom had done, (Judg. xi. 17.) For their country now was but small, since Sihon king of the Amorites had taken from them all the best of it, which lay between Arnon and Jabbok; of which the Israelites had possessed themselves by the conquest of Sihon. So that they had only that portion remaining which lay upon the Dead Sea; which David, in aftertimes, subdued.

*For I will not give thee of their land for a possession.*] No more than of Edom, (ver. 5.)

*Because I have given Ar.*] It is likely the capital city gave name to the whole country about it. At least Ar (which was the chief city of Moab, Numb. xxi. 15. 28.) is put here for all the land of Moab; as Mount Seir for all the land of Edom, (ver. 1.)

*Unto the children of Lot for a possession.*] Though the Moabites were now a wicked people; yet for their pious ancestor's sake, from whom they were descended, God would not have them dispossessed.

Ver. 10. *And the Emims dwelt there in time past,* &c.] A terrible people, as the very name imports, both for their number, and for their strength, being of a large size, like Anakims. (See Gen. xiv. 5.)

Ver. 11. *Which also were accounted giants, as the Anakims,* &c.] Which seems to have been their name; or else Rephaim: but to distinguish them from others of that name in Canaan, the Moabites called them Emims.

Ver. 12. *The Horims also dwelt in Seir before time.*] They were the ancient inhabitants of Mount Seir; as the Emims were of the country of Moab, (Gen. xiv. 6. xxxvi. 20.)

*But the children of Esau succeeded them.*] Planted themselves in that mountain.

*When they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their land.*] When the children of Esau expelled the Horites, or the children of Lot the Emims, is no where recorded; nor who were their leaders in these expeditions. But they seem to be here remembered, as an encouragement to the Israelites to hope that they might drive out the inhabitants of Canaan (who were not stronger than these), as they had already driven the Amorites out of the country of Sihon, as it here follows.

*As Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them.*] Some have argued from hence, that this book was not written by Moses, but by somebody else, after they had got possession of the land of Canaan. But it is manifest, this may relate to what they had done already in dispossessing Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og king of Bashan, of their country: which, it is expressly said, Moses had given for a possession to the tribe of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh; and that by God's direction, Numb. xxxii. 33. xxxiv. 14, 15. and in this book, xxix. 8. This hath been observed by many; particularly by Huetius, in his Demonstratio Evangelica, propos. iv. cap. 14. n. 15.

Ver. 13. *Now rise up, said I, and get you over the brook Zered,* &c.] Which elsewhere we translate *the valley of Zered.* (See Numb. xxi. 12.)

Ver. 14. *And the space in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we came over the brook Zered, was thirty-eight years.*] For it is evident, by the story in Numbers, that they came to Kadesh-barnea about the fourth month of the second year after they came out of Egypt. (See upon Numb. xii. 16.) And if we suppose that they removed from hence in the seventh or eighth month of that year, it is certain that they could not come to this brook till the seventh or eighth month of the fortieth year. For Aaron died at Mount Hor on the first day of the fifth month of this year; and we must allow two or three months time, for all that followed between that and this, *viz.* the conquest of king Arad, and of Sihon, and Og, &c.

*Until all the generation of the men of war.*] So they were called, who were above twenty years old, (Numb. i. 3.)

*Were wasted out from among the people.*] Utterly consumed, so that not one of them was left, (Numb. xxvi. 64, 65.)

*As the Lord sware unto them.*] See Numb. xiv. 28, 29.

Ver. 15. *For indeed the hand of the Lord was against them, to destroy them from among the host.*] Some of them, it is likely, died a natural death; but many of them might, in the course of nature, have lived longer, if God had not several ways cut them off before their time.

*Until they were consumed.*] By one plague or other, which God sent among them: so that a great deal of their time, in the thirty-eight years beforementioned, was spent, it is likely, in burying and mourning for their dead.

Ver. 16, 17. *So it came to pass, when all the men of war were consumed and dead from among the people, that the Lord spake unto me, saying.*] This was spoken, it is probable, just as they passed over the brook Zered, or in their next station, at Dibon-Gad, (Numb. xxxiii. 45.)

Ver. 18. *Thou art to pass through Ar, the coast of Moab, this day.*] Or rather, to *pass by* the border of Moab: for they were not permitted to come into their country, ver. 9. (See upon ver. 4.)

Ver. 19. *And when thou comest nigh over against the children of Ammon.*] As they did after the conquest of Sihon king of the Amorites; whose country bordered upon the Ammonites, (Numb. xxi. 13. 24.)

*Distress them not, neither meddle with them.*] The same command with that about the Edomites and Moabites, (ver. 5. 9.)

*For I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon any possession.*] As he had said before of the land of Moab, (ver. 9.)

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*Because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a possession.*] To the descendants of his youngest son; as he had done the country of Moab to the children of the eldest.

Ver. 20. *And that also was accounted a land of giants,* &c.] Was called the country of giants, or Rephaim: for people so called inhabited it.

*And the Ammonites called them Zamzummims.*] Changed their names, it is probable, from Zuzims, (see Gen. xiv. 5.) as they were called before, into Zamzummims. But why they were called either by the one name or the other, it is but conjectured. Some conceive they were called Zuzims from their swiftness, or nimble running, which, in warriors, was a quality always highly valued; and Zamzummims from their abominable wickedness, or their craft and cunning in doing mischief.

Ver. 21. *A people great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.*] The same description which he gave of the Emims, ver. 10.

*But the Lord destroyed them before them.*] *i. e.* Before the Ammonites; who expelled them out of their country, and it is like cut off the most of them.

*And they succeeded them, and dwelt in their land.*] This is so often repeated, to possess the minds of the Israelites with a sense of God's providence, which rules every where; displacing one people, and settling another in their stead; and fixing their bounds also, which they shall not pass without his leave.

Ver. 22. *As he did to the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, when he destroyed the Horites from before them,* &c.] He repeats this (which he had said before, ver. 12.) because it was a fresher instance of God's disposal of countries unto what people he pleases; and nearly touched the Israelites, because they were their brethren.

Ver. 23. *And the Avims which dwelt in Hazerim, even unto Azzah.*] Unto which he adds an instance, which seems to be elder than any of the former, concerning a people called Avims; who inhabited some part of the land of Canaan, whither they were going. For though we do not read of Hazerim in any other place, yet Azzah, *i. e.* Gaza, was in the country of the Philistines; who expelled these Avims. And David Chytræus thinks that Hazerim was a town afterward in the tribe of Judah, called Hazagaddah, Josh. xv. 27.

*The Caphtorim which came out of Caphtor.*] That is, some people of Cappadocia; who were near of kin to the Philistines. (See Gen. x. 14.)

*Destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.*] Concerning which, see in the place abovenamed. Unto which I shall only add, that the Avims being expelled out of Canaan by the Caphtorims, went, it is very probable, over Euphrates and settled there; till the king of Assyria brought some of them back again, to plant the country of Samaria; 2 Kings xvii. 31. where we translate this word Avites. (See Bochart, in his Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 36.)

Ver. 24. *Rise ye up, take your journey, and pass over the river Arnon.*] See Numb. xxi. 13, 14.

*Behold, I have given unto thy hand Sihon king of Heshbon, and his land,* &c.] You yourselves shall do to him, what your brethren the children of Esau did to the Horites, and the Moabites to the Emims, and the children of Ammon to the Zamzummims, and the Caphtorims to the Avims. By which their faith might still be more confirmed, that the people of Canaan, though never so mighty, should not be able to stand before them.

Ver. 25. *This day will I begin to put the dread of thee, and the fear of thee, upon the nations that are under the whole heaven.*] Especially upon the Canaanites, who were struck, no doubt, with terror by this conquest, as they had been by all that befel the Egyptians, (Josh. ii. 10, 11.)

*Who shall hear the report of thee.*] This explains what he means by the hyperbolical expression beforegoing, *the nations under the whole heaven;* that is, as many as shall hear of these things.

*And shall tremble, and be in anguish because of thee.*] As women in travail are.

Ver. 26. *And I sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth.*] There is a city of this name mentioned by Joshua, xiii. 18. from whence this wilderness had its denomination. Some take it to be the same with that called Jeshimon, Numb. xxi. 20.

*Unto Sihon, king of Heshbon, with words of peace.*] A friendly message, desiring there might be no quarrel between him and the Israelites, who desired nothing but the common offices of humanity.

Ver. 27. *Let me pass through thy land.*] Which was the direct way to the fords of Jordan.

*I will go along by the highway.*] Not turning into the fields or vineyards, as it is expressed Numb. xxi. 22. In the Hebrew the word is doubled, *bederech, bederech, by the way, by the way:* which seems to be a vehement affirmation, to assure them they would not stir out of the highway.

*I will neither turn unto the right hand, nor to the left.*] Not step aside out of the common road (called the king's highway), which was free for all people.

Ver. 28. *Thou shalt sell me meat for money, that I may eat,* &c.] They offered to pay for whatsoever they wanted; which is included in meat and drink.

*Only I will pass through on my feet.*] Barely have a passage through his country.

Ver. 29. *As the children of Esau which dwelt in Seir, and the Moabites which dwelt in Ar, did unto me.*] He doth not mean that they granted Israel a passage through their country; but that they did not deny to sell them meat and drink for their money, as they passed by their coasts.

*Until I pass over Jordan, unto the land which the Lord our God giveth us.*] This was said to move Sihon to consent to their desire, by letting him understand they intended nothing against his country; being secure of a settlement in the land of Canaan, unto which they prayed him to let them pass quietly.

Ver. 30. *But Sihon, king of Heshbon, would not let us pass by him.*] Refused to agree to this reasonable demand.

*For the Lord thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate,* &c.] Gave him over to his own inflexible humour, which was set upon violent courses; from which God did not divert him (because he intended to destroy him), but rather ordered things so, that his mind should be enraged and disturbed, and so unable to consider things prudently, and discern what belonged to his peace; which is the utmost that can be meant by *hardening* his spirit, and making his heart *obstinate.* Which, as it is a sin, cannot be ascribed unto God; but, as it is a punishment, might justly be inflicted by him upon Sihon for his former sins.

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Ver. 31. *And the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have begun to give Sihon and his land.*] This was said when Moses saw him coming out to battle against them (as it here follows in the next verse), at which time he is said to *begin to give* them his country, because he had absolutely resolved it; and, it is probable, so confounded his forces, that they were as good as already conquered.

*Before thee.*] Into their power; that they might go into it at their pleasure.

*Begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit his land.*] In the same sense he bids Moses *begin to possess; i. e.* prepare to take possession of it. (See iii. 2.)

Ver. 32. *Then Sihon came out against us, he and all his people, to fight at Jahaz.*] See Numb. xxi. 23.

Ver. 33. *And the Lord our God delivered him before us; and we smote him, and his sons, and all his people.*] They won the field, and killed him, his sons, and all that came out to fight with them. And R. Solomon saith his sons were like himself, very great men.

Ver. 34. *And we took all his cities at that time.*] After this victory they took his whole country, as is related Numb. xii. 24, 25. and the cities belonging to it are mentioned xxxii. 34, 35, &c.

*And utterly destroyed the men, and the women, and the little ones, of every city; we left none to remain.*] They being part of those wicked people the Amorites; whom God had condemned to utter destruction: for the Amorites came out of Canaan, and took this country from the Moabites and the children of Ammon.

Ver. 35. *Only the cattle we took for a prey unto ourselves,* &c.] They had the Divine warrant for this, no doubt; as they had for the extirpation of the people.

Ver. 36. *From Aroer, which is by the brink of the river Arnon.*] This river divided Moab from the kingdom of Sihon, (Numb. xxi. 13. 24.) upon which the city of Aroer stood; which was now in the possession of Sihon, though belonging formerly to the Moabites.

*And from this city that is by the river.*] This some take to be the city Ar, (Numb. xxi. 15.) But I think these words should rather be translated, *even the city in the river;* meaning Aroer still, as a remarkable place, being encompassed with the river, (Josh. xii. 2.) For Ar, I think, was never in the possession of the Amorites, being the capital city of Moab.

*Even unto Gilead.*] For half of Gilead belonged to the country of Sihon, (Josh. xii. 2.) and was given to the tribe of Gad, (Josh. xv. 2.) And the other half belonged to the kingdom of Og, (as we read in the same place, Josh. xii. 5.) and was given to the half tribe of Manasseh, (Josh. xiii. 31.)

Ver. 37. *Only unto the land of the children of Ammon thou camest not.*] That is, into no part of their country, which was then in their possession: but all that the Amorites had taken from them was given to the Gadites, (Josh. xiii. 25.)

*Nor unto any place in the river Jabbok.*] To no place beyond that river, which was the border of the children of Ammon, (Numb. xxi. 24. Josh. xii. 2.)

*Nor into the cities of the mountains.*] Much less into the mountainous parts of the country of the Ammonites.

*Nor unto whatsoever the Lord our God forbade us.*] The words in the Hebrew are, *And all whatsoever the Lord our God commanded us, i. e.* not to meddle withal.

## CHAP. III.

Ver. 1. *THEN we turned, and went up by the way of Bashan; and Og the king of Bashan came out against us,* &c.] See Numb. xxi. 33. where there are the very same words.

Ver. 2. *And the Lord said unto me, Fear him not: for I will deliver,* &c.] The same words in Numb. xxi. 34. Only there he saith, *I have delivered him into thy hand;* that is, resolved to do it. Which may interpret what is said in the foregoing chapter of this book, ver. 31. concerning Sihon.

Ver. 3. *So the Lord our God delivered into our hands Og also, the king of Bashan,* &c.] See Numb. xxi. 35.

Ver. 4. *And we took all his cities at that time, all the cities,* &c. *threescore cities.*] See upon Numb. xxxii. 41.

*All the region of Argob.*] A small province lying between Jordan and the mountains of Gilead, a little above the sea of Tiberias: which region was afterward called Trachonitis, from the asperity of the mountains.

*The kingdom of Og in Bashan.*] Belonging to his kingdom in Bashan, (ver. 13. and 1 Kings iv. 13.)

Ver. 5. *All these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars,* &c.] So they are described 1 Kings iv. 13.

Ver. 6. *And we utterly destroyed them,* &c.] For they were Amorites, and therefore under the curse of God; being part of the seven nations of Canaan, devotive to destruction. (See ii. 34.)

Ver. 7. *But all the cattle, and the spoil of the cities, we took for a prey to ourselves.*] As they had done before, when they destroyed Sihon and his people, (ii. 35.)

Ver. 8. *And we took at that time, out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites, the land which was on this side Jordan.*] Which was given to the two tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, (ver. 12, 13.) If men were not blinded with prejudice, they could not but see from hence, that the word *beeber,* in the first verse of this book, is rightly translated *on this side:* for beyond Jordan (as they would have it signify) in the land of Canaan, these two kings had no possessions; nor did Moses make any conquest there.

*From the river of Arnon unto Hermon.*] This river was the bounds of their country on the south; and Hermon, which was one of the mountains of Gilead (where it joins to Libanus), was their bound on the north.

Ver. 9. *Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion.*] And so it is called in Psal. xxix. 6. and joined with Lebanon: for it was as much a part of Libanus as of Gilead, these two mountains there meeting together. Whence Jeremiah calls Gilead the head of Lebanon, (xxii. 6.) because Libanus begins where Gilead ends.

*And the Amorites call it Shenir.*] And so it is called Ezek. xxvii. 5. and had this name, as Bochart conjectures, from the multitude of wild cats which were in this mountain: for the Arabians called that creature *sinaur* or *sinar.* (See Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. iii. cap. 14.)

Ver. 10. *All the cities of the plain.*] All the flat country which the LXX. thought was called *Misor;* for they retain here that Hebrew word.

*And all Gilead.*] *i. e.* All that part of it which belonged to him; which was but half, as I observed before, ii. 36.

*And all Bashan.*] That part of his country which was properly and peculiarly called Bashan; which being the



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most rich and fertile (as the word signifies), gave denomination to his whole kingdom.

*Unto Shalchah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan.*] The former of these is mentioned Josh. xiii. 11. (just as it is here) as the bounds of Bashan towards Mount Hermon, or Lebanon: so Chytræus, "A town in Bashan in the mountains of Libanus near to Machati." And Edrei was the place where they fought with Og, and overthrew him, (Numb. xxi. 23.)

Ver. 11. *For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of the giants.*] Or of the Rephaim, a very ancient people in that country, (Gen. xiv. 5.) who were either descended from the Amorites, or mingled with them: and Og was the very last of them; so that he and his people being destroyed, none of them remained.

*Behold, his bedstead is a bedstead of iron.*] Which was no unusual thing in ancient days, though far later than this. For Thucydides saith, that when the Thebans took Plateæ, they made beds of the brass and iron they found there; which they dedicated to Juno. And beds of silver and gold are mentioned by divers authors, as Huetius observes in his Demonstr. Evangel. propos. iv. cap. 14. n. 7.

*Is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon?*] This is thought by some to be a considerable objection against Moses being the author of this book: for how should this bedstead, say they, come to the children of Ammon in his days? No doubt they imagine it would have remained in Bashan whilst Og lived: though, in length of time, it might be carried into the country of the Ammonites: as, if Og, fearing the worst, might not send his bed and his best furniture unto the Ammonites, knowing they would be safe among them, because the Israelites were forbid to make war upon them. Or Moses, having conquered the country, and kept all the spoil, (ver. 7.) might not sell this, among other goods, to the children of Ammon, who preserved it in their capital city. Nobody can see an unreasonableness in either of these suppositions of the same Huetius. Nor do I see how the conjecture of another learned person (Andræas Masius, upon the twelfth of Joshua) can be confuted; which is, that the Ammonites drove out that monstrous sort of people, mentioned ii. 21. Og might possibly escape (and so is said here to be left of the remnant of the giants), who, flying hither to the Amorites, was made their king, because of his goodly presence and great valour. But the Ammonites kept his bedstead, and shewed it as a monument of that illustrious victory which they got over the Rephaim, or as they called them the Zamzummims, in that country.

*Nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits was the breadth thereof.*] This is mentioned, to shew of what a vast stature Og was: for bedsteads being, according to the common custom, made a third part longer than the persons that lie in them, he was six cubits high, as Maimonides computes, that is, as high again as any other man, (More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 47.) which is very sober discourse, in comparison with what other Jews say of him. (See Schickard, in his Bechinah Happeruschim, p. 120.)

*After the cubit of a man.*] According to the cubit of ordinary men, saith the same Maimonides (which is a little more than half a yard), not of Og beforementioned. But what need was there, say former objectors, to mention this? since the Israelites saw Og lie dead before them on the ground, and needed not to be told by Moses how tall he was? and therefore they conclude this was written by somebody else, in aftertimes. As if Moses did not write for the benefit of those that come after, as well as for the present generation. Who, that they might be satisfied what a vast man Og was, he left it upon record how large his bedstead was, and where it might be seen; whereby they may judge of his stature. Besides, there were in the present generation great numbers of children, old men, women, and servants, who could not go to see Og lie at length upon the field: but by this means were instructed from what a terrible enemy God had delivered them.

They that question the truth of this relation, may read, if they be able, what the learned Huetius hath at large discoursed concerning men of a portentous bigness in all countries, (in his Quæstiones Alnetanæ, lib. ii. cap. 12. n. 3.) of which no man can doubt, who is not resolved to disbelieve all the world. In his Demonstratio Evangelica also he observes, that Homer makes Tityon, when he was dead, to have lain stretched out upon (not nine cubits, but) nine acres of ground:

——— ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα.

Which hyperbole may excuse the Jewish rabbins, when they say that Og was nine cubits long when he lay in his cradle. (See propos. iv. cap. 8. n. 4.)

Ver. 12. *And this land, which we possessed at that time, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon.*] See ii. 36.

*And half Mount Gilead, and the cities thereof, gave I unto the Reubenites, and to the Gadites.*] See Numb. xxxii. 34, 35, &c. but especially Josh. xiii. 15, &c. where he distinctly relates what portion of this country was given to the Reubenites; and ver. 23, 24, &c. what was given to the Gadites. And it appears, that none of Gilead belonged to the Reubenites; but the Gadites had one half of it, as the Manassites had the other.

Ver. 13. *And the rest of Gilead.*] Which was not given to the Gadites.

*And all Bashan, being the kingdom of Og.*] That is, all that was taken from Og, of which he was king.

*Gave I unto the half tribe of Manasseh; all the region of Argob, with all Bashan.*] It is repeated again, lest any one should think that Argob, which was a distinct province in that kingdom, was not given to them by this grant. (See ver. 4.)

*Which was called the land of giants.*] Where the Rephaims formerly inhabited; of whom Og was the last. (See Gen. xiv. 5. compared with xv. 20. Josh. xiii. 12.)

Ver. 14. *Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob.*] This is one reason why he gave this country to them. (See Numb. xxxii. 41.)

*Unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi.*] We had no mention of these places before; which were in the northern part of this country, as appears from Josh. xii. 4, 5. xiii. 11. But the people of these places they could not expel, (Josh. xiii. 13.)

*And called them after his own name.*] Numb. xxxii. 4.

*Unto this day.*] From hence, likewise, cavils are raised against Moses being the author of this book: when the most that can be concluded from hence is, that, upon the revising of these books by Ezra, he put in these words to certify the reader, that still they retained this name; as somebody, no doubt, added the history of Moses's death

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at the end of this book. This the greatest defenders of the authority of these books, as written by Moses himself, make no scruple to allow; particularly Huetius, and since him Hermannus Witzius, in his Miscellanea Sacra, lib. i. cap. 14. sect. 47. But there is no necessity to yield so much; for Moses might say this himself, though it was not long before he wrote this book. For so the holy writers do sometimes mention places, which had their name but newly given them, from a particular fact, that posterity might know the original of it. (See Acts i. 19.)

Ver. 15. *And I gave Gilead.*] All that was not possessed by the Gadites.

*Unto Machir.*] To the posterity of Machir, (Numb. xxxii. 40.)

Ver. 16. *And unto the Reubenites, and unto the Gadites.*] Here is a more exact description of that part of the country, which was given to the other two tribes.

*I gave from Gilead.*] Half of which, as I observed, was given to the Gadites, (ver. 12.)

*Even unto the river Arnon.*] Which was the bounds of the country towards Moab. (See ii. 36.)

*Half the valley.*] The same word in the Hebrew language, signifies both a *valley*, and a *brook* or *river:* and being translated in the foregoing words, *the river*, it should be so here likewise, *half the river;* that is, to the middle of the river Arnon; by which the bounds of their country are most exactly set. And thus not only the LXX. and the Vulgar, but Onkelos also translates it, *the middle of the torrent;* yea, we ourselves also in the twelfth of Josh. ii. where there are the same words, which in the Hebrew run thus, *unto the river Arnon, the midst of the river:* where the city of Aroer stood, encompassed by the river, as I observed in the foregoing chapter, ver. 36.

*And the border.*] Something is understood, *viz. went* (as the phrase is Josh. xv. 6, 7, &c.) or *reached*, or some such word. Or the meaning must be, *the country bordering upon that river.*

*Even unto the river Jabbok, which is the border of the children of Ammon.*] This river was the other boundary of the country.

Ver. 17. *The plain also, and Jordan.*] The flat country towards the river Jordan: which was the western bounds of this country of Sihon; as the river Arnon was the southern, and the river Jabbok the northern; the country of the children of Ammon being on the east.

*And the coast thereof, from Cinnereth.*] The word *thereof* is not in the Hebrew: therefore these words may be better rendered *the coast from Cinnereth.* Called *the Sea of Cinnereth*, Josh. xii. 3. xiii. 27. it lying upon a country and a city called by that name, (Josh. xi. 2. xix. 35.) which gave the name to this sea, called in the New Testament, *the Sea of Galilee*, and *the Sea of Genesareth*, and at last *the Sea of Tiberias;* in honour of the emperor Tiberius. (See upon Numb. xxxiv. 11.)

*Even unto the sea of the plain, even the Salt Sea.*] The Dead Sea, as it is called in other places; which, before the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, had been a most pleasant plain.

*Under Ashdoth-Pisgah.*] The name of a city in this country, (Josh. xiii. 20.)

*Eastward.*] Which lay east of the Salt Sea and Jordan; which was the western bounds, as I said, of this country.

Ver. 18. *And I commanded you at that time.*] That is, he gave this charge to the two tribes of Reuben and Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh beforementioned.

*The Lord your God hath given you this land to possess it*, &c.] According to their own desire: but on condition they should help their brethren to conquer the land of Canaan. (See Numb. xxxii. 20—22.)

Ver. 19. *But your wives, and your little ones, and your cattle (for I know you have much cattle), shall abide in your cities which I have given you.*] See Numb. xxxii. 16. 24. 26.

Ver. 20. *Until the Lord have given rest unto your brethren, as well as unto you*, &c.] Brought them to a settlement in the land of Canaan, and given them a peaceable possession of it. After which, we read that Joshua dismissed these tribes, and sent them to their wives and children, Josh. xxii. 4.

Ver. 21. *And I commanded Joshua at that time.*] About that time, when by God's order he appointed Joshua to be his successor, and took him to be his associate in the government, (Numb. xxvii. 18, &c.)

*Thine eyes have seen all that the Lord your God hath done unto these two kings: so shall the Lord do unto all the kingdoms whither thou passest.*] This seems to be the preface to the charge, which by God's command he gave to Joshua at that time, (Numb. xxvii. 19. 23.)

Ver. 22. *Ye shall not fear them; for the Lord your God fighteth for you.*] This is part of the charge itself; which he had heard him give all the people eight-and-thirty years ago, (i. 21. 29, 30.)

Ver. 23. *And I besought the Lord at that time, saying.*] Being told by God at the same time (Numb. xxvii. 12, 13.) that he should shortly die, and only see the land of Canaan, but not enter into it, Moses made his humble supplication to God that he would not execute the sentence which he had denounced against him. For the word *besought* signifies supplication to one that is offended.

Ver. 24. *O Lord God, thou hast begun to shew thy servant thy greatness, and thy mighty hand.*] In subduing the two kings of the Amorites.

*For what god is there in heaven, or in earth, that can do according to thy works, and according to thy might?*] He speaks according to the language of those times, when men worshipped many gods, of several sorts: none of which, he acknowledges, were able to bring to pass such things as the Lord had done.

Ver. 25. *I pray thee let me go over, and see the good land that is beyond Jordan.*] To *see* is here to enjoy it, as the rest of the Israelites were to do: for God bade him go up into a mountain and behold it; but threatened he should not enter into it. Which threatening he might well think was reversible, as others had been against the people of Israel upon his prayer for them, though they had more highly offended the Divine Majesty than he had done. For though he doubted at the first, especially when he saw no water come out of the rock at the first stroke; yet he presently recovered himself, and smote it the second time, believing God would relieve them.

*That goodly mountain.*] Most think that he desired to go so far into it, as to see the place where God intended to settle his Divine presence: which proved to be Mount Moriah. But nothing was known of this, a long time after; unless we suppose it was revealed unto him, that



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where Abraham offered Isaac, there the Lord would dwell. It seems to me, that he means that goodly country full of noble mountains: for thus the word *mountain* is often used, particularly Numb. xiii. 29. where the spies say the "Amorites dwell in the mountain," *i. e.* in that mountainous part of Canaan.

*And Lebanon.*] He desired to go through the whole country, as far as Lebanon; which was the most northerly part of it (famous for goodly cedars), as the mountain before spoken of was in the south of Canaan.

Ver. 26. *But the Lord was wroth with me for your sakes.*] See i. 37.

*And would not hear me.*] Refused to grant my petition.

*And the Lord said unto me, Let it suffice thee; speak no more unto me of this matter.*] This suggests that Moses renewed his petition, after the first denial; and more earnestly begged this favour of God: which he could not obtain; but was enjoined silence. This argues great displeasure; and is mentioned by him as an admonition to the Israelites, to be fearful to offend the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 27. *Get thee up to the top of Pisgah.*] See what I have noted upon Numb. xxvii. 12.

*And lift up thine eyes westward, and northward,* &c.] Take a full view of the country in all the quarters of it; which might be seen from the top of this mountain, which was called Nebo. (See xxxiv. 1—3.)

Ver. 28. *But charge Joshua, and encourage and strengthen him,* &c.] Bid him not doubt that I will bring my people thither under his conduct, though I deny thee entrance into it.

Ver. 29. *So we abode in the valley over against Beth-Peor.*] It is likely that there was a temple built to Baal-Peor, which fronted this valley; for so Beth signifies, a house or temple of Peor. Which gave the name to a city wherein it stood; which was part of the inheritance of the Reubenites, (Josh. xiii. 20.) In this valley Moses was buried, xxxiv. 6. where he made this most excellent exhortation to all the people.

## CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1. *NOW therefore hearken, O Israel.*] Having commemorated several benefits which God had bestowed upon them, since their coming out of Egypt, and the giving of the law at Mount Sinai, with several severe punishments which he had inflicted on them for their disobedience to it, Moses proceeds now to exhort them earnestly to the observance of it.

*Unto the statutes.*] These seem to be such laws as concerned the worship of God.

*And the judgments.*] And then these were such as concerned their dealings one with another. Which two words comprehend all that is signified by *testimonies* and *precepts* also, in other places.

*Which I teach you, for to do them.*] Which he was about to set before them; and press upon their practice.

*That ye may live, and go in, and possess the land which the Lord God of your fathers giveth you.*] Not perish as their forefathers had done in their rebellion; but be happy, and enjoy what God had promised, and was ready now to bestow upon them.

Ver. 2. *Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish from it.*] This is thought by some to signify, that they should not make the least alteration in the laws he had given them, about the rites of Divine worship, and abstinence from several meats, and such-like things; which were distinctive marks, whereby they were separated from other nations to be a peculiar people to him. Thus Chaskuni interprets these words, *Thou shalt not add fear, upon the fear of the blessed God.* That is, any other worship to the Divine worship prescribed by these laws, nor diminish that worship: which interpretation seems to be warranted, by what follows, *Thy eyes have seen what the Lord thy God did, because of Baal-Peor.* But in the words beforegoing (which introduce these), *judgments* being mentioned as well as *statutes,* there must be a larger sense of this injunction, which relates to all the laws of God: and the meaning seems to be, Ye shall not transgress any of these precepts, either by doing any thing contrary to them, which was *to add;* or omitting any thing which they required, which was to *diminish.* Thus Grotius interprets it, upon 2 Cor. xi. 24. "Addere ad legem est facere quod lex vetat, diminuere est omittere quod lex jubet." But which way soever we take it, nothing is more certain than that this prohibition preserved these books from any alteration, since the time they were written: for the whole body of the people acknowledging their Divine authority, none of them dared to change any thing, either by addition or diminution. Of which there is a wonderful instance in the people that came out of Assyria (in the room of the Israelites, who were transported thither), to inhabit the country of Samaria; who receiving this law, their posterity have kept it all along to this day, as uncorrupted, as the Jews themselves have done; although they were their mortal enemies, and have been exposed to all the changes and revolutions that can befal a nation during the interval of two thousand and four hundred years. Thus the most learned Dr. Alix observes, in his Reflections upon the Four last Books of Moses, p. 144. And I do not see, why the perfection of the Scripture, without the oral law of the Jews, should not be thought to be established by these words, as another learned person (J. Wagenseil) understands them, in his Confut. Carminis Lipmanni, p. 585. Yet, as the forenamed Chaskuni notes, it does not seem reasonable to conclude from hence, that they were prohibited to add any constitutions as a hedge and fence to the law; or as an explication of it, when the sense was doubtful. (See Mr. Thorndike, in his Rites of the Church in a Christian State, p. 180, &c.)

*That ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you.*] This justifies the explication I gave of the foregoing words, as respecting all God's laws; and xii. 32. makes it more plain. And, indeed, God being their lawgiver, it was the highest presumption to make any alteration in any of his laws.

Ver. 3. *Your eyes have seen what the Lord did, because of Baal-Peor,* &c.] How he cut off twenty-four thousand by a plague, and by the hand of justice, who had been guilty of idolatry by the enticements of the Midianitish women, (Numb. xxv. 5. 9.) Which seems to be a reason, why they should take a special care about the worship of God; that nothing was done contrary to the laws he had ordained concerning it.

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*For all the men that followed Baal-Peor, the Lord thy God hath destroyed them from among you.*] The judges put to death all those that they knew to be guilty; and the hand of God found out all the rest: so that there was not a man of them left, who was not swept away by the pestilence.

Ver. 4. *But ye that did cleave unto the Lord.*] Did not depart from this worship, but bewailed the apostacy of some of their brethren, (Numb. xxv. 6.)

*Are alive every one of you this day.*] A singular providence watched over them, to preserve them in such good health, that not one in so many thousands was dead since that time. Nor in the war with the Midianites, wherein they slew all the males, did they lose so much as one man, (Numb. xxxi. 7. 49.)

Ver. 5. *Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgments.*] See ver. 1.

*Even as the Lord my God commanded me.*] Sincerely and uprightly, without adding any thing of myself, or diminishing any thing that he said.

*That ye shall do so in the land whither ye go to possess it.*] To be the rule of your life, when ye come into the land of Canaan.

Ver. 6. *Keep therefore, and do them; for this is your wisdom and understanding in the sight of all the nations.*] It is your interest to observe them, as you will soon find by experience; which will teach you, that it is not only the wisest course in itself, but will get you the reputation of being a wise people among all your neighbours.

*Which shall hear of all these statutes.*] There being mention before (ver. 1. 5.) of *judgments* as well as *statutes*, and here only of the latter, Abarbinel thence infers, That even those laws which depended wholly upon the will and pleasure of God, and for which they could give no reason (for such they understood by *chukkim*), would procure them very great honour, if they were carefully observed. For the nations seeing how wonderfully they prospered, would be apt to impute it to these extraordinary prescriptions which they followed. Just, saith he, as a physician, who cures desperate diseases, by some small trifling remedies (as they seem to others), is highly applauded for the profoundness of his knowledge and wisdom. But Maimonides takes this word *statutes* to comprehend all the laws of God; and undertakes to shew, that all the six hundred and thirteen precepts have a wise end in them, for the profit and benefit of those that observe them; either to beget some wholesome opinion in their mind, or to pull out some perverse one; either to institute some good order, or to take away iniquity, &c. (See More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 31.)

*And say, Surely this nation is a wise and understanding people.*] Who continued in safety, liberty, and prosperity, abounding with all manner of blessings, while they continued all to go up to worship one God sincerely at one place, at certain set times, as if the whole nation was but one family. All the rest of their laws, also, were admirably fitted to unite them unto God, and one to another; and consequently, to make them appear a wise people in the eyes of other nations; whose writers have not only highly magnified Moses, but their lawgivers have transcribed several of his laws into their own constitutions. This appears by the old Attic laws, and those of the twelve tables, as many learned men have observed; nay, the oracle, reported by Porphyry, in Eusebius's Præparatio Evangelica, lib. ix. cap. 10. thus extols this nation:—

Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίαν λάχον ἠδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι
Αὐτὸ γένεθλον Ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἁγνῶς.

*The Chaldeans and the Hebrews* (who came from Chaldea) *are the only wise people, who worship God, the Eternal King, in a pure manner.* And the oracle of Apollo Clarius, recorded by Macrobius, lib. i. Saturnal. cap. 18. is no less remarkable:

Φράζεο τῶν πάντων ὕπατον Θεὸν, ἔμμεν Ἰαώ.

*Acknowledge Jao* (so they pronounced the name Jehovah) *to be the highest God of all.* For though Macrobius fancied the sun to be here called Ἰαώ, (nobody can tell why); yet Diodorus Siculus acknowledges Ἰαὼ to be the God, from whom Moses pretended to have his laws, *i. e.* Jehovah.

Ver. 7. *For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?*] Both Onkelos, and the paraphrase of Jonathan, and likewise the Jerusalem Targum, are very significant upon this place: "What people is there who have a god that approaches to them, so as the Lord our God doth to us? At whatsoever hour we cry unto him, he answers us. It is the manner of other people, to carry their gods upon their shoulders, to shew that they are near to them; when, alas! they are afar off, and cannot hear them. But the Lord our God sits on his throne on high, and hears our prayers, whatsoever time we call upon him," &c. To which may be added, that they had a symbol of God's presence continually among them, in the holy place, where he dwelt with them, and Moses, whensoever he pleased, consulted him in all difficult affairs; as their high-priest might do, with the *urim* and *thummim*, in all times to come.

Ver. 8. *And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, as all this law which I set before you this day?*] The true greatness of a nation (it appears by this and the foregoing verse) consists in the sincere worship of God, and in the upright administration of justice. Both which were so provided for by the Divine laws among the Jews, that no nation could compare with them, or was really so great as they were: for, though their country was but small, and they were often oppressed by several cruel enemies, who desired their extirpation, yet they recovered themselves, and kept their laws in their worst condition (when commonly they best observed them): insomuch, that, as a very learned person of our own church long ago observed, after so many changes and alterations as there were in their state, from better to worse, and back again; after so many victories got by them over others, and so many captivities of their persons, and desolations of their country, as others had wrought, they continued still one and the same people, governed by the same laws, under several great and potent monarchies. The successive rise and fall of three, of which they were preserved to behold; and, in their declining state, able to stand out a great while against the fourth, the mightiest that ever was on earth, and that when this monarchy was in its full strength; this

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is a plain demonstration of the truth of these words of Moses, That no nation was so great as they. (See Dr. Jackson's first book upon the Creed, chap. 21.)

Maimonides observes, that the word *zaddikim*, which we translate *righteous*, signifies as much as *equal* and *proportionate:* such, saith he, were all these laws of God; in which there was no excess, by the prescription of long pilgrimages, or severe fastings; nor any defect which might open the window to any vice, or make them careless in the practice of virtue. (More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 39.)

Ver. 9. *Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thou hast seen,* &c.] Their only danger was, lest they should grow careless and unmindful of all the wonderful things that God had done for them: which he, therefore, exhorts them to think of frequently, and to keep in memory, and lay to heart; so that they might preserve the sense of them as long as they lived, and likewise teach all posterity to be mindful of them.

Ver. 10. *Especially the day that thou stoodest before the Lord thy God in Horeb.*] But above all, that memorable day, when the Lord delivered his law to them in Mount Sinai; at which the oldest of them were present, and had seen and heard what he said, and how it was delivered.

*When the Lord said unto me, Gather me the people together.*] Unto the foot of Mount Sinai; where they stood at such a distance from it as God prescribed, (Exod. xix. 10—13.)

*And I will make them hear my words.*] See Exod. xix. 9, &c. xx. 1, &c.)

*That they may learn to fear me all the days that they shall live upon the earth,* &c.] For those words which they heard were pronounced in so terrible a manner, as to make them dread to offend his majesty, and to instruct their children to stand in awe of him.

Ver. 11. *And ye came near, and stood under the mountain.*] See Exod. xix. 17.

*And the mountain burnt with fire.*] See Exod. xix. 16. 18.

*Into the midst of heaven.*] Into the middle of the air, which is frequently called heaven in Scripture; as the fowls of heaven, are the fowls of the air: but whether the fire flamed up precisely into the very midst of the lower region of the air, or only a great height, is not material; either way the expression is proper enough.

Ver. 12. *And the Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire.*] See Exod. xix. 20. xx. 1. 22.

*Ye heard the voice of the words.*] See Exod. xx. 19.

*But saw no similitude.*] Though sometimes the Divine Majesty seems to have appeared in a visible shape, (Dan. vii. 9, 10.) yet, when he came to give them his law, he would not appear in the figure of a man, or any other thing, that might seem to represent him to their outward senses, or their imagination: for it had been dangerous then to manifest himself under any resemblance, when he forbade them to make any resemblance of him. They would have thought he forbade them to make any other resemblance, but that wherein he shewed himself to them; in which they would have concluded it was lawful to represent him.

*Only ye heard a voice.*] From hence some of the Jews would gather, that the people only heard the sound of God's words, when he spake the ten commandments; but not the distinction of the sound, so as to understand the sense of what he said. Thus Maimonides, in his More Nevochim, (par. ii. cap. 32.) Which is manifestly false, as appears from ver. 10. 13. and Exod. xx. 22. For therefore the day wherein he spake to them in Horeb was so remarkable, as never to be forgotten; because he *made them hear his words, so that they might learn to fear him,* &c. For, though he did not appear in the likeness of any thing to them, yet he vouchsafed to speak to them plainly in their own language, that they might be instructed in their duty; both which was to keep them from idolatry. He did not let them see any shape, that they might not make any image of him, to worship it, or him by it, after the manner of the heathens; but he let them hear his voice, that they might not go and worship any other's gods, which the heathens pretended spake to them.

Ver. 13. *And he declared unto you his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even ten commandments.*] These were the principal laws which they covenanted with him to observe, though afterward he added others, *after the tenor of which he made a covenant with them,* (Exod. xxxiv. 27.)

*And he wrote them upon two tables of stone.*] See Exod. xxiv. 12. xxxiv. 28.

Ver. 14. *And the Lord commanded me, at that time, to teach you statutes and judgments, that ye might do them in the land whither you go over to possess it.*] This doth not signify, that they themselves did not hear the *ten words* from Mount Sinai, but were taught them by Moses (as Maimonides fancies in the forenamed place), for it plainly relates to the rest of the laws, which God immediately after gave him, (Exod. xxi. xxii. xxiii.) It being their own desire, that God would speak to them no more by himself, but communicate the rest of his will by Moses, (Exod. xx. 19.) And accordingly he told the people *all the words of the Lord, and all the judgments,* which he delivered to him, (Exod. xxiv. 3.)

All this will appear more plainly from the next chapter of this book, ver. 22, &c.

It is a mere imagination of those Jews, who take the *statutes and judgments* here mentioned for their *oral law,* as Aben Ezra, R. Solomon, R. Bechai, and others do, upon this place; who say, that when God gave Moses the written law he expounded it to him: which exposition he delivered to Joshua, and he to the seventy elders, &c. so that it came down to them in a successive tradition.

Ver. 15. *Take ye therefore good heed to yourselves, (for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire.)*] He gives them a special caution about this, because the nations of the world were so prone to make images of their gods; which he expressly forbids in the second commandment. Upon this text the present Jews ground the third article of their faith, which is, that *God is incorporeal.*

Ver. 16. *Lest ye corrupt yourselves.*] By worshipping any thing but God himself alone. Unto whom they being espoused, the giving Divine worship unto any thing else, was such a corruption as adultery is in a married woman.

*And make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure.*] See the second commandment, Exod. xx. 3, 4.

*The likeness of male or female.*] The representation of God in human shape is first forbidden, because it was most common among the heathens. Therefore I cannot think this relates to the Egyptian worship, who honoured oxen as sa-

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cred to Osiris, and cows as sacred to Isis. Unto which Mr. Selden thinks the LXX. had respect, when they translated these words, Ὁμοίωμα ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θηλυκοῦ. (De Diis Syris, Syntag. i. cap. 4.)

Ver. 17. *The likeness of any beast that is on the earth,* &c.] The word *or* is to be here supplied, and in all that follows, in this manner: *Or the likeness of any beast that is on the earth; or the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air:* where *col-tzippor canaph,* which we translate, *any winged fowl,* signifies, all *birds* and *insects* that fly in the air: for in the shape of such creatures also the heathen represented their gods, or some of their qualities: for not only oxen were sacred to Apis, and rams to Jupiter Ammon, but hawks and eagles, and even beetles, to other deities.

Ver. 18. *Or the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground.*] Nothing was more common among the heathen than the worship of serpents.

*Or the likeness of any fish that is in the waters.*] The famous Dagon, whom the Philistines worshipped, was a fish with a human face, hands, and feet. Certain it is, the Syrians worshipped a fish, as Cicero tells us, in his third book of the Nature of the Gods, *Syri Piscem venerantur;* which Mr. Selden thinks relates to the famous goddess Atargatis; which is a word made out of the Hebrew, *addir-dag,* i. e. *magnificent,* or *potent fish.* (See De Diis Syris, Syntag. ii. cap. 2.) The Egyptians were famous in after-times for worshipping all sorts of animals; and if one could find they were so in the days of Moses, it might be assigned as the most probable reason of his cautioning the Israelites against these things so particularly, they being lately come out of Egypt.

Ver. 19. *And lest thou lift up thine eyes upon heaven.*] From hence, I believe, that common speech among the Arabians was derived, *Take heed how thou gazest on the splendour of the stars:* which is, in the first century of Arabic proverbs, set forth by Erpenius, (Prov. xxviii.) who saith he knew not what to make of it: but I take it to be a caveat against idolatry, to which the ancient Arabians were addicted.

*And when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven.*] The most ancient idolatry of all other seems to have been the worship of the sun, and the rest of the heavenly bodies, which began among the Chaldeans: for there is not any god, or goddess, among the ancient gentiles, but hath a respect to the *sun,* or the *moon,* as Gisbertus Cuperus hath very plainly demonstrated, in his Harpocrates, p. 87, &c. 108, &c. And a very learned man of our own hath lately said a great deal on the same subject. (See Appendix to the Antiquity of Palmyra, cap. 4. by Mr. A. Seller; and Maimon. More Nevoch. par. iii. cap. 30.)

*Shouldest be driven to worship them, and serve them.*] Drawn in, enticed, and deceived (as Onkelos, and the LXX. translate it), either by the instigation of some evil genius, or admiration of their splendour, or imitation of other nations, or a vain opinion that some divinity inhabits such illustrious bodies, or out of a sense of the benefits mankind receive by them: for the chief philosophers themselves were led by their weak reasonings into this error, as appears even by Plato, who saith, it is most just that the heaven should be worshipped with all the gods and demons, and that we should Τιμᾶν τε καὶ εὔχεσθαι διαφερόντως αὐτῷ, &c. as he speaks in his Epinomis. See Eusebius, in his Præpar. Evang. lib. xiii. cap. 18. where he shews how much better the Hebrews speak in this matter; and quotes some words of Plato, out of a work of his, not now extant, for the explication of these words of Moses. And, to make this idolatry seem more reasonable, some of the philosophers asserted the sun to be endued with understanding; and, therefore, is called by Proclus, Πυρὸς νοητοῦ βασιλεὺς, *the intellectual fire,* to distinguish it from other fires which are without understanding: and from thence, in one of the coins of Caracalla, there is over the sun, surrounded with rays, the word *Providentia.* In short, the world had been so long settled in this worship, that it was no easy matter, when the Son of God came, to root it out: for the Essenes (the best sect among the Jews) seem to have had a tang of this superstition, as Josephus represents them, lib. ii. De Bello Judaico, cap. 7. Some, indeed, excuse them, as if they only admired the sun as the most excellent work of God, which they expressed by some kind of adoration: but Josephus expressly tells us, that, early in the morning, they directed to him Πατρίους τινὰς εὐχὰς, as if they beseeched him to rise. And this stuck still in the minds of some who professed Christianity, particularly the followers of Basilides, and the Manichees, who called the sun and moon by the name of gods; and sometimes called the sun Christ, as Theodoret tells us, lib. i. cap. 26. And Epiphanius and St. Austin say the same in more places than one. No wonder, therefore, that Julian the apostate should say, that God produced, Ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ Ἥλιον Θεὸν μέγιστον πάντα ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ, *out of himself the sun, the greatest god, in all things like unto himself:* for which he quotes Plato, in his famous oration in Praise of the Sun; where he saith, The same sun hath filled the heaven with innumerable other gods, p. 146. Ὅλος οὐρανὸς Θεῶν ἐστιν ἐξ ἡλίου πλήρης, *The whole heaven is full of gods from the sun.*

*Which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven.*] The sense is very plain, that all nations under heaven have the benefit of the sun, moon, and stars, as well as the Jews; who were therefore to worship him alone, who is the Lord of them all, and hath made them to be ministers unto us.

This K. Solomon saw, and yet he could not stick to it, but fell into the vain fancy of the generality of the Jews, that God hath distributed the nations of the world under the government of several stars, which stars are under the government of angels; but the Jews under the government of God alone, and not subject to any planet. Which hath no foundation at all; much less can we think that God appointed the nations of the world to worship the heavenly host, lest they should be atheists, as Clemens Alexandrinus and Justin Martyr fancy from this place; unless they mean, that God for their sins delivered them up to this impiety; which several great men since have thought to be the true meaning of these words: for there are no such words found in the LXX. as they allege, Ὑμῖν δ' οὐκ οὕτως ἔδωκε Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου.

There is one who takes the word *chalak,* which we translate *divide,* to signify the *blandish,* and makes this the sense, that God places these great luminaries in the heavens, to invite and allure all nations to admire and adore him, the creator of them. And, indeed, in the conjugation which the Hebrews call *hiphil,* this word doth signify to

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*soften* and *smooth*, and consequently to allure; but it never signifies so in that they call *kall*.

Maimonides makes the sense of Moses's argument to be thus: God hath made the sun and moon to be ministers; not to be worshipped; according to that, Gen. i. 18. Which made the Psalmist so particularly call upon all the heavenly bodies to praise the Lord, Psal. cxlviii. (More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 5.)

Ver. 20. *But the Lord hath taken you, and brought you forth out of the iron furnace.*] This is a phrase used also by Solomon, 1 Kings vii. 51. and by Jeremiah, xi. 4. to express the most cruel servitude; wherein God suffered them to be tried, as metals are in a furnace of iron, red hot; for he doth not allude to their making of bricks (as some imagine), which were not wrought in an iron furnace.

*To be unto him a people of inheritance, as ye are at this day.*] These were two powerful arguments to induce them to be obedient: that they were not only delivered from the hardest slavery, but now made God's peculiar people, (see Exod. xix. 5.) whom he had purchased for his inheritance, *i. e.* to be his people for ever.

From this verse Sir John Marsham gathers, that Moses had respect, in the foregoing verses, to the Egyptian superstition; as if he had said, "Excusso servitutis jugo, etiam excutienda sunt Ægypti Βδελύγματα;" *having shaken off the Egyptian yoke, they were also to shake off their abominable idols:* for the invisible God is not to be worshipped by images or symbols. So that when he forbids them, ver. 16. "to make a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male and female," he thinks Moses hath respect to the "boves utriusque sexus sacri," *the sacred beeves of both kinds;* the males to Osiris, the females to Isis. And he mentions "the likeness of any beast that is in earth," ver. 17. because all the Egyptians worshipped not only the creatures beforementioned, but *canem* and *felem*, a *dog* and a *cat:* the Thebans and Saitæ worshipped sheep; the Mendesians a goat; and others of them, wolves and lions: and he adds "the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air," because the Egyptians worshipped a hawk, and the bird called *ibis;* and the Thebans an eagle. In ver. 18. he mentions "the similitude of any thing that creepeth upon the ground;" because about Thebes, serpents were sacred to Jupiter: "and the likeness of any fish that is in the waters," because all Egypt worshipped certain fishes, and some of them the crocodile and the hippopotamus. And as for the sun, moon, and stars, (ver. 19.) the worship of them was common to the Egyptians with all other nations. All this he justifies out of good authors; and it might pass for truth, had we any certainty that the Egyptians in the time of Moses were as sottish as they were in the time of Herodotus. (See Seculum ix. Sect. de Idololatria.)

Ver. 21. *Furthermore.*] Or rather, *but.*

*The Lord was angry with me for your sakes.*] He remembers this again, (though he had mentioned it twice before, i. 37. iii. 26.) that they might be more deeply sensible of the danger of offending God, since such a man as he was excluded from the good land for one single fault. Or hereby he would magnify the goodness of God to them, who, though great offenders, had a privilege granted to them which was denied him.

*And sware that I should not go over Jordan,* &c.] He only told him so at the first, (Numb. xx. 12.) but upon Moses's importunate entreaty, that he would revoke the sentence (of which we read in the foregoing chapter of this book), it seems he silenced him, by confirming his threatening with an oath.

Ver. 22. *But I must die in this land, I must not go over Jordan.*] See Numb. xxvii. 12—14. His frequent repetition of this, shews how near it went to his heart. "But ye shall go over, and possess that good land." God's promise to them, he would have them think, was as irrevocable as his threatening against him.

Ver. 23. *Take heed unto yourselves, lest ye forget the covenant of the Lord your God, which he made with you, and make you a graven image,* &c.] For this was the principal thing in the covenant, that they should worship him alone. Which is the reason it is so often repeated, and was, immediately after the delivery of the law from Mount Sinai, mentioned alone, as if it was the only thing that he had said unto them: (Exod. xx. 22, 23.) "Ye have not seen that I have talked with you from heaven: ye shall not make with me gods of silver; neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold."

Ver. 24. *For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire.*] So he appeared upon the mount, when he delivered his laws from thence in a flaming fire, (Exod. xxiv. 17.) The learned Huetius thinks, that from these words of Moses, the ancient Persians took up the worship of fire; at first, only as a resemblance of God, or a symbol of him, (as Maximus Tyrius saith, Dissert. xviii.) but afterward, as God himself, (Demonstr. Evangel. p. 94.)

*Even a jealous God.*] Who cannot endure any rival in your affection: (see Exod. xx. 5.) These were two awakening arguments to keep them from idolatry; that God cannot endure it, and will be very terrible in his punishment of it.

Ver. 25. *When thou shalt beget children, and children's children, and ye shall have remained long in the land.*] When they were very much multiplied, and had been long settled in the possession of the land of Canaan.

*And shall corrupt yourselves.*] By the worship of other gods.

*And make a graven image, or the likeness of any thing.*] Which he had strictly prohibited, and solemnly cautioned them to beware of, ver. 23.

*And shall do evil in the sight of the Lord thy God, to provoke him to anger.*] By imitating the idolatrous customs of other nations.

Ver. 26. *I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day.*] A solemn kind of asseveration; that, as surely as the heaven and earth shall endure, they should utterly perish.

*That ye shall soon utterly perish from off this land, whereunto ye go,* &c.] As soon as the measure of your iniquity is filled up, ye shall speedily be destroyed without remedy. Which the Hebrews refer to the captivity by Salmanezer and Nebuchadnezzar, after they had been almost eight hundred years in this country; and so might be said, *to have remained long in the land.*

Ver. 27. *And the Lord shall scatter you among the nations.*] See Levit. xxvi. 33.

*And ye shall be left few in number among the heathen,* &c.] See Levit. xxvi. 22.

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Ver. 28. *And there ye shall serve gods, the work of men's hands, wood and stone,* &c.] The idols of the heathen: to the worship of which he threatens to abandon them, as a punishment for their apostacy from God. And the heathen sometime compelled them to worship their gods, as we read in the third of Daniel.

*Which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell.*] This is a description of the most stupid idolatry, to which they should be delivered, if they fell from God. (See Numb. xxi. 29.)

Ver. 29. *But if from thence thou shalt seek the Lord thy God.*] When they were scattered among the heathen, (ver. 27.)

*Thou shalt find him, if thou seek him with all thy heart, and all thy soul.*] If they then repented sincerely, and became unfeigned worshippers of the Lord their God alone, he promises them forgiveness.

Ver. 30. *When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are come upon thee.*] In great distress, by the execution of the foregoing threatenings.

*Even in the latter days.*] In future times, or in their most declining state. The Jews themselves apply to this present state, wherein they now, and have been many years; as appears by the ancient Nitzacon, set forth lately by Wagenseil, p. 254. where he saith, the whole nation must repent, before God send deliverance unto them.

*If thou turn to the Lord thy God, and shall be obedient to his voice.*] The great end of punishment was to convert them, and make them more observant of God's commands.

Ver. 31. *For the Lord thy God is a merciful God.*] See Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Numb. xiv. 17, 18.

*He will not forsake thee, neither destroy thee,* &c.] He promises not to cast them off, nor destroy them utterly, (though they were utterly thrown out of their land, ver. 26.) but restore them to his favour, according to the covenant made with their fathers, and confirmed by an oath, Gen. xvii. 19. xxii. 16, 17. (See Levit. xxvi. 44, 45.)

Ver. 32. *For ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee, since the days that God created man upon the earth,* &c.] Turn over the annals of the whole world, from one end of it to the other, ever since it was made, and search whether thou canst find any thing like to that which God hath done for you. Which R. Isaac thus glosses in his Munimen Fidei, (lately set forth by Wagenseil, p. 103.) "From the creation of the world, till their going out of Egypt, there were passed two thousand four hundred and forty-eight years; and yet in all that long track of time, there never were seen or heard in any part of the world such prodigious miracles as were wrought to bring them out of Egypt; and afterward, in leading them through the Red Sea; raining manna on them; and the appearance of the Divine Majesty at Mount Sinai," &c.

Ver. 33. *Did ever people hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of fire, as thou hast heard, and live?*] Here was a double, or rather triple prodigy, never heard of before, that God should speak to them, audibly and distinctly, so long as to inform them in their duty towards himself and one another; and this out of the midst of devouring flames, and without the least hurt to any one of them, (Exod. xx. 18. xxiv. 17.)

Ver. 34. *Or hath God assayed to go and take him a nation from the midst of another nation?*] Another wonder, never before heard of: that God, by two men alone, Moses and Aaron, should demand the delivery of a nation, under the power of another nation far greater and stronger than themselves, and effect it also, by no other means but such as here follow.

*By temptations.*] This word may be thought to signify the grievous trials of the Israelites, whose miseries were increased after the first attempt for their deliverance; which seemed to them a strange way of proceeding, (Exod. v. 19. 22, 23.) But by *temptations* may, in this place, be, in general, meant miracles, as the Hebrews understand it, and the Chaldee word *tenessin* signifies: this and the two following words being of the very same import with the three words in the New Testament, which we often meet withal (and seem to be taken from hence), Δυνάμεσι, τέρασι, καὶ σημείοις, *with miracles, wonders, and signs,* (Acts ii. 22. 2 Cor. xii. Heb. ii. 4.)

*By signs.*] Which are mentioned Exod. iv. 9. vii. 9, 10.

*And by wonders.*] This signifies all the ten plagues of Egypt: for Pharaoh would not let the Israelites go, till God had *multiplied his wonders on the land of Egypt,* as we read, Exod. vii. 3. x. 1, 2. xi. 9, 10.

*And by war.*] This seems to relate to the overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea; where the Lord is said to *fight for Israel,* (Exod. xiv. 14. xv. 3.) while they, which is the greatest wonder of all, were delivered without striking a stroke.

*And by a mighty hand, and a stretched-out arm.*] These are phrases which we often meet withal, when Moses speaks of their deliverance out of Egypt, Exod. iii. 19. vi. 6. xv. 12. and many other places. And the Hebrews think, that his *mighty hand* particularly refers to the grievous murrain, and the pestilence, which are called the *hand of the Lord,* Exod. x. 3. 15. And his *stretched-out arm,* to have a particular respect to the killing of the first-born; the angel that was going to smite Jerusalem appearing with a "drawn sword, and his hand stretched out," (1 Chron. xxi. 16.)

*And by great terrors.*] Wherewith the minds of those were struck who heard of these things, (Exod. xv. 14—16.) Or else he means the frights in which the Egyptians were, while they remained three days in most dismal darkness; (Exod. x. 23.) for the conclusion of this verse signifies, that he speaks of *all that the Lord their God did for them in Egypt before their eyes.*

Ver. 35. *Unto thee it was shewed.*] This was a particular kindness to the Israelites, which God never before manifested to any other nation.

*That thou mightest know that the Lord he is God; there is none else besides him.*] That they might believe him to be the only true God, and worship none but him. Which two articles, saith Maimonides, (More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 33.) that God is, and that he is but one, are fundamentals of religion, which were known not only by prophets, but by every body else.

Ver. 36. *Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice.*] See Exod. xx. 22.

*That he might instruct thee.*] Teach them his will, which was chiefly declared in the ten commandments.

*And upon earth he shewed thee his great fire.*] He means either that they saw it as they stood upon the earth; or, that it burnt upon the top of the mount in their sight. (Exod. xxiv. 17.)



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*And thou heardest his words out of the midst of the fire.*] See ver. 11, 12. and Exod. xx: 18, 19.

Ver. 37. *And because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them.*] See Gen. xv. 5—7. and many other places in that book, Exod. iii. 15—17.

*And brought them out in his sight with a mighty power.*] For, as he led them the way out of Egypt in a pillar of cloud, and of fire, (Exod. xiii. 21.) so, when they were in danger by Pharaoh's pursuit of them, he came behind them, and they marched in his sight, (Exod. xiv. 19.)

*Out of Egypt.*] This is mentioned in Scripture as the highest benefit, never to be forgotten by them. So G. Schickard observes, in his Mischpat Hammelech: (cap. iii. Theor. 10.) That they are put in mind of this in the frontispiece of the decalogue, (Exod. xx. 2.) in the institution of sacrifices, (Levit. xxii. 33.) in the promise of a blessing, (xxvi. 13.) and here, in the enumeration of God's wonderful works; and afterward in the commendation of his love, (Deut. vii. 8.) in his dehortation from ingratitude, (viii. 14.) in his institution of the Passover, (xvi. 6.) in the speech which the reproving angel made to them, (Judges ii. 1.) in the hope he gave them of victory over the Midianites, (vi. 9.) in his answer to their petition for a king, (1 Sam. x. 18.) and on a great many other occasions: for this was, "velut fundamentum et initium reipublicæ," &c. as another learned German speaks, (Gierus on Dan. ix. 15.) the foundation, as we may call it, and the beginning of their commonwealth founded by God; which comprehended in it abundance of miracles, far exceeding all the power of nature.

Ver. 38. *To drive out nations before thee, greater and mightier than thou art.*] So mighty, that they frighted their fathers from attempting the conquest of them, (Numb. xiii. 28, 29. 31.)

*To bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance, as it is this day.*] That is, as he had given them a late experiment, by overthrowing the two kings of the Amorites, and giving them their land for a possession.

Ver. 39. *Know therefore this day, and consider it in thy heart, that the Lord he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth, and there is none else.*] Be sensible, therefore, and settle this belief in thy heart, that the Lord is the sole governor of the whole world.

Ver. 40. *Thou shalt therefore keep his statutes and his commandments, which I command thee this day,* &c.] Worship and obey him, as the only way to make them and their posterity live happily in the land, which God was about to give them.

*That it may be well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days upon the earth,* &c.] Though Moses spake of their long life upon earth, yet the better sort of Jews did not set up their rest here; but from this word *prolong,* extended their hope as far as the other world: for thus Maimonides saith (in his preface to Pereck Cheleck) they were taught by tradition to expound these words, *That it may be well with thee* in the world, which is all good; and *mayest prolong thy days* in the world, which is all long, *i. e.* never ends.

Ver. 41. *Then Moses severed three cities.*] I observed in the preface to this book, that Moses did not deliver all that is contained in this book in one continued speech; but at several times, as appears even by the beginning of the next chapter, where it is said, "He called all Israel, and said unto them," &c. Which supposes, that after this preface in these four chapters, he dismissed them to consider what he had said; and then some time after assembled the people again, to put them in mind of the laws which he so earnestly pressed them to observe. But between these two times (after he had spoken all that is contained in these four chapters, and before he rehearsed the decalogue), he put in execution the command of God lately given, to set apart three cities of refuge on this side Jordan; which he here relates, in the order, I suppose, wherein it was done.

*On this side Jordan, towards the sun-rising.*] On the east side of Jordan, according to what was ordered, Numb. xxxv. 14.

Ver. 42. *That the slayer might flee thither, which should kill his neighbour unawares,* &c.] See there, ver. 11, 12, &c.

Ver. 43. *Namely, Bezer in the wilderness, in the plain country of the Reubenites; and Ramoth in Gilead of the Gadites; and Golan in Bashan of the Manassites.*] Thus they are set down also in the book of Joshua, xx. 8. xxi. 27. 36. 38.

Ver. 44. *And this is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel.*] Now follows the law, which (after the forementioned assignation of the cities of refuge) Moses set before all the people, and pressed them to the observance of it.

Ver. 45. *These are the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments.*] As the next chapter contains the law, that is, the ten commandments, which Moses set before them; so, in several following chapters (after new earnest exhortations to obedience), he represents to them the rest of God's will, comprehended under these three words, *testimonies, statutes,* and *judgments:* some of which belong to the Divine service, others to their civil government, and the rest to ceremonial observations, for the better security and preservation of both the former.

*Which Moses spake unto the children of Israel, after they came forth out of Egypt.*] Which he had formerly delivered to them, after they were come out of the Egyptian bondage, Exod. xxi. xxii. xxiii. and in the following books.

Ver. 46. *On this side Jordan,* &c.] In this and the two following verses he again mentions the place and the time, when and where, he set before them the law, and the testimonies, statutes, and judgments, recorded in the following part of this book: which he repeats, that all posterity might observe the discourses were made a little before he died.

*In the valley over against Beth-Peor.*] See chap. iii. *ult.*

*In the land of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon.*] See chap. ii. 24. 31, &c.

*Whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, after they were come forth out of Egypt.*] In the fortieth year after their departure thence; as appears from Numb. xxi. 24. xxxiii. 38.

Ver. 47. *And they possessed his land, and the land of Og king of Bashan,* &c.] See Numb. xxi. 33, &c.

Ver. 48. *From Aroer, which is by the bank of the river Arnon, even unto Mount Sihon, which is Hermon.*] The mount here called Sihon is not that which was so famous in aftertimes, when David made it the royal seat; for that was on the other side Jordan, and is written with different

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letters in the Hebrew; but, in all probability, is a contraction of *Sirion;* which is the name by which the Sidonians called Hermon: for the bounds of this country are so described, (iii. 8, 9. 12.) to extend from the river Arnon to Mount Hermon, which is called Sirion.

Ver. 49. *And all the plain on this side Jordan eastward, even unto the sea of the plain.*] See chap. iii. 17.

*Under the springs of Pisgah.*] The same place there called Ashdoth-Pisgah. Which is exactly described after the same manner, by Benjamin Tudelensis, in his Itinerary, set forth by L'Empereur, p. 51. where he saith, that Jordan is called at Tiberias the Sea of Genesareth; and, coming from thence with a great force, falls at the foot of this hill into the Sea of Sodom, which is called the Salt Sea.

## CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *AND Moses called all Israel, and said unto them.*] That is, summoned all the elders, and heads of their tribes, who were to communicate what he said to the rest: thus it is commonly expounded. But that which he saith, xxix. 10, 11. seems to direct us to another interpretation; that he himself went from tribe to tribe, and repeated these *ten words* (as they are called), placing himself in several parts of their camp, that every one might hear what he said. And this was sometime after he had, in like manner, exhorted them to obedience in the foregoing preface. (See iv. 41.)

*Hear, O Israel, the statutes and judgments which I speak in your ears this day.*] Mind what I now say unto you.

*That ye may learn them, and keep and do them.*] That ye may not be ignorant of such important truths, nor negligent in the practice of them; which is the end of knowledge.

Ver. 2. *The Lord our God made a covenant with us in Horeb.*] See Exod. xxiv. 3. 5—8.

Ver. 3. *The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers.*] *viz.* Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; with whom he covenanted to give their posterity the land of Canaan; but did not make to them this discovery of his will, which was the matter of the covenant at Horeb.

*But with us, even us, who are all here alive this day.*] A great part of those who were then at Horeb were now *alive; viz.* all under twenty years old. And if they had been all dead, Moses might have said, *He made it with us;* because they were still the same people, though the particular persons were dead, with whom the covenant was made, not only for themselves, but for their posterity.

Ver. 4. *The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount,* &c.] Openly, clearly, and distinctly; or by himself, without the mediation of Moses; but in no visible shape: for that is expressly denied in the foregoing chapter, iv. 12. 15.

Ver. 5. *I stood between the Lord and you at that time, to shew you the word of the Lord.*] As a mediator, whom God employed to prepare them to meet him, (Exod. xix. 10, 11, &c.) and to prescribe them the bounds, at what distance they should keep, (ver. 12.) and to bring them forth to meet with him, (ver. 17.) and to charge them to keep within their bounds, (ver. 21.) And, on the other side, to represent their desires unto God, after he had spoken to them, (Exod. xx. 19.) So that he was truly a mediator between God and them; and stood also in a middle place, at the foot of the mount, while they stood further off.

*For ye were afraid by reason of the fire.*] Exod. xx. 18.

*And went not up into the mount.*] Exod. xix. 17. xx. 21.

Ver. 6. *I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage.*] This preface to the ten commandments is explained, Exod. xx. 2.

Ver. 7. *Thou shalt have none other gods before me.*] See Exod. xx. 3. It is wisely observed by Grotius, (lib. ii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 20. sect. 45.) that true religion was ever built upon these four principles: First, that there is a God, and that he is but One. Secondly, that God is nothing of those things that we see with our eyes, but something more sublime than them all. Thirdly, that he takes care of human affairs, and judges them most justly. Fourthly, that he is the maker of all things whatsoever. Which principles are explained in these first four precepts of the decalogue; the unity of the Godhead being delivered in the first place.

Ver. 8—10. *Thou shalt not make thee any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing,* &c.] The second principle, that God's nature is invisible, is contained in this second commandment; being the ground of this prohibition, to make any image of him: which the best of the heathen forbade also for this very reason, Ὡς οὐκ ἐφάπτεσθαι Θεοῦ δυνατὸν ἄλλως ἢ νοήσει, *because it is impossible to conceive God otherwise, but by the mind alone,* as Plutarch reports the sense of Numa among the Romans. And we find the same as plainly said by Antisthenes among the Greeks, in Clemens Alexandrinus, Ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐχ' ὁρᾶται, οὐδενὶ ἔοικε, διόπερ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐκμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνος: *he is not seen by the eyes, nor is like to any thing; and therefore none can learn any thing of him by an image.* Nor could the vulgar, I am apt to think, have been kept so long, and so generally as they were, to the worship of them, if it had not been by bold fictions, that some of them were Διοπετῆ, *fallen down from heaven;* and that all of them were Θεῖα, καὶ θείας μετουσίας ἀνάπλεα, *Divine things, and full of a Divine communication,* as Jamblichus speaks. And, to make them more reverenced, while some of them were Ἐμφανῆ, *conspicuous to all the people,* others were kept secret in the inmost part of their temple, as having hidden in them a symbolical presence of God, as Proclus speaks upon Timæus. Which Ezek. Spanhemius justly thinks was done in imitation of what Moses saith concerning God's presence upon the mercy-seat in the holy of holies. (Observationes in Callimachum, p. 586, &c.)

See upon these three verses my annotations on Exod. xx. 4—6.

Ver. 11. *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain,* &c.] This contains the third principle beforementioned, that God takes notice of all things, even of our thoughts, and governs all our affairs: for it is the foundation of an oath, that God knows our very hearts, and is witness to our meaning, as well as our words; and will, if we swear falsely, punish us for it: which is an acknowledgment also both of the justice and the power of God. (See upon Exod. xx. 7.)

Ver. 12. *Keep the sabbath-day to sanctify it.*] They were to keep it in memory, that they might sanctify it, as it is Exod. xx. 8. (See there.) And it was *sanctified,* or set apart for special ends and purposes, that they might give to the



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blessed God the seventh part of the week (as Abarbinel speaks upon these words), and might learn the Divine law, together with the *Kabalah*, or traditional exposition of the words, and mark well the niceties of it: for which he quotes a saying out of the Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud, "Sabbaths and feasts were not given, but to learn the law upon them." Which is the reason, he saith, of another speech of theirs, in their Midrasch, or allegorical exposition upon Exodus, that "the sabbath weigheth against all the commandments;" because it was a principal means to make them known and observed. There is not much said, indeed, in express words, concerning this end of the rest of the sabbath: but common reason told the Jews, it could not be intended merely as a day of ease from labour, but for the solemn service of God, and instruction in their duty to him.

*As the Lord thy God commanded thee.*] At Marah, say the Jews commonly, where he gave them a *statute and an ordinance.* (See Exod. xv. 25.) But one of them saith better, *At Marah it was designed, and at Sinai it was commanded.* But they do not look back far enough for the original of this commandment: for there being two things in this day, the *rest* of it, and the *religion;* the *rest* of it was in remembrance of their deliverance out of Egypt, and the overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, which completed their deliverance; immediately after which they kept their first sabbatical rest. The *religion* was in remembrance of the creation of the world; and so this day had been observed from the beginning by the patriarchs, though we find no mention made of their *resting:* and that may possibly be the meaning of these words, *as the Lord thy God commanded thee;* that is, immediately after he had finished the creation of the world.

Ver. 13. *Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work.*] See upon Exod. xx. 9.

Ver. 14. *But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work,* &c.] The reason why they might not do any work on this day, is given in Exod. xx. 11. which is wholly omitted here; because Moses had another reason to add, for the enforcement of this precept: and refers them (in the foregoing words, ver. 12. *As the Lord thy God hath commanded thee*) to what he had said in the books of Genesis and Exodus: where he had set down the reason which God himself gave with his own mouth, for the religious observation of this day; because *in six days the Lord made heaven and earth,* &c. So that this commandment was designed to establish the fourth principle I mentioned, that God is the maker of all things. To preserve the memory and sense of which (as the author of the answer, Ad Orthodoxos, observes, lxix.) this rest was instituted, to be observed with a more than ordinary sanctity; it being of such great moment, that the first sabbath-breaker was punished with death, because the voluntary violation of it contained in it a denial, that the world was created by God.

*That thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou.*] Mercy towards men, as well as piety towards God, was a reason for the observation of the sabbatical rest.

Ver. 15. *And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee from thence,* &c. *therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath-day.*] This is a new ground for the observation of the sabbath; because God had given them rest from their hard labour in Egypt. Which obliged them to keep *that seventh day,* which God appointed at the giving of *manna* (being the day on which he overthrew Pharaoh in the Red Sea), as the memory of the creation of the world obliged them to keep one day in seven. So our Mr. Mede hath explained it. (See my annotations on Exod. xiv. 30.) And Maimonides hath something to the same purpose, in his More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 31. (See upon Exod. xx. 11.)

Ver. 16. *Honour thy father and thy mother, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee.*] In the twentieth of Exodus, ver. 12. see there. To which I shall here add, that the laws of Solon made those children infamous, who did not afford sustenance to their parents, and provide them a habitation. And by the ancient law of Athens, he that reproached his parents was disinherited; if he struck them, his hand was cut off; if he left them unburied, he lost their estate, and was banished his country: and another law punished this ingratitude with death. See J. Meursius, in his Themis Attica, lib. i. cap. 2, 3. where he shews, that by *parents* they understood not only father and mother, but grandfather and grandmother; nay, Τούτων μήτηρ καὶ πατὴρ ἐὰν ἔτι ζῶσι, *i. e. great-grandmother and great-grandfather,* if they were yet alive, as Isæus tells us, Orat. vii. And the ground of all these laws, was a sense they had, as Æschines tells us, That men ought to honour their parents, as they did the gods, Οὓς ἐξ ἴσου δεῖ τιμᾶν τοῖς θεοῖς. (See Sam. Petitus, in Leges Atticas, lib. iii. tit. 3.) Whence Hierocles calls parents, Θεοὶ ἐπίγειοι, *earthly gods.* And Philo, upon the decalogue, Θεοὶ ἐμφανεῖς, &c. *visible gods, who imitate him that is unbegotten, by giving life.* And accordingly, next to the precepts concerning the worship of God, Moses here places immediately the duty owing unto parents.

*That thy days may be prolonged, and that it may go well with thee,* &c.] These last words are added to what God spake, Exod. xx. 12. as an explication of the foregoing. Whereby they are excited to obedience, by the promise not only of a long life, but of a happy. I say obedience; for that is included in honour, as the apostle explains it, Coloss. iii. 20. "Children obey your parents in all things;" that is, where God hath not commanded the contrary, and where it is not inconsistent with the public good; which is alway to be preferred, even before the duty that is owing to natural parents. Insomuch, that common reason taught the heathen, that for the good of the society, the son is to lay aside the reverence he should pay to his father, and the father to pay it unto the son, that is, when he is in public office: thus the famous Fabius Cunctator commended his son, for making him light off from his horse, when he met him in his consulship, as Plutarch tells us. And see A. Gellius, lib. xi. Noct. Attic. cap. 1. and lib. xiii. cap. *ult.* and lib. xiv. in the beginning.

Ver. 17. *Thou shalt not kill.*] If a man killed another involuntarily, he was banished by the laws of Athens from his country for a year: but if he killed another ἐκ προνοίας, as Demosthenes speaks, *out of forethought,* and designedly, he was put to death: (see Sam. Petitus, lib. vii. in Leges Atticas, tit. 1. p. 508. 512.) Yea, so detestable was this sin accounted, that even τὰ ἄψυχα, *lifeless things,* such as wood,

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or stone, or iron, wherewith a man was killed, Draco ordered to be thrown out of their coasts. (Ib. p. 523.)

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*] This crime was also punished with death by the laws of Draco. Solon, indeed, left it to the liberty of the husband, who caught another man in bed with his wife, either to kill him, if he pleased, or to let him redeem his life with a sum of money. But if after this he lived with his wife, he was infamous, as Demosthenes tells us, who saith, she might not come publicly into their temples: if she did, any man might treat her as he pleased, only not kill her: so that she was so odious as to be thrown, Ἔκ τε τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ ἐξ ἱερῶν τῶν τῆς πόλεως, *both out of the house of her husband, and out of holy places of the city.* Nor might she go abroad with any ornaments (Μὴ ἐξεῖναι κοσμεῖσθαι, is the law of Solon): if she did, any body might take them away from her, and tear her clothes in pieces, and beat her, only not maim her in any part of her body. (See the same Petitus, lib. vi. tit. 4.)

Ver. 19. *Neither shalt thou steal.*] The laws of Draco punished all theft with death: which Solon thought too severe, and therefore changed that punishment into making satisfaction, by restoring double; yet still making it death, if any man stole above such a value, or took any thing out of the public baths, and such-like places, though of never so little value. (See in the same author, lib. vii. tit. 5.)

Ver. 20. *Neither shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour.*] There was an action, at Athens, lay both against false witnesses, and him that produced them; who had a fine set upon them, and were made infamous. And if they were found thrice in the same fault, Τούτους ἔδει καὶ αὐτοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων, ἀτίμους εἶναι, *both they themselves, and all their posterity, were made infamous,* as Andocides speaks. (See ib. p. 559.)

Ver. 21. *Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's wife, neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house,* &c.] It is observed by some, that an exact order is observed in the delivery of these precepts: for, first, he places such offences as are consummate, and then those that are but begun, and not perfected. And in the former, he proceeds from those that are most heinous unto those that are less grievous: for those offences are the greatest which disturb the public order, and consequently do mischief unto a great many. Such are those that are committed against governors and rulers, who are comprehended under the name of parents, by whose authority human society is preserved. And then, among those which are against particular persons, those are the greatest which touch a man's life; next, those that wrong his family, the foundation of which is matrimony; then, those that wrong him in his goods, either directly by stealth, or more craftily by bearing false witness. Then, in the last place, those sins are mentioned which are not consummate, being gone no farther than desire; which in Exod. xx. 17. are expressed by one and the same word, but here by two; which we translate *desire* and *covet:* between which I know no difference, unless they express higher and lower degrees of the same sin. The contrary to which is, contentedness with our portion, and thankfulness to God for it; which will not let us covet any thing belonging to another man, with his loss and damage.

Ver. 22. *These words the Lord spake unto all the assembly in the mount; out of the midst of the fire, of the clouds, and of the thick darkness.*] Exod. xix. 16. xx. 18. This confutes the foolish fancy of the Jewish doctors, that the people heard only the first words of God, *I am the Lord thy God,* &c. *thou shalt have no other gods but me; i. e.* they heard him declare his existence, and his unity; but all the rest were reported to them by Moses. Nothing can be more contrary to what he here saith, that *all these words* (that is, the ten words beforementioned) were spoken to *their whole assembly.* (See More Nevochim, par. ii. cap. 33.)

*With a great voice.*] That is, so loud that it might be heard by the whole camp.

*And he added no more.*] All the rest of the commandments, which follow in Exod. xxi. xxii. and xxiii. were delivered to Moses alone, and by him to the people, according to their own desire, (Exod. xx. 19. xxi. 1. xxiv. 3.)

*And he wrote them in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me.*] That is, the ten commandments, and no more, (Exod. xxiv. 12. xxxi. 18. xxxiv. 1. 28.) Lest what they heard with their ears should quickly slide out of their minds, he took care to have it engraven with his own hands in these tables.

Ver. 23. *And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness (for the mountain did burn with fire), that ye came near unto me; even all the heads of the tribes and elders.*] After they had recovered out of the fright wherein they were at the conclusion of these words: when the thunderings, lightnings, and noise of the trumpet were so terrible, that they removed, and stood afar off, (Exod. xx. 18.)

Ver. 24. *And ye said, Behold, the Lord our God hath shewed us his glory, and his greatness, and we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire.*] Here Moses relates more largely what he said in short, Exod. xx. 19.

*We have seen this day, that God doth talk with man, and he liveth.*] This looks like a thankful acknowledgment of the great goodness of God, in vouchsafing them such a favour as never any men had before, and which they could not expect again. And accordingly Moses makes use of it as an argument to be very observant of God's commands, (Exod. xx. 22, 23.)

Ver. 25. *Now, therefore, why should we die? for this great fire will consume us: for if we hear the voice of the Lord our God any more, then we shall die.*] It is an ungrounded conceit of Maimonides (in the place abovementioned), that, when they had heard the first words, they fell into a swoon, and did not recover themselves till all the rest were spoken; which made them conclude, that they should really die, and never come to themselves again (as we speak), if they should hear him speak to them any more. The plain meaning is, that mortal men could not endure to hear him speak in that manner: for the voice was so loud, and accompanied with such flashes of fire, and such claps of thunder, as made them conclude, if it had continued longer, they should have expired.

Ver. 26. *For who is there of all flesh.*] *i. e.* Of all men who are weak and frail, as the word *flesh* denotes.

*That hath heard the voice of the living God, speaking out of the midst of fire (as we have) and lived?*] There is no instance of such a thing as this, which made them afraid of hearing him speak, in this manner, any more: for they did not mind God's end and intention in this, (which Moses suggests to them in Exod. xx. 20.) but in a confusion of thoughts imagined, that though they had escaped once, the

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flames out of which he spake might devour them, if they came near them again.

Ver. 27. *Go thou near, and hear all that the Lord our God will say; and speak thou unto us all that the Lord our God shall speak unto thee, and we will hear it, and do it.*] See Exod. xx. 19. This shews their opinion of Moses, that he could be able not only to endure that without disorder which made them ready to die, but go into the very midst of the darkness out of which those flames came.

Ver. 28. *And the Lord heard the voice of your words when ye spake unto me; and the Lord said unto me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people,* &c.] As Moses here reports more largely what they said to him than he did in Exodus, so he likewise gives a larger account what God bade him say to them, in answer to their desire.

*They have well said all that they have spoken.*] It very much becomes them, out of a sense of their meanness and unworthiness, and of the inconceivable majesty of God, to desire he would speak to them by a mediator.

Ver. 29. *Oh that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep my commandments always.*] The words are wonderful emphatical in the Hebrew, *Who will give, that there may be such a heart in them.* Which is an expression of the most earnest desire; but withal signifies, that if what he had done for them would not move them to fear and obey him, it was impossible to persuade them to it. Not but that he could miraculously work upon them, and change their hearts (saith Maimonides), if he pleased, as he miraculously changed the nature of other things; but if this were God's will, to deal with them after this fashion, there would have been no need to send a prophet to them, or to publish laws full of precepts and promises, rewards and punishments; by which (saith he) God wrought upon their heart, and not by his absolute omnipotence. (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 32.)

*That it might be well with them, and with their children for ever!*] For God desired nothing more than this, which they themselves promised, (ver. 27.) which moved him to vouchsafe such a special privilege to them, as first to speak to them himself, and, at their desire, consent to speak to them by his prophet.

Ver. 30. *Go say to them, Get you into your tents again.*] All this shews that Moses was a mediator between God and them, and between them and God.

Ver. 31. *But as for thee, stand thou here by me.*] He invites Moses unto the nearest approaches unto his majesty; and the most familiar converse with him, (Exod. xx. 21. xxiv. 2. 18.) For this was the highest degree of prophecy, as Maimonides calls it, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 51. And in his preface to that book, he saith, this is the greatest degree of illumination of a prophet, concerning whom it is said, *Stand thou here with me:* and again, *The skin of his face shone.* Which he supposes signified, that his mind was always full of light; whereas other prophets were some time in darkness, and saw nothing.

*And I will speak unto thee all the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgments, which thou shalt teach them.*] According to their own desire, ver. 27. (See vi. 1.)

*And that they may do them in the land which I give them to possess it.*] According to their promise in the same, ver. 27.

Ver. 32. *Ye shall observe to do therefore as the Lord your God hath commanded you.*] Being obliged by such singular benefits as no other nation ever had the like, (ver. 24—26.) and having engaged themselves so solemnly to be obedient, (ver. 27.)

*Ye shall not turn aside, to the right hand, or to the left.*] This is a phrase often used to signify a strict observance of God's laws; neither superstitiously adding to them, nor profanely laying aside any of them, (xvii. 20. xxviii. 14. Josh. i. 7.)

Ver. 33. *Ye shall walk in all the ways which the Lord your God hath commanded.*] That is, observe all his laws, and make them the rule of their lives.

*That ye may live, and that it may be well with you, and that ye may prolong your days, in the land which ye shall possess.*] Universal obedience, he would have them sensible, was the only way to make them live happy and long in that good land which he was about to bestow upon them. This he inculcates again in the next chapter, vi. 3. For all mankind thought *long life* a very great blessing, as appears by Callimachus's hymn to Diana, ver. 132, 133. when he promises to those whom she favours,

——————— οὐδ' ἐπὶ σῆμα
Ἔρχονται, πλὴν εἴτε πολυχρόνιόν τι φέρωσιν.

i. e. *They shall not come into their grave, till they have reached a great old age.*

## CHAP. VI.

Ver. 1. *NOW these are the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments.*] Which God promised to deliver to him, in the foregoing chapter, ver. 31.; and *commandments* are thought commonly to relate unto the moral laws; *statutes* to rites and ceremonies, which have no natural reason for them; and *judgments* to civil government.

*Which the Lord your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go to possess it.*] They are the words of God himself, in the place beforenamed, ver. 31.

This, I suppose, was spoken by Moses to them, a little time after he had delivered what is contained in the foregoing chapter; being a preface to the rest of the laws which he received from God in Mount Sinai, as they desired.

Ver. 2. *That thou mightest fear the Lord thy God, to keep all his statutes, and his commandments, which I command thee,* &c.] The prime intention of God's speaking to them by himself and by Moses was, to implant his fear in their hearts, as the true principle of obedience; which so certainly flows from it, if it be preserved in its power and force, that it frequently in Scripture signifies the whole duty we owe to God. But here, more particularly, it seems to signify their adhering to him as the only God: so it is used, 1 Kings xviii. 3. 12. and in the New Testament most plainly, Acts x. 2. 35.

Ver. 3, *Hear therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it.*] Mark therefore so well what I say, as to do accordingly.

*That it may be well with thee,* &c.] As the only way to be happy, and to grow a mighty nation, and, in short, enjoy all that God had promised to their pious ancestors.

Ver. 4. *Hear, O Israel.*] He repeats it again, because what he was going to say is of the highest importance.

*The Lord our God is one Lord.*] Being to remind them

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of all the laws which God delivered to them by him, and to endeavour to beget a holy fear of him, as the principle of obedience, he most earnestly presses upon them, before he proceeds further, the first of the ten commandments; which is, that there is but one God, who alone is to be worshipped; and that he is their God: whose laws therefore could not be controlled by the authority of any other pretended god.

Many of the ancient fathers, particularly Theodoret and Greg. Nyssen, think there is a plain intimation of the blessed Trinity in these words, *The Lord our God is one Lord:* and some of the Jews themselves have thought, there was something extraordinary in it, that the name of God should be thrice mentioned, as it is in this sentence: which signifies three *midoth*, or properties, they confess; which they sometimes call *three faces*, or *emanations*, or *sanctifications*, or *numerations*, though they will not call them three persons; as Joseph de Voysin observes, in his book against an Anonymous Anti-trinitarian, p. 58. 63. 71, 72. And the cabalists say as much, who, asserting ten *sephiroth* in God (which they take to be something different from the essence of God, and yet not creatures, but *emanations* from it, as Manasseh ben Israel explains their words), they make the three first of them to be more than the other seven; and call them *primordial*. The first of which they call the *Wonderful Intelligence*, and the *First Intellectual Light* (as St. James calls God the *Father of lights*), and the *First Glory*. The second they call, among other names, the *Illuminating Intelligence* (just as St. John saith, the eternal Word "enlightens every one that cometh into the world"), and the *Second Glory*. And the third they call the *Sanctified Intelligence* (so the word מקודש, which is in Pual, must be translated, not *sanctifying*, as Rittangelius takes it,) or they may mean no more than the *Holy Intelligence;* which is the very same with the Holy Spirit. All this we find in the book Jetzira, which they fancy was made by Abraham: from whence we cannot but learn, that they had an obscure notion of the blessed Trinity: and that the apostles used no other language about it, than what was among the Jews. The best of which are so sensible of such things, as I have mentioned, that they think we Christians are not idolaters, though we believe three persons in the Godhead (which they fancy inclines to polytheism), because we believe the unity of God; and therefore may be saved as well as they. So J. Wagenseil shews in his annotations upon Sota, cap. 7. p. 751, &c. and Arnoldus, in his Spicilegia, after him, p. 1218.

Ver. 5. *And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart*, &c.] Our blessed Saviour, alleging these two verses, (Mark xii. 29, 30.) looks upon these words as a part of the first commandment: for, after he had said, "The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord; and, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul," &c. he thus concludes, "this is the first commandment." For, to own him to be the only God, the author of our being and of all things, doth necessarily include in it a love of him above all things whatsoever, which requires us to love him, who hath made them so lovely. This is another principle or spring of obedience, inseparable from the fear of God beforementioned: which doth not drive us away from him, but draw us to him; being such a reverence towards him as children have to their kind parents, which is ever mixed with love to them.

*With all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.*] For there being no other God but he alone, none else could have any right to their love and service, but he only whose nature is so excellent, that it requires the utmost we can do to testify our regard to him. This one of the Jewish writers hath admirably expressed in this manner; "Whosoever serves God out of love, he gives himself to the study of his laws, and unto good works, &c. which excite him to love God with the most flagrant affection; not for the sake of any thing in this world, nor for the fear of any evil; but he serves God truly, because he is the truth, and the chiefest good, that he may be admitted to communion with him. And a man ought to love him with the most vehement and intense affection; so that he languish with love to him, just as a man that is in love with one he desires to make his wife: wheresoever he is, at home or abroad, when he eats and drinks, when he lies down and rises up, he thinks of her. To which Solomon compares the love of the spouse, who saith, *I am sick of love*," (Cant. ii. 5.) To this purpose, Baal Chasidim, mentioned by Wagenseil, upon Sota, cap. 5. p. 611.

By the *heart* may be here meant the will, which is the original of all that a man doth (as the Jews speak), whether good or evil: by the *soul*, the affections (to which St. Mark adds the *mind, i. e.* the understanding, or rational faculty); and by *might* or *strength*, is meant the power of the body for action; which four all together make up the whole man. And the word *all* added to each of these, doth not exclude all other things from any share in our thoughts and affections, but only from an equal interest in them. The love of God ought to be superior, and direct all our other motions to serve him, as Maimonides expresses it in his preface to Pirke Avoth.

Ver. 7. *And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children.*] In the Hebrew the words are (as our margin observes), shall *whet* or *sharpen* them: signifying, as some think, that they should endeavour to make them pierce their hearts. But De Dieu rather thinks it signifies *beat them* into them, as things are hammered on an anvil with repeated strokes. Which the famous Bochartus doth not so well approve; who observes, that the word *sanan*, which in Arabic signifies, in the first place, to *sharpen* or *whet*, signifies also *exquisite docere*, &c. *to teach exquisitely;* so that he who is taught be made thereby more acute and perspicacious. Which is the intention he thinks of the Hebrew word here, lib. ii. Canaan, cap. 17. However it be expounded, it imports the diligence they should use (as we translate it), to instil this principle into their children's minds, that there is but one God; and to work in them a fear and love of his Divine Majesty. To that which goes before (ver. 4—6.) these words have a particular respect. By which it appears, that Moses thought his law was so plain, that every father might be able to instruct his sons in it, and every mother her daughters.

*And thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.*] As much as to say, they should take all occasions to inculcate this great thing, at home and abroad, night and day; never ceasing their most earnest endeavours, to persuade their children not to

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worship any other God; nor to fail to worship the Lord their God with sincere affection.

The Jews have made from hence one of their *affirmative precepts*, that twice a day, at least, they should recite these words, *Hear, O Israel*, &c. which is a very dilute sense of this precept: wherein Moses requires not merely their saying these words (in which there might be a great deal of superstition), but taking all opportunities to imprint them upon the minds and hearts of their children.

Ver. 8. *And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes.*] Just thus he commands them to preserve the memory of their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, almost in the same words: see Exod. xiii. 9. 16. where this is sufficiently explained. And it appears to be a proverbial speech from Isa. xlix. 16. There are some learned men, indeed, who take these words literally, notwithstanding St. Jerome hath delivered his opinion to the contrary, that there is no command for *phylacteries*, which are grounded upon these words, particularly Jos. Scaliger, in his Elench. Trihæres. Nic. Serarii, cap. 7, 8. where he thinks God gave this command to the Israelites, to prevent their following the rites of other nations, who armed themselves against dangers with superstitious amulets in their foreheads; which the Egyptians, he thinks, called *totaphot*. But since, neither here nor in Exodus, there are any such words as *thou shalt make thee frontlets*, but Moses only saith the things that he is speaking of *shall be for frontlets between their eyes*, I take it not to be meant literally; though it is likely they intended well who so understood it: for our blessed Saviour doth not seem to reprove the Jews for wearing phylacteries, but for their ostentation, in making them broader than ordinary.

Ver. 9. *And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.*] This looks more like a literal command than the former; and it might have been very useful to them, when they went in and out of their house, to read these words, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord*, &c. But the Jews are too scrupulous about the words they should write, and upon what part of the posts and gates they were to put them, &c. as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 2.) Though, after all, it may be, this was not intended, but only that they should never let this principle slip out of their mind, but think of it when they went out and came in, as well as when they were in their houses, and by the way; when they rose up, and when they lay down. Yet it must be observed, that other nations used to write their laws upon their gates, as Huetius notes in his Demonstratio Evangelica, (p. 58.) which, it is likely, they did in imitation of the Jews, who, to this day, have written in a parchment these words from ver. 4. to the end of this verse, (with that other passage, chap. xi. from ver. 13. to ver. 20.) which they roll up, and writing on it the name of Shaddai, put it into a piece of cane, or other hollow wood, and fasten it to the doors of their houses, and of each particular room in them; and, as often as they go in and out, they make it a part of their devotion to touch this parchment, and kiss it; as Leo Modena tells us, in his History of the Jews, par. i. cap. 2.

Ver. 10. *And it shall be, when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land, which he sware*, &c.] Of this he speaks with the greatest assurance, there being no doubt to be made, that God would immediately give them possession of the good land promised to them. The only danger was, lest they should be thrown out of it for their disobedience.

*Great and goodly cities, which thou buildest not.*] For they did not lay all waste, as they did Jericho (for which there was a particular reason), but dwelt in them, after they had destroyed the inhabitants.

Ver. 11. *And houses full of all good things, which thou fillest not*, &c.] In this, and what follows in the rest of the verse, he sets forth the great bounty of God to them; who intended to enrich them with all manner of good things, without any labour of their own to purchase them.

Ver. 12. *Then beware lest thou forget the Lord which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt*, &c.] In prosperity we are too prone to forget our benefactors.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him.*] Preserve an awful sense of him in thy mind, and be constant in his worship and service; which was never more necessary, than when they enjoyed so many blessings from him.

*And shalt swear by his name.*] When there was any need for it: as in making covenants with their neighbours, or in bearing their testimony before a judge, they were to swear only by the name of God, not by any idol, nor by the heaven, or the earth, or any thing therein; for they can bear witness to nothing. (See Josh. xxiii. 7, 8.) Nor was it lawful, as Maimonides observes (in his treatise called Shebuoth), to join any other thing with the name of God. But it was all one, whether a man sware by the proper name of God, or by any of his attributes; as, by the name of Him who is merciful, or gracious, or long-suffering, &c. for this is a perfect oath. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 11. n. 2. and see n. 7. concerning other oaths.)

Ver. 14. *Ye shall not go after other gods, of the gods of the people which are round about you.*] This shews that his intention in this chapter is, to press upon them the observation of the first commandment, which our Saviour justly calls the *great commandment*.

Ver. 15. *For the Lord thy God is a jealous God.*] See Exod. xx. 5. Exod. xxxiv. 14.

*Among you.*] In the Hebrew, *in the midst of you*; to observe all you do, though never so secretly.

*Lest the anger of the Lord thy God be kindled against thee, and destroy thee from off the face of the earth.*] For this was the most provoking of all other sins: and therefore we never read either in the law, or in the prophets, the word *charon* (i. e. *fury*), or *aph (anger)*, or *caas (indignation)*, or *kinah (jealousy)*, ascribed unto God, but when mention is made of idolatry. So Maimonides observes, More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 36.

Ver. 16. *Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God, as you tempted him in Massah.*] Never distrust God's good providence, nor murmur against him in any distress: for this was the temptation at Massah, (Exod. xvii. 2—7.)

Ver. 17. *You shall diligently keep the commandments of the Lord your God, and his testimonies, and his statutes, which he hath commanded thee.*] As if he had said, I cannot too often press this upon you; nor can you use too great care in this matter.

Ver. 18. *And thou shalt do that which is right and good in the sight of the Lord, that it may be well with thee.*] As

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they loved themselves, he charges them not to follow their own desires (which is called *doing that which is good in their own eyes)*, but govern themselves by his holy will.

*And that thou mayest go in and possess the good land.*] Or rather, *after thou hast gone in, and possessed the good land which the Lord sware unto thy fathers:* for there was no doubt of their going in; but only of their behaviour there, after they were made so happy, ver. 10—12.

Ver. 19. *To cast out all thine enemies from before thee, as the Lord hath spoken.*] He seems particularly to charge them to drive out the people of Canaan, as God hath commanded, (Numb. xxxiii. 32.) For otherwise they would tempt them to forget this great principle of their religion, that the God of Israel was the only God, and entice them to serve their idols, (ver. 14.)

Ver. 20. *And when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord our God hath commanded you?*] Abarbinel thinks, that their posterity, in future ages, might observe three sorts of precepts in the law, *viz. testimonies,* which in Hebrew are called *eduth,* which were such constitutions as bear witness of some great thing God had done for them, and preserved the memory thereof; such was the Passover. And then, secondly, there were *chukkim (statutes),* which are such precepts the reason of which is unknown. And, thirdly, *mischpatim (judgments),* which are such, whose reason is evident. Now they might desire to know the reason why such several laws were given; and he thinks Moses teaches them to give a distinct answer to their children about each of these.

Ver. 21. *Then thou shalt say unto thy son, We were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt, and the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand.*] As if he had said, tell them the reason why he gave us the first sort of precepts, particularly that about the Passover, was, because we were slaves, and God brought us a state of liberty; which he would have always thankfully remembered, by the observation of that feast which testified what God wrought for us by his power alone. The like may be said of the other two great festivals, which were to preserve the memory of such-like benefits.

Ver. 22. *And the Lord shewed signs and wonders, great and sore, upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and all his household,* &c.] Particularly slew all their first-born, and spared those of the Israelites: the memory of which he ordered to be preserved, by giving their first-born unto him, (Exod. xiii.)

Ver. 23. *And he brought us out from thence, that he might bring us in, to give us the land which he sware to our fathers.*] This is the reason, Abarbinel fancies, of giving them the judgments beforementioned: God brought us out, saith he, to place us in this good land, and settle us here under a government of our own. Now civil society cannot be preserved without just judgments: and therefore, that we might live in good order, God gave us these political laws.

Ver. 24. *And the Lord commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear the Lord our God.*] As for the third sort, which are *statutes,* give your children this answer: that though we do not know the reason of them, yet the benefit of them is manifest; for they lead us to the fear of God. And nothing is so much for our good as that, both for the eternal good of our souls, and for the long life of our bodies. So he interprets the last words of this verse; and so doth Maimonides.

*For our good always, that he may preserve us alive, as it is at this day.*] The first words in the Hebrew are, *that it may be well with us all our days;* or, more literally, *for good to us all our days:* that is, say our rabbins, (they are the words of Maimonides, par. iii. More Nevochim, cap. 27. where he repeats what I observed before upon iv. 40.) *That it may be well with us in that world which is wholly good; and our days may be prolonged in that world which is wholly long;* or, in short, that thou mayest come into the world which is good and long, which is a perpetual subsistence. As for the last words, they belong, he thinks, to their corporeal subsistence here, which endures but for a time; and therefore he saith, *As at this day;* to shew he speaks of the present world, wherein they should live happily by observing his laws.

Ver. 25. *And it shall be our righteousness, if we observe to do all these commandments.*] Their children might say, If there be such benefits in observing the statutes, which lead to the fear of God, and to happiness hereafter, what need we trouble ourselves about the other two? Unto which, Abarbinel imagines, they are taught to give this answer, *It is our righteousness, if we observe to do all these commandments; i. e.* We cannot be righteous before God, if they have not respect to all his precepts, whether testimonies, statutes, or judgments, which are all comprehended in this word *mitzvoth,* or *commandments.* This is something nice and curious, but there is a great deal of truth in it.

The word *righteousness* also, it must be acknowledged, often comprehends *mercy* in it: and thus the LXX. and the Vulgar Latin here understand it. And to take in this sense, these words may be thus expounded: If we observe to do all these commandments, *God will account us a righteous people, and be kind to us.*

*Before the Lord our God, as he hath commanded us.*] Having a sincere respect to God in all that we do.

## CHAP. VII.

Ver. 1. *WHEN the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it.*] That is, when he had put them into possession of it.

*And hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites,* &c.] There were ten nations inhabited in this country in the days of Abraham: but three of them were either worn out since that time, or, being but a small people, were incorporated with the rest: for the Kenites and the Kenezites (see Gen. xv. 19.) are not mentioned after that time, and the Rephaim possessed but a little part of Canaan, the great body of them being in Bashan, on this side Jordan, where Moses now was: (see upon Gen. xv. 19.)

*Seven nations greater and mightier than thou.*] The Amorites alone seem to have been mightier than the Israelites (for there were no less than five kings of them, that dwelt in the mountains, Josh. x. 5, 6. besides those in other parts), and therefore all the seven nations were much superior to them in strength.



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Ver. 2. *And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee, thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them,* &c.] He still pursues his intention, to preserve in them a due care to observe the first commandment, of which he began to treat in the foregoing chapter: for that is the reason why they were to destroy these seven nations, that they might not be in danger to be seduced by them to serve other gods, (ver. 1.) But whether they were not first to offer them terms of peace, according to the directions in the twentieth chapter of this book, is a question which I have endeavoured to resolve in another place, upon Exod. xxiii. 33. Certain it is, that if they refused their offers, there was the greater reason to be severe to them: and without offering them any terms, God might in justice order the Israelites to destroy them: for every king hath power in his dominions to cut off evil-doers; and therefore much more the King of kings: who might order whom he pleased (as other kings do) to be executioners in his vengeance upon these seven nations, for their abominable idolatries, beastly lusts, and horrid cruelties, and other such-like sins, of which they were guilty.

This was a thing of such moment, that God ordered Moses to give them this charge some time ago, (Numb. xxxiii. 52.) which he now renews.

*Thou shalt make no covenant with them.*] To suffer them to live with them, in the same country, (Exod. xxxiv. 12.)

*Nor shew mercy to them.*] For that had been cruelty to themselves and their posterity, to spare such incurable idolaters. How far the Talmudists extend this, see in Dionys. Vossius, upon Maimonides's treatise of Idolatry, p. 139. and Maimonides himself, in the following paragraphs, 4—6.

Ver. 3. *Neither shalt thou make marriages with them: thy daughters thou shalt not give to his sons; nor his daughters shalt thou take to thy sons.*] See Exod. xxxiv. 15. Some of the Jews think they might marry with them, if they became proselytes of justice (as they called those who received circumcision, and undertook to observe the whole law); and that they might think this was not lawful, yet think that they might marry with the children of such proselytes: (see Selden, lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. &c. cap. 14, 15.) And the Talmudists say, this law did not extend to proselytes, who might marry with any of these nations, as he shews there, cap. 18.

Ver. 4. *For they will turn away thy sons from following me, that they may serve other gods,* &c.] There was great danger, if they loved their wives, that they might draw them to their idolatry; in which they were so rooted, that there was little hope of converting them to the true religion. Therefore this is opposed to the love of the Lord their God; for the preserving of which in their hearts they are forbidden such marriages, (Josh. xxiii. 11, 12.) And indeed it was but a piece of natural equity, that they should abstain from such familiarity with those who would certainly undo them. Which made Abraham, before this law, charge his son Isaac, not to take a wife from among the Canaanites; and the same care was taken of Jacob. And when this law of Moses was abolished, the apostle warns Christians themselves against such unequal matches, (2 Cor. vi. 14.) The danger of which David had noted, Psal. cvi. 35, 36. "So will the anger of the Lord be kindled against you," &c. (See vi. 15.)

Ver. 5. *But thus shall ye deal with them.*] Or, *therefore thus shall ye deal with them;* that is, to prevent the forementioned mischief, he orders them to leave no relic of their idolatry remaining.

*Ye shall destroy their altars.*] The very same precept, Exod. xxxiv. 13.

*And break down their images.*] The very same words with these are in Exod. xxiii. 24. (only there it is said, *quite break down*), and in Exod. xxxiv. 13.

*And cut down their groves.*] There is the same mention of *asherim* (which we translate *groves*) in the place last named; only another word for cut down (see there). But Mr. Selden, both there and here, understands by *asherim*, wooden images of Astarte, a great goddess worshipped in that country: for which, among other reasons, he gives this, that Gideon is said to have thrown down the altar of Baal, and cut down the grove *that was by it*. So we translate it, Judg. vi. 25. 28. where, in the Hebrew, the last word is *alau*, which signifies *upon it*, and not *by it*: and so the LXX. Ἐπ' αὐτῷ. And therefore the *asherah*, which is said to be *upon* the altar, must not signify a *grove*, but an *image;* and none more likely than that of Astarte. (See de Diis Syris Syntagm. ii. cap. 2. and 2 Kings xxiii. 6, 7.)

*And burn their graven images with fire.*] As he was commanded to destroy their molten images, (Numb. xxxiii. 52.) that so no sort of image, nor any monument of their worship, might be left in the country, but all so entirely abolished, that they might have no incentive to idolatry. This was the work of the supreme governor, as Grotius prudently observes: for though out of private places it belonged to the lord of the place, or, if he were negligent, to the king, to remove idols, yet none but the supreme power might remove them out of public places, or such persons who were delegated thereby to that office. (See L. de Imper. Sum. Potest. circa Sacra, cap. 8. sect. 3.)

Ver. 6. *For thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God.*] This is an argument frequently used, particularly in the book of Leviticus, why they should cleave to God alone; because he had separated them to himself by many peculiar laws, which no other people had but they. (Levit. xi. 44, 45. xix. 2. xx. 7. 26.)

*The Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth.*] As he had distinguished them from all other people by peculiar laws, so by special favours and singular privileges which no other nation whatsoever enjoyed. (See Exod. xix. 5, 6.) Some interpret the words *special people*, to signify that they belonged to none but him; and he had no other people but they; whom he had espoused to himself. From whence it is, that, as the Israelites are called God's *people*, so that country is called *his land*, (Psal. lxxxv. 1.) for there he dwelt by his special presence. And the king of that country is called God's *king*, (Psal. xviii. 50.) and he is said to sit on God's *throne;* and to be *Melech le Jehovah, king for the Lord*, (2 Chron. ix. 8.) and the kingdom is called the *kingdom of the Lord*, (xiii. 8.) and therefore with this argument Asa addresses himself to God in the next chapter, (xiv. 11.) for help in time of distress, because *he was their God;* and would not, he hoped, let their enemies *prevail against himself.* And accordingly these enemies are said to be "destroyed before the Lord, and

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before his host," (ver. 13.) Jehoshaphat also exhorts the judges in that book to great caution, (2 Chron. xix. 6.) because they *judged not for man, but for the Lord.* And the prophet exhorts, in the following chapter, (xx. 15.) not to be afraid of a mighty host which came against him, because *the battle is not yours, but God's;* the cause in which they fought being his, more than their own.

Ver. 7. *The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you.*] To be his special people, as he calls them in the foregoing verse.

*Because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all people.*] When God declared his love first to Abraham and his posterity he had no child, Gen. xii. 1—3. xv. 1, 2. And when he had, his family continued so small, after there were twelve heirs of the promise, that in the space of two hundred years they were but seventy persons, (Gen. xlvi. 27.) Nor do we read of any great increase of them till after the death of Joseph, which was near fourscore years more, (Exod. i. 7, 8, &c.) So St. Stephen observes, Acts vii. 17. "When the time of the promise drew nigh, which God had sworn to Abraham, the people grew and multiplied in Egypt."

Ver. 8. *But because the Lord loved you.*] Because it was his good pleasure to single them out from all other people, to receive special tokens of his favour to them.

*And because he would keep the oath, which he had sworn unto your fathers, hath the Lord brought you out with a mighty hand,* &c.] Not for any desert of theirs; but to make good his promise confirmed with an oath, did he work their wonderful deliverance out of Egypt, (Gen. xv. 13, 14. xxii. 16, &c.)

Ver. 9. *Know therefore that the Lord thy God, he is God.*] He exhorts them therefore to preserve this sense in their mind, that their God is the only God.

*The faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love him, and keep his commandments,* &c.] Who will not only faithfully keep his word and make good his promises, but do abundantly more than he hath promised to those that cleave unto him alone, and serve no other God: for it appears by the second commandment, that is peculiarly meant by *loving him.*

*To a thousand generations.*] See Exod. xx. 6.

Ver. 10. *And repay them that hate him.*] Punish all idolaters, who are peculiarly called *haters of God,* as I have often observed. (See Exod. xx. 5.)

*To their face.*] They themselves should live to see and feel the punishment of their idolatry. So the Chaldee paraphrases it, *Bacajehon, in their life.*

*He will not be slack to him that hateth him, he will repay him to his face.*] Though he do not punish him immediately, yet he will not defer it long, but be avenged of him before he die. Therefore, when he threatens to punish them to the third and fourth generation, the meaning is not that he will only punish their posterity, but them with their posterity; whom they shall see destroyed before their face. For the fourth generation (as Maimonides observes) is as much as the oldest men commonly live to see.

Ver. 11. *Thou shalt therefore keep the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgments, which I command thee this day, to do them.*] All the laws of God, (see vi. 1.) especially this great commandment, to have no other God but him.

Ver. 12. *Wherefore it shall come to pass, if ye hearken to these judgments, and keep and do them, that the Lord thy God shall keep unto thee the covenant and mercy which he sware unto thy fathers.*] As faithfully fulfil his promises to them, as he did to their fathers.

Ver. 13. *And he will love thee.*] Continue his love to them.

*And bless thee, and multiply thee.*] This was the great promise made to their fathers, that he would make their posterity as numerous as the stars of heaven, and the dust of the earth, (Gen. xv. 5. xxii. 17. xxviii. 14.)

*He will also bless the fruit of thy womb.*] Preserve them from miscarrying, that so they might multiply.

*And the fruit of thy land, thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil.*] By giving them rain in due season, &c. (See Lev. xxvi. 4, 5.)

*The increase of thy kind.*] The Hebrew word *segar,* which we translate *increase,* the LXX. Vulgar, and Syriac, render the *herds.* But Onkelos and Jonathan translate it as we do, *the young ones which the mothers bring forth.* (See Bochart. par. i. Hierozoicon, lib. ii. cap. 30.)

*And the flocks of thy sheep.*] The Hebrew word *ashtaroth* comprehends flocks both of sheep and of greater cattle, as the same Bochart observes, par. i. Hieroz. lib. iii. cap. 43. and in his Canaan, lib. ii. cap. 2. where he observes, that the goddess Astarte, in those countries, was thought to preside over flocks of sheep and herds of oxen.

Ver. 14. *And thou shalt be blessed above all people.*] He promises to make them as singular for his favours, as they were in their laws and manner of living.

*There shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your cattle.*] See Exod. xxiii. 26.

Ver. 15. *And the Lord will take away from thee all sickness.*] Or remove from them the common diseases and infirmities of mankind; so that they should die in a good old age (as the Scripture speaks); which tended manifestly to their increase and multiplication.

*And will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt (which thou knowest) upon thee.*] Neither those blotches or biles which God, by an immediate hand, smote them withal, (Exod. ix. 9. xv. 26.) nor any other which they in that country were subject unto, peculiarly their filthy ulcers, called *Egyptiaca* and *Syriaca,* as Casaubon observes upon Persius, Sat. v. p. 467. with which the priests of Isis were wont to threaten and terrify poor people, if they did not worship her. In opposition to which our very learned Dr. Spencer thinks God made this special promise to his people, to preserve them from all such evil diseases, if they kept themselves pure from that Egyptian idolatry. Which is very ingenious, if the worship of Isis was so ancient as the days of Moses. (See lib. i. de Legibus Hebr. Ritual. cap. 3.)

*And will lay them upon all them that hate thee.*] And thereby disable them to hurt his people.

Ver. 16. *And thou shalt consume all the people, which the Lord thy God shall deliver thee.*] Utterly destroy all the people of Canaan, when they had conquered them, as he commanded them before, ver. 7.

*Thine eyes shall have no pity upon them.*] The reason of this severity was, because of their abominable wickedness, as I there observed.

*Neither shalt thou serve their gods, for that will be a snare unto thee.*] In the Hebrew, *and thou shalt not serve their*



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*gods*, &c. This severity was used to prevent their being enticed by them to their idolatry, if they had suffered them to live among them.

Ver. 17. *If thou shalt say in thine heart, These nations are more than I; how shall I dispossess them?*] If such a diffidence began to arise in their hearts, as possessed their forefathers, (Numb. xiv.)

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt not be afraid of them, but shalt well remember what the Lord thy God did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt.*] He requires them immediately to expel all fear by faith in God; which the remembrance of what God had done for them, if seriously reflected on, might well work in them.

Ver. 19. *The great temptations which thine eyes saw, and the signs, and the wonders, and the mighty hand*, &c.] Of all these he had put them in mind before, (iv. 34.) and now renews the remembrance of it, that the experience they had of God's power and goodness might banish all fear out of their hearts.

Ver. 20. *Moreover, the Lord thy God will send the hornet among them.*] Raise up enemies which they think not of to infest them, that is, unusual swarms of hornets, and of an unusual bigness, it is like, which came like an army upon them. (See Exod. xxiii. 28.)

*Until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed.*] Which should pursue those that fled from the Israelites, and sting them to death in their lurking-holes.

Ver. 21. *Thou shalt not be affrighted at them.*] Let all this inspire you with courage.

*For the Lord thy God is among you, a mighty God, and a terrible.*] The Sovereign of the world, of whose goodness you have had such long experience, dwells among you, and conducts and leads you, wheresoever you go: and who can stand before him? (See Exod. xvii. 7.)

Ver. 22. *And the Lord thy God will put out these nations before thee, by little and little: thou mayest not consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee.*] Be not discouraged, though they be not destroyed all at once: there is great reason against that, concerning which see Exod. xxiii. 21. where this verse is explained.

Ver. 23. *But the Lord thy God shall deliver them unto thee, and shall destroy them with a mighty destruction, until they be destroyed.*] In time he will deliver them all up into thy hand; and thou shalt so overpower them, as to leave none of them remaining.

Ver. 24. *And he shall deliver their kings into thy hand.*] As he did, we read in the book of Joshua, xii. 7—9, &c. where thirty-one kings are enumerated, who were conquered by him.

*And thou shalt destroy their name from under heaven.*] There shall no memory, of so much as the names of such men, be left any where.

*There shall no man be able to stand before thee until thou have destroyed them.*] The kings and great men of the country being destroyed, their victory was easier over the rest.

Ver. 25. *The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire.*] This he had required before, ver. 5. but mentions it again, to let them know, that if they did not perform their part of the covenant (of which this was the chief), God would not destroy the inhabitants of Canaan totally. As we find he did not, Judg. ii. 2, 3. and for this very reason, as Joshua had told them, xxiii. 12, 13.

*Thou shalt not desire the silver and gold that is upon them.*] The Jews are too nice and curious who expound this only of the gold and silver clothes, or the chains, or other jewels of gold and silver, wherewith their images were adorned; because he saith, *upon them.* There is no reason to doubt but he means, that they should be destroyed, if they were entirely made of massy gold and silver; which they were not to convert to their own use: for thus Moses did with the golden calf, Exod. xxxii. 20. and Jacob in ancienter time buried all the strange gods, as well as the ear-rings that were in their ears, (Gen. xxxv. 4.) And Josiah, in future ages, burnt every thing that had been employed to idolatry, even the vessels that were made for Baal, as well as the images, &c. and stamped them to powder, (2 Kings xxiii. 4. 6. 14, 15.)

*Nor take it unto thee, lest thou be snared therein.*] Be drawn into a conceit, that there was something sacred in it, and so tempted to worship it.

*For it is an abomination to the Lord thy God.*] Whatsoever hath been employed to such idolatrous worship, is so detestable unto the Divine Majesty, that he will not have it converted to any ordinary and common use, but utterly destroyed.

Ver. 26. *Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thy house.*] And therefore he requires them not to bring any of that silver and gold which had belonged to those idols (which he calls *an abomination*) into their houses, to be employed unto any private use whatsoever: so the Jews understand these words, having made from hence one of their affirmative precepts: that no man should seek the least profit or benefit from any thing appertaining to an idol.

*Lest thou be a cursed thing like it.*] Every thing that was idolatrous was a *cherem*, devoted to destruction, as he saith in the last words, *it is a cursed thing*, which no man might meddle withal, (xiii. 17.) If he did, he became an accursed thing, *i. e.* was devoted to destruction, as the thing itself was. This was apparent afterward in the example of Achan, (Josh. vii.) who took a wedge of gold and a Babylonish garment for his own private use, when it had been made a *cherem* by God's express command, (Josh. vi. 17.) and therefore was stoned to death.

*But thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it.*] Not only look upon it as useless and unprofitable, but as hateful and execrable in the highest degree, and therefore to be entirely destroyed. All this tended to their preservation in the true religion; which taught them to have every thing contrary to it in the utmost detestation: insomuch, (as Maimonides interprets this precept, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 37.) that if any man broke such images, or melted them down, and then sold the silver and gold, he committed an abomination; and the price of this being mingled with his other riches, proved the rust of them all. This he thinks is the meaning of bringing *an abomination into their house.* Which was so far from bringing a blessing (as the heathen imagined), that it brought a curse upon all that they had.

The Jews were so sensible of all this, after they had severely smarted for their idolatry, that they thought it unlawful to use any vessel that had been employed in sacrificing to a false god; nay, to warm themselves with the

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wood of a grove that was cut down; or to sit under the shadow of it, for coolness' sake, while it was standing; or so much as to use the ashes of the wood that were left after the grove was burnt. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Discipl. Heb. cap. 7. p. 215, 216, &c.)

## CHAP. VIII.

Ver. 1. *ALL the commandments which I command thee this day shall ye observe to do.*] He seems still to press them to have a special care to observe the ten commandments, and especially the first of them, (vi. 4—6.) For it appears by the latter end of this chapter that he hath a regard to that.

*That ye may live.*] Long and happily: for *life*, every one knows, frequently signifies all the comforts of life, as *death* signifies all manner of miseries.

*And multiply.*] Which is the effect of a long and happy life.

*And go in and possess the land*, &c. or, *after ye go in and possess the land, which the Lord sware unto your fathers.*] See vi. 18.

Ver. 2. *And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee these forty years in the wilderness.*] Whereby they were severely punished for the rebellion of their forefathers against him; which should be an admonition to them to be more dutiful. Others expound it of the care of God over them, in providing for them and protecting them, as well as leading them by a glorious cloud all that time; which doth well enough agree with what follows. (See ii. 7.)

*To humble thee.*] Or, to afflict thee with tedious wanderings up and down, backward and forward, without any certain dwelling-place.

*And prove thee.*] To try whether they would be better, by being kept so long out of the good land promised unto them.

*And to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments, or no.*] God knew perfectly how they were disposed towards him; but it was fit, that they should know themselves better, and posterity be instructed by their behaviour.

Ver. 3. *And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger.*] He afflicted thee, by suffering thee to want bread to eat, (Exod. xvi. 2, 3.)

*And fed thee with manna.*] But it was that he might have an opportunity to make a bountiful provision for such a vast multitude of people, as were fed by him every day from heaven, and teach them to depend on his good providence.

*Which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know.*] Exod. xvi. 15. He made an unusual, as well as an unexpected provision for them.

*That he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only.*] That it is not only our common food that preserves us.

*But by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God doth man live.*] But by any thing whatsoever (for so *word* often signifies) which God shall please to command to give us nourishment. This was a wonderful encouragement to obedience, that God would rather work a miracle, than suffer them to want necessaries; and by a light aerial sort of bread, give them as great strength and vigour, as the most solid nourishment was wont to afford them. The remembrance of which could not but excite their posterity to love God, and serve him, if they often and seriously reflected on it.

Ver. 4. *Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years.*] These were two other wonderful benefits, which, if well considered, could not but incline them to be obedient to him, who multiplied miracles to nourish and strengthen their faith and hope in him. The Jews, to increase the miracle, say, their clothes enlarged as they grew bigger, from children to men; and so did their shoes also: but there was no need of this; for the clothes and shoes of those men that died might serve their children when they grew up to their stature. And it was sufficiently amazing, without such additions, that their clothes should not so much as decay, nor their feet, by so long travelling in hot and stony places, have the least swelling in them, or, as some translate it, *grow callous.* There are those that refer this last clause not to their *feet*, but to their *shoes*; according to what we read, xxix. 5.

Ver. 5. *Thou shalt also consider in thine heart.*] Often reflect and ponder.

*That as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee.*] All the afflictions which God had sent upon them, he would have them think, were not for their undoing, but for their amendment, and correcting what was amiss in them; and therefore ought to be thankfully acknowledged as well as his benefits.

Ver. 6. *Therefore thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to fear him.*] Howsoever therefore he dealt with them, it ought to have led them to obedience. In the repetition of this so often, Moses doth but practise his own lesson, which he had taught them, vi. 7. that they should *teach these words diligently to their children*, &c.

Ver. 7. *For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land.*] Therefore there was the greater need they should enter into it with the pious resolution beforementioned, *to fear God and walk in his ways.* Otherwise, they would be in great danger to be corrupted by such plenty and variety of all good things as this land afforded.

*A land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills.*] The Hebrew word *tehom*, which we translate *deep*, and in the plural number *depths*, signifies sometimes those great caverns of water that are within the ground, which were made by the plentiful rains, which God sent upon this country while they were obedient to him; which both made it fruitful (though now barren), and abounding also with water for their cattle, (Psal. lxxviii. 15. Ezek. xxxi. 4.) But it is here commonly interpreted *lakes*, or *wells* of water.

Ver. 8. *A land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates.*] Plentifully stored with all things necessary for the support and pleasure of life.

*A land of oil, olive, and honey.*] The same word *debas*, which signifies *honey*, signifies also *dates*. And so De Dieu thinks it most reasonable to translate it here, being joined with four other sorts of fruits; and so Kimchi saith, the ancient Jews expounded it in this place, and in 2 Chron. xxxi. 5. where it is said, that *Israel brought in abundance*,

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*the first-fruits of corn, wine, oil, and honey,* or *dates,* as we there translate it in the margin.

Ver. 9. *A land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness.*] Be in no want of any sort of provision, which is comprehended under the name of *bread.*

*Thou shalt not lack any thing in it.*] No other conveniences of life.

*A land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.*] Where there are useful minerals, as plentiful as stones are in other places. These are the rather mentioned, because there were no such mines in Egypt, where they had long dwelt, and were stored with plenty of other things, (Numb. xi. 5.)

Ver. 10. *When thou hast eaten, and art full.*] After a liberal meal.

*Then thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land which he hath given thee.*] Give solemn thanks to God, not only for that present repast, but for the plentiful provision he had made for them of all good things, in the land he had bestowed on them. From this place the Jews have made it a general rule, or as they call it an affirmative precept, that *every one bless God at their meals,* that is, as I said, give him thanks for his benefits: for he blesses us when he bestows good things upon us; and we bless him when we thankfully acknowledge his goodness therein: which is a natural duty which we owe to the Fountain and Original of all good.

Ver. 11. *Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, in not keeping his commandments, and his judgments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day.*] He would have their thanksgiving for his benefits leave such a sense of God upon their minds, as should make them careful to yield him an entire obedience.

Ver. 12. *Lest when thou hast eaten, and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein.*] Feasted in stately houses, wherein they enjoyed their ease.

Ver. 13. *And when thy herds and thy flocks are multiplied, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied.*] The sense of these two verses is, when they had great abundance of all good things within doors and without.

Ver. 14. *Then thine heart be lifted up.*] Which is an usual effect of great riches; as Euripides observes in that known saying of his, Ὕβριν δὲ τίκτει πλοῦτος, *wealth breeds pride, scorn, and contempt of others.* This Moses Kotzensis thought so great a sin, that he puts it among the negative precepts; and pretends he was warned in a dream so to do, though Maimonides, and others, had omitted it. And when he awaked, he was confirmed in it, by reading a place in the Gemara upon Sota, (cap. 1,) which saith, wheresoever we find these words in Scripture, *take heed lest,* there is a prohibition, as there is, ver. 11. and here, *to take heed* of pride: *for whosoever is proud, he shall be brought low,* as the Gemara there adds; which are, in a manner, the words of our blessed Saviour, (St. Luke xviii. 14.)

*And thou forget the Lord thy God.*] This is another common effect of large possessions, which make the owners of them fall into sloth and luxury, and such forgetfulness of the Donor of all good things, that they trust in uncertain riches (as the apostle speaks), and not in the living God, imagining now they can never want; not because God is so good, but because they have such store of good things laid up for many years.

*Which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, and from the house of bondage.*] No wonder if they forgot all his former benefits, when they were unthankful for the present.

Ver. 15. *Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness.*] See i. 19.

*Wherein were fiery serpents.*] See Numb. xxi. 6.

*And scorpions.*] These are commonly joined with *serpents* in Scripture, even in the New Testament, (Luke x. 19. xi. 12, 13.) being found in the same places, especially in this desert of Arabia.

*And drought.*] The Hebrew word *tsimmaon* signifies a *dry place,* as we translate it, Psal. cvii. 33. Isa. xxxv. 7. And that best agrees with what here follows, *where there was no water.*

*Who brought thee forth water out of a rock of flint.*] From which one would have sooner expected fire than water, (Numb. xx. 11.)

*Who fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not.*] Ver. 3. The great Salmasius, in a treatise on purpose about manna, hath said a great deal to prove that the manna which God sent the Jews did not differ in its form or substance from that which commonly fell in those countries, and doth so at this day: but herein consisted the miracle, that he gave them in a prescribed measure, and so abundantly, as to suffice such a vast number; and that every morning, in all seasons of the year. This made it a Divine manna; for the common fell only in small quantities, and not always, but at some times in the year.

*That he might humble thee.*] This word is commonly understood of humbling by affliction; which may seem not to belong to manna; for that was a singular benefit, being an excellent nourishment, and of a delicious taste: but they, having nothing else besides this to live upon, were soon tired with it, (as we find Numb. xi. 6.) And much more did it seem an affliction to them, to live upon one thing alone for forty years together; and God intended by it to humble them, at the same time that he was extraordinary kind to them.

*And that he might prove thee.*] Whether they would be thankful that they were not starved, and submit to his wise providence, and obey his laws; which they had the greater reason to observe, because it was evident they owed their very life and being to him every moment: for without new supplies every day from heaven, they had been famished in that desolate wilderness.

*And do the good at thy latter end.*] That in conclusion his kindness to them might be more thankfully received, and more safely enjoyed. So Maimonides expounds this passage, in his More Nevochim, (par. iii. cap. 24.) "God was pleased to accustom them to labour in the wilderness, that he might increase their happiness when they came into the land of Canaan. For this is certain, a transition from labour to rest is far sweeter than continual rest. Nor could they so easily have subdued the land, and overcome the inhabitants of it, unless they had endured some hardship in the wilderness. For rest and idleness take away men's courage; but labour and hard fare augments it. And this is *the good* (saith he) which was in the issue to redound to them by this wise dispensation of God's providence."

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Ver. 17. *And thou shalt say in thine heart, My power, and the might of my hand, hath gotten me this wealth.*] Such vain conceits are apt to arise in men's minds, if they preserve not a sense of God, and of all his mercies to them.

Ver. 18. *But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God; for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth.*] Continually call to mind that they owed all they had, and the increase of it, to his almighty providence; without whom they could never have gotten possession of this land, nor have prospered in it.

*That he may establish his covenant which he sware unto thy fathers,* &c.] He would have them sensible of their own unworthiness also (which would make them more grateful to him) of all the blessings God had bestowed on them, and acknowledge them to his mere goodness, and fidelity to his promises; for they had been a murmuring and rebellious people.

Ver. 19. *And it shall be, if thou do at all forget the Lord thy God.*] Luxury and pride (the usual effects of fulness) naturally made them unthankful and unmindful of God: and neglect of God's service made them easily fall to idolatry.

*And walk after other gods, and worship and serve them.*] The two last expressions are the explication of the first; for then they walked after the idols of the people (as Onkelos paraphrases it), when they worshipped and adored them. It is evident by this, that the drift of Moses, in all this discourse, is (as I observed before) to press upon them the first and great commandment.

*I testify against you this day, that ye shall utterly perish.*] See iv. 26.

Ver. 20. *As the nations which the Lord destroyeth before your face.*] He speaks in the present tense, because he was about to destroy them: and when he began, he destroyed them by little and little, (vii. 22.) and there were still more to be destroyed.

*So shall ye perish, because ye would not be obedient to the voice of the Lord your God.*] It was but just that they should perish as those nations did, because they fell into their sin.

## CHAP. IX.

Ver. 1. *HEAR, O Israel.*] He begins a new exhortation to them, at some distance of time from the former, but still aiming at the same thing, to represent to them the danger of idolatry.

*Thou art to pass over Jordan this day.*] That is, shortly, not long hence; for it cannot be meant precisely: all these things being spoken in the eleventh month of the last year of their travels, and they passed not over Jordan till the first month of the next year. Between which and this time Moses died, and they mourned a whole month for him.

*To go in to possess nations.*] A country inhabited by nations; for the people themselves they were to destroy.

*Greater and mightier than thyself.*] Whom notwithstanding God would deliver up into their hands.

*Cities great, and fenced up to heaven.*] As the spies had represented them, (i. 28.) And they were, indeed, very strong cities, whose walls could not easily be scaled.

Ver. 2. *A people great and tall.*] See Numb. xiv. 28. 32.

*The children of the Anakims, whom thou knowest.*] Who seem to have been the chief of those Nephilim or Rephaim (which we sometimes translate *giants*) in those parts, (Numb. xiii. 22. 28. 33.)

*Of whom thou hast heard say, Who can stand before the children of Anak?*] A common proverb in those days. The children of Anak being so famous, that the whole nation (as Bochartus thinks) took its name from them. For Bene-Anak (*i. e.* children of Anak), or Pheneanak, is easily changed into Phœnicia. These Anakims were vanquished by Joshua, who drove them out of the cities where they dwelt, and made them flee to the Philistines. Where a remnant of them seemed to have lived till the days of David. For Goliath, and his brethren Lahmi, Sippai, and Ishbibanob, (1 Chron. xx. 4, &c.) were Anakims; and so was that man with six toes on each foot, and six fingers on each hand, (2 Sam. xxi. 16.) for they were all born at Gath; which was one of the cities to which the Anakims fled, (Josh. xi. 22.) Some think that from hence kings, among the Greeks, were called Ἄνακτες, because commonly they chose those to rule over them who were persons of a great stature, and carried majesty in their faces. But it is not improbable (as I observed before) that some of the Anakims fled into Greece, and settled there, when they were driven out of Canaan.

Ver. 3. *Understand therefore this day.*] Settle this therefore in your minds, before you go over Jordan, as undoubted truth.

*That the Lord thy God is he that goeth before thee.*] Over Jordan, (Josh. iii. 3, 4, &c.)

*As a consuming fire.*] Before whom none can stand, (iv. 24.)

*He shall destroy them, and he shall bring them down before thy face.*] See Josh. iii. 10, 11. The Hebrews have a conceit, that the fire which burnt upon the altar appeared in the form of a lion; to shew what God would be to their enemies, if the Israelites obeyed him; otherwise, what he would be to them.

*So shalt thou drive them out, and destroy them utterly, as the Lord hath said unto thee.*] Not the whole seven nations entirely; whom he said God would drive out by little and little, (vii. 22.) but so many, as to make a settlement for themselves in Canaan without much difficulty.

Ver. 4. *Speak not in thine heart, after that the Lord thy God hath cast them out.*] When this is done, do not so much as entertain a thought.

*For my righteousness hath the Lord brought me in to possess this land.*] Nothing is more dangerous than pride and self-conceit; and therefore, as he taught them before (viii. 7.) to have an humble opinion of their own power, so now not to arrogate any thing to themselves, on the account of their own righteousness.

*But for the wickedness of these nations the Lord doth drive them out from before thee.*] Lev. xviii. 24, 25. 27, 28.

Ver. 5. *Not for thy righteousness, or the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land; but for the wickedness of these nations,* &c. *and that he may perform the word which the Lord sware unto thy fathers,* &c.] It was of great moment (which makes him repeat it again) that they should understand the true causes why God expelled these nations, and gave their land to the Israelites; which were these two: first, the abominable wickedness of the Canaanites; for which they deserved to be rooted: secondly, God's gracious promises to the pious ancestors of the Israelites, with whom he made a covenant, and con-

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firmed it with an oath, to plant them there, in the room of the former inhabitants.

Ver. 6. *Understand therefore, that the Lord thy God giveth thee not this good land to possess it for thy righteousness.*] He repeats it a third time, that, if it were possible, he might root out of the Israelites the opinion of their own deserts, before he rooted the Canaanites out of their country.

*For thou art a stiff-necked people.*] So far from being righteous, that they were very refractory. Of which God often complained, (Exod. xxxii. 9. xxxiii. 3. 5.) and Moses acknowledges it in his prayer to God for them, (xxxiv. 9.)

Ver. 7. *Remember, and forget not, how thou provokedst the Lord thy God to wrath in the wilderness.*] In order to destroy the opinion of their own righteousness, it was necessary to call to mind some of their most notorious provocations; which he exhorts them carefully to preserve in their mind, as a means to keep them humble.

*From the day that thou didst depart out of the land of Egypt, until you came to this place, ye have been rebellious against the Lord.*] This appears by the many murmurings we read of in the two first years after they came out of Egypt, and likewise in the last; of which only we have a particular account: but their behaviour, all the rest of the time they spent in the wilderness, was no better.

Ver. 8. *Also in Horeb ye provoked the Lord to wrath.*] Or rather, *even in Horeb* (for there is an emphasis in this, and he speaks it with some indignation); when they had newly received the law, and had a visible appearance of God in great glory upon Mount Sinai, and had entered into covenant with him, they so shamefully revolted from him, that he thought to have destroyed them, (Exod. xxxii. 7, 8, &c.)

Ver. 9. *When I was gone up into the mount to receive the tables of stone, even the tables of the covenant which the Lord made with you.*] See Exod. xxiv. 11.

*Then I abode in the mount forty days and forty nights; I neither did eat bread, nor drink water.*] See Exod. xxiv. 18. xxxiv. 28.

Ver. 10. *And the Lord delivered unto me two tables of stone, written with the finger of God.*] See Exod. xxxi. 18.

*According to all the words which the Lord spake with you in the mount.*] See Exod. xxxiv. 28.

*Out of the midst of the fire, in the day of the assembly.*] When the whole body of the people were assembled, and heard God speak these ten words out of the midst of the fire. (See Deut. iv. 10—13.)

Ver. 11. *And it came to pass at the end of forty days and forty nights, that the Lord gave me the two tables of stone,* &c.] That is, having given him the two tables, as was said before, ver. 10.

Ver. 12. *The Lord said unto me.*] Immediately after he had delivered to him the tables, (Exod. xxxi. 18. xxxii. 7.)

*Arise, get thee down quickly from hence; for the people which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt have corrupted themselves,* &c.] See Exod. xxxii. 7, 8.

Ver. 13. *Furthermore the Lord spake unto me, saying, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiff-necked people.*] Who will not bend to the yoke of my laws, (Exod. xxxii. 9.)

Ver. 14. *Let me alone.*] Do not make any intercession to me for them.

*That I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven; and I will make of thee a nation greater and mightier than they.*] See Exod. xxxii. 10.

Ver. 15. *So I turned, and came down from the mount.*] See Exod. xxxii. 15.

*And the mount burnt with fire.*] Was all in a flame, in token of God's high displeasure against them; and as if he intended presently to consume them.

*And the two tables of the covenant were in my hand.*] Exod. xxxii. 15.

Ver. 16. *And I looked, and behold, ye had sinned against the Lord your God, and had made you a molten calf.*] About which he found them dancing, (Exod. xxxii. 19.)

*Ye had turned aside quickly out of the way which the Lord had commanded you.*] For a few weeks before he had commanded them, with his own mouth, not to make to themselves any graven image, &c. (Exod. xx. 4.) And immediately after commanded Moses to repeat this precept particularly to them, "Not to make with him gods of silver or gold," (ver. 22, 23.)

Ver. 17. *And I took the two tables, and cast them out of my two hands, and brake them before your eyes.*] By God's order, no doubt, in token that they had broken his covenant, and were unworthy to be owned by him for his people, (Exod. xxxii. 19.) or that the covenant was made void, and God no longer engaged to them.

Ver. 18. *And I fell down.*] To pray God for pardon; though not presently: but after he had broken the calf in pieces, reproved Aaron, and made a slaughter among the people, (Exod. xxxii. 20, 21, &c.)

*As at the first.*] When he first heard of their sin, Exod. xxxii. 11—13. and the next morning after he had broken the calf, and done execution upon the offenders, (ver. 30—32.)

*Forty days and forty nights: I did neither eat bread nor drink water.*] Exod. xxxiv. 2. 28.

*Because of all your sins which ye sinned, in doing wickedly in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger.*] He spent this time, very much, in earnest supplication to God, to forgive not only this, but all other sins, whereby they had deserved to be cast off by him. For they provoked him at Marah, (Exod. xv. 23.) and in the wilderness of Sin, (xvi. 2, 3.) and at Massah, (xvii. 2—4.)

Ver. 19. *For I was afraid of the anger and hot displeasure wherewith the Lord was wroth against you, to destroy you.*] Which God had expressed both before he came down from the mount and after, (Exod. xxxii. xxxiii. 3. 5.) Insomuch, that the Lord removed out of the camp; and would not, for the present, dwell among them, (ver. 7.)

*But the Lord hearkened unto me at that time also.*] See Exod. xxxiv. 8—10. where the Lord tells him, he expected they should be more faithful hereafter, in observing their covenant with him, particularly this part, of worshipping no other God. (See there, ver. 10—14.)

Ver. 20. *And the Lord was very angry with Aaron, to have destroyed him,* &c.] This shews the heinousness of this sin, which had like to have cost Aaron his life; though he merely complied with the impetuous desire of the people, out of fear and want of courage to resist them.

Ver. 21. *And I took your sin.*] So idols are termed in Isa. xxxi. 7. The object or occasion of sin, as well as the punishment of it, being called by the name of *sin.*

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*The calf which you had made, and burnt it with fire, and stamped it, and ground it very small,* &c.] This he did before he went up the second time into the mount, (Exod. xxxii. 20.)

*And I cast the dust thereof into the brook that descended out of the mount.*] From the rock which Moses smote with his rod, (Exod. xvii. 6.) which constantly supplied them with drink; which for the present they could not have but mixed with their sin, as we read Exod. xxxii. 20.

Ver. 22. *And at Taberah.*] Besides this great sin committed at Horeb, he puts them in mind of several other, that they might be more humbled, and have no opinion of their own righteousness remaining in them. (See concerning this, Numb. xi. 1—3.)

*And at Massah.*] As the foregoing sin was committed after the making the golden calf, so this was before it, (Exod. xvii. 7.)

*And at Kibroth-hattaavah ye provoked the Lord to wrath.*] This provocation was immediately after that at Taberah, (Numb. xi. 33, 34.) All which three places had their names from the sin of the Israelites, or from their punishment.

Ver. 23. *Likewise.*] And yet this was not all.

*When the Lord sent you from Kadesh-barnea, saying, Go up, and possess the land which I have given you.*] Numb. xiii. 1—3.

*Then ye rebelled against the commandment of the Lord your God; and ye believed him not, nor hearkened to his word.*] Numb. xiv. 1—3. of which unbelief God there complains, ver. 11.

Ver. 24. *Ye have been rebellious against the Lord from the day that I knew you.*] To comprise all in a few words, you have been a disobedient people ever since I was acquainted with you. So he suspected they would prove, (Exod. iv. 1.) and upon the first disappointment found it to be true, (Exod. v. 24, 25.)

Ver. 25. *Thus I fell down before the Lord forty days and forty nights, as I fell down at the first; because the Lord had said he would destroy you.*] Having interposed some other instances of their rebellious disposition, besides their making the golden calf, he returns to what he had begun to say concerning his intercession with God for a pardon; which he could not obtain without long importunity. For we cannot from these words gather, as some of the Jews do, that Moses was three times in the mount forty days and forty nights; it being plain, that he speaks here of the same time which he mentioned ver. 18. And if we should think he intended any other, we might conclude he was four times in the mount so many days and nights, because he mentions it over again in the next chapter, x. 10.

*Because the Lord had said he would destroy you.*] Exod. xxxii. 10. xxxiii. 5. This made him so earnest to obtain an assurance from God, that he would continue to be as gracious to them as he had been: of which he had given him some hope before he went up into the mount. (See Exod. xxiii. 17. xxxiv. 9, 10.)

Ver. 26. *I prayed therefore unto the Lord, and said, O Lord God, destroy not thy people, and thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed through thy greatness,* &c.] He used the same argument in his petition for them, when he went into the mount the second time, which he had urged before he came down the first time from it, (Exod. xxxii. 12.)

Ver. 27. *Remember thy servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.*] The very same he had said there, ver. 13.

*And look not unto the stubbornness of this people, nor to their wickedness, nor to their sin.*] He prays that the gracious promise of God to their pious forefathers would move him to overlook the high provocations of their posterity. Which he aggravates in several words, the more to humble them, and to magnify God's mercy in granting them a pardon. The word *stubbornness* seems to relate to their very evil disposition of mind; and their *wickedness* to all their undutiful murmurings; and their *sin* to their idolatry; which is often called in Scripture peculiarly by the name of sin: it being the highest provocation, from whence sprang all manner of wickedness. Thus Jeroboam is said to have *made Israel to sin*, by setting up the calves at Dan and Bethel to be worshipped.

Ver. 28. *Lest the land whence thou broughtest them out say, Because the Lord was not able to bring them into the land which he promised them, and because he hated them, he hath brought them out to slay them in the wilderness.*] The sense of this also he had before urged, (Exod. xxxii. 12.)

Ver. 29. *Yet they are thy people, and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest out by thy mighty power,* &c.] They were redeemed by him out of the land of Egypt, and, after a wonderful manner, separated from all other people, to be his peculiar, (Exod. xix. 4—6.) And besides, having repented of this sin in making the golden calf, God had again owned them to be his, and promised his presence should go with them, (Exod. xxxiii. 14.) Insomuch, that Moses there saith, before he went into the mount again, (ver. 13.) "Consider that this nation is thy people." And see ver. 15, 16.

## CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. *AT that time the Lord said unto me, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me into the mount.*] After his anger was something appeased, he ordered Moses to come up to him where he had been before, and bring with him two tables of stone like those he had broken, that God might renew his covenant with them. But there was this difference, (as I observed Exod. xxxiv. 1.) that God himself made the former tables, but he bade Moses make these: which signifies some abatement of his favour.

*And make thee an ark of wood.*] This command was given at his first going up into the mount, (Exod. xxv. 10.) and, perhaps, was renewed again now, upon the occasion of making these new tables which were to be put into it.

Ver. 2. *And I will write on the tables the words that were in the first tables which thou brakest.*] So we read he told him, Exod. xxxiv. 1.

*And thou shalt put them in the ark.*] As soon as it was made to receive them.

Ver. 3. *And I made an ark of shittim-wood.*] This looks as if he made an ark before he made the tables; that when he brought them down, it might be ready to receive them. And it hath given some ground to the Jewish doctors, to say that there were two arks; one made by Moses, wherein he put the tables of stone that were broken, and those that



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were renewed, until the other was made by Bezaleel: for we read expressly, that *Bezaleel made the ark*, Exod. xxxvii. 1. and here it is said that Moses made it. So that they conclude there were two made; and this made by Moses they fancy was the ark that went before them in their marches and battles; which the other never did by God's order, but only when they entered into Canaan; (Josh. iii.) for when of their ownselves they carried it forth in the days of Eli, God was angry with them, and delivered it into the enemy's hand, (1 Sam. iv. 3, 4. 11.) But Aben Ezra, Nachmanides, and Abarbinel, have confuted this by strong reasons to the contrary, as may be seen in Buxtorf's Histor. Arcæ, p. 35, 36, &c. And as to this place, they are of opinion, that Moses speaks of the ark made afterward by Bezaleel, which Moses is said to have made, because he commanded him to make it. Just as Solomon is said to have built the temple, because he caused it to be built. Or, if it be granted that Moses made an ark before he went the second time into the mount (which this verse seems to countenance), it will not follow that there were two arks in use among the Israelites; for this ark now made was of mere wood, not overlaid with gold, and designed only as a chest wherein to keep the tables handsomely, till the ark could be made by Bezaleel, and then the tables were translated into that, and this chest of Moses laid aside.

*And hewed two tables of stone like unto the first, and went up into the mount.*] See Exod. xxxiv. 4.

Ver. 4. *And he wrote on the tables, according to the first writing, the ten commandments.*] Exod. xxxiv. 28.

*Which the Lord commanded you in the mount, out of the midst of the fire, in the day of the assembly.*] When the whole congregation was gathered together at the foot of the mount. (See ix. 10.)

*And the Lord gave them unto me.*] To carry down to the people.

Ver. 5. *And I turned myself.*] From the Divine presence, where he had been supplicating for mercy, and had received from thence the tables of the covenant.

*And came down from the mount.*] At the end of forty days and nights, (Exod. xxxiv. 28, 29.)

*And put the tables in the ark which I had made.*] Which he commanded to be made by Bezaleel, (Exod. xxxvii. 1.) and put into the tabernacle as soon as it was built, with these tables in it, (Exod. xl. 20, 21.)

*And there they be, as the Lord commanded me.*] Though Moses mentions his making the ark before his hewing the tables, and going up into the mount, (ver. 3.) yet these words seem to determine that he speaks of the ark made by Bezaleel, according to his directions. For now that they were going over Jordan, the tables were in the ark, which he is said here to have made. Which was certainly *the ark of the covenant*, not that chest, which some suppose Moses to have made to keep the tables in till the other could be fitted for their reception.

Ver. 6. *And the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth, of the children of Jaakan, to Mosera.*] Not immediately; but after they had passed through several other places, and made some stay in them: for they went from Bene-Jaakan to Gudgodah (or Hor-hagidgad), and so to Jotbath, and the rest of the mansions mentioned Numb. xxxiii. 32, 33, &c. until they came to Mount Hor.

*There Aaron died, and there he was buried.*] At Mosera, or the top of Mount Hor; which was another part of the same mountain, as Horeb was of Sinai.

*And Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead.*] The greatest difficulty is to give anaccount how this comes in here, and what connexion this and the following verse have with what went before. All the satisfaction that I can give to it is this, that Moses having told them, that he put the tables of the testimony or covenant into the ark, as a token God was reconciled to them, and that there they still were as the Lord commanded, he puts them out of all doubt of it, by telling them, that though Aaron (who had the special care of the holy place, and all things in it committed to him) was dead, yet Eleazar his son was still alive, who could testify those holy things remained, as when Moses first placed them there, he being consecrated to the priest's office instead of Aaron, and in this very mount, (Numb. xx. 25, 26, &c.) which is the occasion of mentioning this station here, when most of the rest are omitted.

Ver. 7. *And from thence.*] Not from Mosera, but from Bene-Jaakan, as appears from Numb. xxxiii. 32. where a full account is given of their removals, which are but just touched here.

*They journeyed to Gudgodah.*] Called in the book of Numbers by the name of Hor-hagidgad. And none will think it strange that there is such variation in the proper names of places and of men, in profane writers, as well as the Scriptures, who considers (as Conradus Pellicanus here notes) how differently the names of places are pronounced now, from what they were in former ages; and how much one nation differs from another, when they speak of them; and what alterations are made from the first founders of nations and cities by those that conquer them, and change all names to their own glory. See how names were changed among the Israelites in no long time, Numb. xxvi. 15—17. 23, 24. 35. 38, 39, &c.

*And from Gudgodah to Jotbath.*] And so to the rest of the places mentioned Numb. xxxiii. 34—36. till they came to Mount Hor.

*A land of rivers of waters.*] A place where there was plenty of water; which he mentions, I suppose, that they might reflect upon their foul distrust of God's providence a little after, when they murmured for want of water at Kadesh, (Numb. xx. 3, 4, &c.)

Ver. 8. *At that time.*] Not long after Moses came down from the mount the second time; of which he had been speaking, ver. 5.

*The Lord separated the tribe of Levi.*] To his own special service, as we read Numb. iii. Some think that God renewed his choice of them to the employment here mentioned after Aaron's death, when he confirmed them in their office. But we read of no such thing; and it cannot be inferred merely from these words, *at that time*, which may well relate to the time mentioned, ver. 5.

*To bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord.*] Here are three parts of their office mentioned in these and the following words. The first of which was to carry the ark; which peculiarly belonged to the Kohathites, (Numb. iii. 27. 31.) when the camp removed from one place to another. Who were good witnesses that the same ark still remained at that day wherein Moses first placed the tables of the covenant; for it never stirred but by their means.

*To stand before the Lord.*] This is a phrase used of ser-

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vants that wait upon their masters, before whom they are said to stand. Thus Gehazi attended the prophet Elisha, (2 Kings v. 25.) And the prophets themselves are thus said to stand before the Lord, (1 Kings xvii. 1. xviii. 15.) Therefore it here signifies that the Levites were separated to be God's ministers, as it follows.

*To minister unto him.*] As assistants to the priests in the tabernacle, (Numb. iii. 6.) and as a guard to the tabernacle, (ver. 7, 8.) Which was the second part of their office.

*And to bless in his name unto this day.*] This was the greatest thing of all, and was peculiar to the priests, who were a part of the tribe of Levi, but had the sole privilege among them to bless in the name of the Lord, as we read expressly Numb. vi. 23, 24. If, indeed, it could be made out, that by *blessing in the name of the Lord,* is meant only to *bless the name of the Lord,* that was common to all the Levites, who sang praises and gave thanks continually to him in the temple, as I suppose they did in the tabernacle: but I find no example of the use of this expression in this sense; and therefore it must be restrained to the priests, who were sons of Levi, as well as the rest; and are so called when Moses mentions this part of their office, Deut. xxi. 5.

Ver. 9. *Wherefore Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren.*] Because God would have them only attend to this service, and not look after other affairs; particularly of guarding the sanctuary, and keeping constant watch there, to secure all the holy things, especially the ark, which they took care none should meddle withal. And therefore the people might be sure it remained as Moses left it, when he put it into the tabernacle with the tables of the covenant in it.

*The Lord is his inheritance, according as the Lord thy God promised him.*] He took care to provide for the Levites, without having any land to plough or sow, &c. (See Numb. xviii. 20.)

Ver. 10. *And I stayed in the mount, according to the first time, forty days and forty nights.*] This doth not signify, that after the separation of the Levites he went up again into the mount, but having confirmed what he said concerning his putting the tables of stone in the ark, which he made after he came the second time down from the mount, (ver. 5.) he returns to what he was speaking of in the beginning of the chapter, and had begun to say before, (ix. 25.) how he prayed to God for them, when he went to carry the tables he had hewn up unto God in the mount, that now he might relate to them the success of his prayers, which follows in the next words.

*And the Lord hearkened unto me at that time also, and the Lord would not destroy thee.*] As he feared he would, because he had so threatened, ix. 15.

Ver. 11. *And the Lord said unto me, Arise, take thy journey before the people, that they may go in, and possess the land,* &c.] This cannot refer to what he said unto him after the making the golden calf, (as I find some take it from Exod. xxxiii. 1.) for that was before he went up into the mount again; but to what he said at the conclusion of their removals from place to place, (some of which he mentions here, ver. 6, 7.) for then he orders them what to do when they entered into Canaan, which, he saith, *I have given you to possess it,* (Numb. xxxii. 51—53.)

Ver. 12. *And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee?*] Unto whom he hath given tables, wherein he himself hath wrote his will with his own hand, (ver. 4, 5.) and hath graciously pardoned your foul breach of his covenant upon my intercession, (ver. 10.)

*But to fear the Lord thy God.*] The fear of God sometimes includes in it all religion; but here seems to signify one of the great principles of obedience. (See vi. 2.)

*And to walk in all his ways.*] Unto which the fear of God inclines men, when their hearts are possessed with it.

*And to love him.*] Especially if the love of God be in them; which is still a stronger principle of obedience, (vi. 1.)

*And to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul.*] Being constant in his worship and service, and worshipping him alone, (vi. 13. xiii. 3.) For loving him with all the heart and soul, seems here to have particular respect to their having no inclination to serve other gods, (1 Kings viii. 23. 48.) Which the Jews, after they had smarted for their idolatry, understood to be the great commandment. As their father Jacob, they say, taught his twelve sons, when they came about him on his death-bed, saying to them: "Ye perhaps worship the idols which Terah, the father of Abraham, worshipped; or those which Laban, my mother's brother, worshipped; or ye worship the God of Jacob. To whom they all made this answer, with a perfect fear: Hear, O Israel, our father, The Lord our God is one Lord. Whereupon Jacob said, Let his great name be blessed for ever." Thus the Jerusalem Targum upon vi. 4. of this book.

Ver. 13. *To keep the commandments of the Lord, and his statutes, which I command this day for thy good.*] Self-love should have inclined them to obedience to God's commands, which he gave them for their good; though he rewarded their obedience to them, as if he had received the benefit thereof.

Ver. 14. *Behold, the heaven.*] Where the sun, moon, and stars shine.

*And the heaven of heavens.*] And all the glorious regions beyond them.

*Is the Lord's thy God.*] Are all his possession, as they are his work.

*The earth also, with all that therein is.*] As well as this earth, and all the creatures that are in it.

Ver. 15. *Only the Lord had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and he chose their seed after them, even you above all people,* &c.] He would have them sensible, therefore, that the Possessor of heaven and of earth could have no need of them, or of their services, who were a very inconsiderable part of his creatures: but it was his own mere good-will and pleasure which moved him to shew such love to Abraham, as he had done, and to his posterity for his sake, above all other nations on earth.

Ver. 16. *Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart.*] Do not satisfy yourselves therefore with the bare circumcision of your flesh (and the observance of such external rites and ceremonies), but cut off and cast away all your naughty affections, which make you insensible both of God's mercies and corrections, and disobedient to his commands.

*And be no more stiff-necked.*] As he had often before complained they were, particularly Exod. xxxii. 9. and see ix. 6. of this book. It is a metaphor, as I observed, from oxen, who, when they are to draw in a yoke, and go for-



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ward, pull back their neck and their shoulder to withdraw themselves from the yoke. To both which the Scripture alludes, Nehem. ix. 29. And sometime severally we find mention of them, as in the place beforenamed in Exodus, he speaks of their *stiff-neck;* and Zachar. vii. 11. he saith, "they pulled away the shoulder." St. Stephen puts both these together in his character of the wicked Jews that killed our blessed Saviour, Acts vii. 51. that they were *stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart.* Therefore the contrary disposition God promises towards the conclusion of this book, as the greatest blessing he could bestow on them, (xxx. 6.)

Ver. 17. *For the Lord thy God is God of gods, and Lord of lords.*] Superior to all other beings, whether kings on earth or angels in heaven.

*A great God, a mighty, and a terrible.*] Who can do what he pleases every where; and therefore is to be greatly dreaded.

*Which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward.*] The most righteous judge of men, who will not connive at your sins because you are circumcised, nor be bribed by any sacrifices to overlook your wickedness, (Exod. xxiii. 8. Lev. xix. 15. Deut. i. 17.) nor, on the contrary, reject those that uprightly obey him, though they be not Jews. So St. Peter learnt to understand these words, Acts x. 34.

Ver. 18. *He doth execute the judgment of the fatherless and widow.*] Takes their part, as we speak, and defends them against those that would oppress them.

*And loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment.*] Provideth for those who are driven unjustly out of their own country, or, travelling on their honest occasions, fall into want; for he seems here to speak of those who were neither proselytes of justice, nor of the gate, as the Jews speak, but were mere gentiles.

Ver. 19. *Love ye therefore the stranger.*] Be kind and hospitable to such distressed persons: which is a virtue that flows from the love of God, (ver. 12.) to which it is in vain to pretend, if we love not all mankind. This love consists in imitating God's care of such persons, whereof he speaks in the foregoing verse, *viz.* doing them justice equally with others, and affording them food and raiment.

*For ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*] This virtue was peculiarly required of the Jews; who had been in that condition, which he commanded them to pity. (See Exod. xxiii. 9. Levit. xix. 33, 34.) And if they had sincerely practised this duty towards aliens, the grace of God shewn to the gentiles in our blessed Saviour, would not have seemed so strange to them as it did.

Ver. 20. *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, him shalt thou serve.*] This was explained before, ver. 12.

*To him shalt thou cleave.*] Serve, that is, and worship none but him.

*And swear by his name.*] See vi. 13.

Ver. 21. *He is thy praise.*] Whom thou oughtest therefore to praise; or rather, in whose love and favour thou oughtest to glory; and to think it the highest honour to be his servant, and to have him for thy God, as it here follows.

*He is thy God.*] Who hath bestowed upon thee all the good things which thou enjoyest.

*That hath done for thee all these great and terrible things which thine eyes have seen.*] In bringing them out of Egypt, destroying Pharaoh in the Red Sea, leading them through the wilderness, giving them the country of Sihon and Og, &c. Whom therefore they were bound to love and serve, and to confide in his mercy, and not in their own power or righteousness, (viii. 17, 18. ix. 4—6.)

Ver. 22. *Thy fathers went down into Egypt with threescore and ten persons.*] See Gen. xlvi. 27. Exod. i. 5. Their family, he would have them remember, was very small about two hundred years ago.

*And now the Lord thy God hath made thee as the stars of heaven for multitude.*] Vastly increased them, according to his promise unto Abraham, Gen. xv. 5. Exod. xii. 37. Numb. xxvi. 51. 62. Which alone (as Conradus Pellicanus here notes) was sufficient to fill their hearts with his love, and their mouths with his praise.

## CHAP. XI.

Ver. 1. *THEREFORE thou shalt love the Lord thy God.*] Who of so small hath made thee so great a nation.

*And keep his charge.*] A phrase used frequently concerning the Levites, Numb. iii. 7, 8, &c. But here comprehends all the particulars following, *his statutes, and his judgments, and commandments,* which he had charged them to observe. (See vi. 1.)

Ver. 2. *And know you this day.*] Consider seriously what I have said to you, till you be sensible of it, (viii. 5. ix. 6.)

*For I speak not with your children, which have not known, and which have not seen.*] The words *I speak* are not in the Hebrew: and they may as well be supplied thus, *For not with your children have these things been done,* &c. Which agrees well with ver. 7.

*The chastisement of the Lord your God.*] The plagues he sent upon the Egyptians.

*His greatness.*] Which appeared by the many great things he did, only upon the stretching out of Moses's rod.

*His mighty hand, and stretched-out arm.*] These are more words to express the same thing.

Ver. 3. *And his miracles, and his acts, which he did in the midst of Egypt.*] Or, *his miraculous acts,* &c. He uses so many words to make them sensible, how much they were obliged to God for their deliverance out of the slavery of Egypt; which nothing could have effected but God's almighty power, declared in various instances. This is the first argument wherewith he excites their love to God (which he pressed in the foregoing chapter, and begins this again with it), that God had loved them so much, as to work many astonishing miracles, rather than let them continue slaves to Pharaoh.

Ver. 4. *And what he did unto the army of Egypt, unto their horses, and to their chariots.*] Who pursued after the Israelites, and overtook them, (Exod. xiv. 6—8.) Whereby the kindness of God appeared, after he had delivered them, in preserving them from being brought back to their slavery.

*How he made the water of the Red Sea to overflow them as they pursued after you.*] See Exod. xiv. 23, 24. 27, 28.

*And how the Lord hath destroyed them unto this day.*] Brought them so low, that they have not recovered their strength, to attempt any thing against you since that time.

Ver. 5. *And what he did to you in the wilderness, until*

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*ye came unto this place.*] Provided for them, protected and preserved them forty years; giving them possession also of the country of Sihon and Og, two kings of the Amorites. These benefits, if they considered, which they could not but see they owed to his love alone, were powerful arguments to move them to love him.

Ver. 6. *And what he did to Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Reuben.*] Numb. xvi. 1, &c. The remembrance and consideration of the terrible vengeance the Lord took upon rebellious people, he uses as another argument to make them obedient. And there was none more remarkable than this upon Dathan and Abiram. He doth not mention Korah; but they would not well forget him, when they thought of his confederates, though he suffered another punishment.

*How the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their households and their tents,* &c.] See Numb. xvi. 32, 33, &c.

Ver. 7. *But your eyes have seen the great acts of the Lord, which he did.*] In Egypt, at the Red Sea, and in the wilderness, (ver. 3—5.) Some of which all of them had seen; and there were none of them who had not seen some.

Ver. 8. *Therefore shall ye keep all the commandments which I command you this day.*] Remembering what had befallen both their enemies and themselves.

*That ye may be strong, and go in and possess the land, whither you go to possess it.*] In hope that the same God would empower them to subdue the Canaanites, and give them full possession of their country.

Ver. 9. *And ye may prolong your days in the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give unto them and to their seed.*] This may relate both to the present generation, and to their posterity; who, after their fathers had lived long in the land of Canaan, should succeed them, and enjoy it in future ages. (See ver. 21.)

*A land that floweth with milk and honey.*] This is a common description, in all authors, of a rich and pleasant country. Particularly in Euripides:

Ῥεῖ δὲ γάλακτι πέδον,
Ῥεῖ δ' οἴνῳ, ῥεῖ δὲ μελισσῶν
Νέκταρι———

And the like Bochartus hath observed in Virgil, Horace, and other writers, (Hierozoic. lib. iv. par. i. cap. 12.)

Ver. 10. *For the land, whither thou goest to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out.*] He uses all manner of arguments to persuade them to obedience; from a grateful remembrance of God's former mercies, (ver. 2, 3, &c.) from the terrible punishment of the disobedient, (ver. 6.) from the benefits that would redound to themselves by their obedience, (ver. 9.) and now he represents to them what a noble country he was going to bestow upon them: but of such a condition as would keep them in a constant dependance upon his favour for the blessing of it.

*Where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs.*] This doth not signify that the land of Egypt was not so fruitful as the land of Canaan (for their fertility is not to be compared), but that there they reaped the fruits of their labour with more pains. Diodorus Siculus, indeed, and Herodotus, say, that the Egyptians take the least pains of all other men about their corn, insomuch that it may be affirmed, ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται, *they bring in the fruits of the earth without labour,* being at no such trouble about ploughing as other men are, &c. (See in his Euterpe, cap. 14.) Yet it must be considered, that as the Nile, which made this fruitfulness, failed them sometimes, and did not overflow all the flat country, so the upper parts of Egypt had not the benefit of it; nor all the lower neither, without great pains in cutting rivers to bring the water to them. Which Pliny calls *rigua Nili;* for the word *rigua* properly signifies the *little rivers,* and διώρυγες *cuts,* which were made to derive water from the Nile into places at a distance from it, as Salmasius observes, p. 588. in Solinum. Hesychius calls them δοχὰς ὑδάτων, *receptacles of water, ditches,* or *dikes,* which we now call *canals,* as the same author observes, p. 908. And this I find Strabo speaks so plainly in his Geography, (lib. xvii. p. 788.) that his words may serve as a good commentary upon those of Moses: "Nature (saith he) doth much for Egypt by the Nile; but industry and art about that river doth a great deal more. For the higher it flows, the more ground it naturally waters and makes fruitful; Ἀλλὰ ἡ ἐπιμέλεια πολλάκις καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἐξίσχυσεν ἐπιλειπούσης, &c. *but industry sometimes hath prevailed when nature hath failed:* insomuch, that as great a part of the country hath been watered in the smallest rise of Nile, as in the highest. Which was effected, διὰ τῶν διωρύγων καὶ τῶν παραχωμάτων, *by the cuts and banks which were made by art.* For before the time of Petronius (he saith) there was the greatest fruitfulness when the Nile rose fourteen cubits; and when it rose only eight there was a famine: but in the time of his government there was as great plenty when it rose only twelve cubits: and no man felt any want when it rose only eight. This was by the care and industry of the people, who were forced also sometimes to carry water from these cuts, as well as from the river, in vessels, to moisten the ground, when the mud which the Nile left was baked into a crust by the great heat of the sun. So that the ground of Egypt might properly be said to be *watered* by the *foot,* as we water our gardens when there wants rain." Concerning which expression, see Dr. Hammond upon the Psalms, p. 7. col. 2, of the first edition.

Ver. 11. *But the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.*] Not a low flat country like that of Egypt; but full of hills, which could not be made fruitful but by rain from heaven, which seldom fell in Egypt; but the Israelites might expect in due season, if they were obedient to God. Who, by this means, after they had ploughed their ground, and sowed their corn, made it spring up plentifully without any further labour or care of theirs. Such a country also was more pleasant and healthy than that of Egypt, whose ground next Nile being overflowed more or less every year, by the rising of Nile to the fall of it, (which was from the solstice to the equinox, or, as some say, a hundred days; see Salmasius upon Solinus, p. 427, &c. 436, &c.) they could not walk abroad into their fields; and many times there followed, after the water was gone off, great sicknesses and diseases, by the smell of the silt which it had left behind.

Ver. 12. *A land which the Lord thy God careth for.*] Takes care that it want not water, by sending showers of rain plentifully from heaven in their proper season.

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*The eyes of the Lord thy God.*] That is, the providence of God; whose majesty dwelt in the sanctuary.

*Are always upon it.*] To see what is wanting, and to supply it.

*From the beginning of the year, even unto the end of the year.*] At all seasons, to give them both the first and latter rain, (as he speaks ver. 14.) and such weather as might both produce and kindly ripen the fruits of the earth. This he mentions as an argument to obedience; in which, if they failed, he plainly tells them, the land should not yield her fruit, (ver. 17.) For this country was not so fertile of itself, as by the peculiar blessing of God upon it, whilst they kept his laws.

Ver. 13. *And it shall come to pass, if ye will hearken diligently unto my commandments, which I command you this day.*] To *hearken diligently* here signifies, to consider them seriously, and lay them to heart.

*To love the Lord your God, and to serve him with all your heart, and all your soul.*] He repeats this so often, because it is the great commandment (as our Saviour speaks), and because nothing is more natural than to love our benefactors, God especially (our greatest benefactor, who gave us our being), with all our heart, and with all our soul. (See x. 12.) And being the first and great commandment, it draws along with it obedience to all the rest, and is, in effect, the whole duty of man to God. For constant experience shews us, that whosoever gets the firm hold of this affection, governs a man as he pleaseth.

Ver. 14. *That I will give you the rain of your land.*] As much as is sufficient for such a hilly country.

*In his due season.*] At the proper times, which here follow.

*The first rain.*] Before the sowing of their seed, to prepare the ground; and after it was sown, that it might take root in the earth, and spring up.

*And the latter rain.*] When the corn was grown up towards earing-time; and after it was eared, to make the ears full and plump. This appears from Amos iv. 7. where he speaks of withholding the rain from them, while there were *yet three months to the harvest.* Which is meant of this latter rain, whereby their corn was brought forward, when it was but in the blade to earing, and so on to harvest.

*That thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil.*] Till the corn, and all the fruits of the earth, be brought to maturity.

Ver. 15. *And I will send grass in thy fields for thy cattle.*] To make them fat; or to give plenty of milk.

*That thou mayest eat, and be full.*] Eat flesh if they pleased, as well as the fruits of the earth, in great plenty.

Ver. 16. *Take heed to yourselves, that your heart be not deceived.*] By the specious colours that other nations put upon their idolatry, (as, the *antiquity* of it, *universal consent,* &c. there being no part of the world at that time, as Maimonides observes, where all were not accustomed to worship images, &c.) whereby the Israelites were in danger to be seduced into an imitation of their neighbours.

*And ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them.*] By this it is evident that Moses is still pressing them to care in observing the first and second commandments.

Ver. 17. *And then the Lord's wrath be kindled against you.*] For their being *deceived* into idolatry by false reasonings, which persuaded them what they did was lawful, did not excuse them before God; who expected they should have used greater caution, and governed themselves by his plain and express commands.

*And he shut up the heavens, that there be no rain.*] The contrary to this is called *opening his good treasure,* Deut. xxviii. 12. signifying that they lived upon the royal bounty of the King of heaven, which their sins would hinder from flowing to them.

*That the land yield not her fruit, and lest ye perish quickly from off the good land which the Lord giveth you.*] To withhold rain from them was a sore judgment, which quickly brought a famine; which was very grievous to those who used to live so plentifully. And it was frequently attended with various diseases, whereby they were wasted and consumed.

Ver. 18. *Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart, and in your soul.*] See chap. vi. 6.

*And bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes.*] Always in sight; as the rule whereby they should order their steps, lest they trod amiss. This is one of the portions of Scripture, (from ver. 13. to the end of ver. 21.) which the Jews write in their *tephilim,* as they call them, which they use when they say their prayers, which they fancy are thereby made more acceptable unto God. This conceit began, not long before our Saviour's time, in the school of Hillel and Shammai, and took such root in the minds of the most religious, that it hath grown to a great superstition ever since. See upon chap. vi. ver. 8, 9. which is another portion of Scripture, that they wrote in these parchments; though at the first (St. Jerome saith, upon Matt. xxiii. 5.) they wrote only the ten commandments.

Ver. 19. *And ye shall teach them your children.*] This is repeated very often, (iv. 10. vi. 7.) And out of this place, and v. 1. the Jews have framed this as one of the affirmative precepts, *that they ought themselves to learn the law of God, and teach it unto others.* And this they do so diligently, that, as soon as their children are capable to understand any thing, they make them carefully read the holy books; and instruct them so, that, before they can be called youths, they are acquainted with the whole law of God. In which, we must confess, they shame a great many Christians, who scarce understand so much of our religion when they are men and women, as the Jews do of theirs when they are mere children.

From the Hebrew word *limmalethtem,* in this verse, *ye shall teach them,* the Jews have framed a conceit that their Talmud hath its name; signifying *teaching* and *instruction,* as R. Jechiel saith, in his disputation with Nicolaus, p. 9.

*Speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way,* &c.] Taking all occasions to inculcate these precepts upon them, (see chap. vi. 7.) and upon their daughters as well as their sons; though the Jewish doctors commonly fancy there is no command to instruct their daughters in the law. (See Mischna Sota, cap. 3. sect. 3. with Wagenseil's Annotations, and the Gemara there, p. 471. 501.)

Ver. 20. *And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.*] See chap. vi. 9. By this means God's word being so rooted in the hearts of the parents (to use the words of Dr. Jackson), as to bring forth this good fruit in their practice, the seed of it might be sown

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in the tender hearts of their children, and be propagated from one generation to another.

Ver. 21. *That your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, in the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give them.*] Nothing is wont to move men more than love to themselves, and love to their children, whom they love next to themselves.

*As the days of heaven upon the earth.*] As long as this world shall last. Which the Psalmist, speaking of David, expresses in this manner, "His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven," (Psal. lxxxix. 29.) which doth not signify absolutely *for ever*, but a long time. For thus Baruch says, the Jews in Babylon were commanded to pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar, and the life of Baltasar his son, ἵνα ὦσιν αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτῶν ὡς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, *that their days might be as the days of heaven upon earth.* Which is the very phrase of Moses here in this place, importing a very long life. And such hyperbolical expressions, every one knows, are used by the heathen, particularly by Virgil, (Æneid. 1.)

—— "Convexa polus dum sidera pascet."

Ver. 22. *For if ye shall diligently keep all these commandments,* &c.] To love the Lord your God. This is still made the condition of all their happiness. (See ver. 13. and x. 20.)

*To walk in all his ways.*] In observance of his laws, which was the fruit of true love to him.

*And to cleave unto him.*] So as to serve no other God, but to persevere in the worship of the Lord their God alone. The Jews make this one of the six hundred and thirteen precepts of the law (as they count them) distinct by itself; but they interpret it foolishly; of *sticking to the cabala of their wise men,* whereby they fancy themselves united unto God.

Ver. 23. *Then will the Lord drive out all these nations from before you.*] As he had often promised, (vii. 23. Exod. xxiii. 27.)

*And ye shall possess nations greater and mightier than yourselves.*] See chap. vii. 1.

Ver. 24. *Every place wherein the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours.*] That is, every place of the promised land; as it is explained in the next words.

*From the wilderness.*] *viz.* Of Sin, which was on the south of Canaan.

*And Lebanon.*] Which was its bounds on the north.

*From the river, the river Euphrates.*] Which was the eastern limits; when in the days of Solomon their empire reached hither; according to the promise unto Abraham in Gen. xv. 18.

*Even unto the uttermost sea shall your coast be.*] Which is called the Mediterranean, or the Midland Sea, which bounded it on the west. See Numb. xxxiv. 6. where it is called the Great Sea; and in that chapter the bounds of their country round about are described.

Ver. 25. *There shall no man be able to stand before you.*] See vii. 24.

*For the Lord your God shall lay the fear of you, and the dread of you, upon all the land that ye shall tread upon, as he said unto you.*] For God had promised to terrify the inhabitants of Canaan, and take away their courage, (Exod. xxiii. 27.) And accordingly the spies whom Joshua sent, brought him an account of the great consternation wherein the whole country was, when they were about to enter into it. (Josh. ii. 9. 24.)

Ver. 26. *Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse.*] That is, he proposed them to their choice.

Ver. 27. *A blessing, if you obey the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you this day.*] Which he more largely explains, xxviii. 2—4, &c.

Ver. 28. *And a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God.*] Which is also more particularly laid before them, xxviii. 15—17, &c. The whole historical part of the Old Testament witnesses the truth of this, that God blessed or cursed them, according as they observed or broke his laws. And if the people of Israel had diligently marked, and considered, and laid to heart, that their happiness or misery were always corresponding to their good and bad behaviour towards God, it would have confirmed their belief of their law, as much as if they had seen all the miracles done before their forefathers, and supplied the want or the rarity of them in after-ages; nay, this would have done more than all the miracles did, which were forgotten in a short time; whereas their own daily experience of the happy fruits of obedience, and the mischief of disobedience, would have sealed these truths unto their conscience.

*But turn aside out of the way which I command you this day, to go after other gods which ye have not known.*] It was not every sin that turned God's favour from them; but their idolatry and apostacy from him: against which he principally warns them, throughout all these chapters, iv. 3, 4. 15, 16. 23. v. 32. vi. 4. 14. vii. 4, 5. 25. viii. 19. ix. 12. x. 20.

Ver. 29. *And it shall come to pass, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the land, whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim, and the curse upon Mount Ebal.*] To quicken them unto a strict care in their obedience, blessings and cursings were to be pronounced with great solemnity at their first entrance into the land of Canaan; as is more fully ordered xxvii. 11, 12, &c. and performed by Joshua, (viii. 33—35.) And Moses seems to enjoin them the like solemnity, every seventh year, xxxi. 10—13.

Ver. 30. *Are they not on the other side Jordan.*] With respect to the place where Moses now was, the mountains he mentions were on the other side of Jordan, in the land of Canaan. In which they had no sooner got footing, but Joshua took care to execute this command; that their hearts might be possessed with a sense upon what terms they were to enjoy it. And he describes the places so particularly, that they might be sure to know them.

*By the way where the sun goeth down.*] On that side which inclined to the west.

*In the land of the Canaanites.*] The people particularly so called, who were one of the seven nations; some of which lived here in the east, and others near the Midland Sea. As I have observed upon Gen. xv. 21.

*Which dwell in the champaigne over against Gilgal.*] Some think these mountains were at such a considerable distance from Gilgal, that they cannot be said to be *over against Gilgal;* because this phrase signifies them not to be far off one from the other. And therefore they translate these words, *looking towards Gilgal.* But it is not

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said, that the mountains were over against Gilgal, but the dwelling of the Canaanites (in whose country these mountains were) was over against it.

*Beside the plain of Moreh?*] Of which mention is made Gen. xii. 6. where the Canaanites are also mentioned as in that land, when Abraham came into it. Which suggests to us, that these blessings were pronounced in that very place where Abraham anciently dwelt, and where he worshipped God, who there appeared to him.

Ver. 31. *For ye shall pass over Jordan, to go in to possess the land which the Lord your God giveth you, and ye shall possess it, and dwell therein.*] He would have them be as careful in this matter, as it was certain that they should shortly go over Jordan, to take possession of the country which God was about to bestow on them; which he assures them they should get possession of, and settle themselves therein.

Ver. 32. *And ye shall observe to do all the statutes and judgments which I set before you this day.*] But then do not forget what I have so often said to you, which he thought he could not inculcate enough. (See iv. 40. v. 32. vi. 1. vii. 11. viii. 1, &c.)

## CHAP. XII.

Ver. 1. *THESE are the statutes and judgments which ye shall observe to do, in the land which the Lord God of thy fathers giveth thee to possess,* &c.] Now, I suppose, he begins a new exhortation, which he made to them at some small distance from the former. And he enters upon it with the same words, which he used before, vi. 1. ix. 1. which could not be too often repeated, considering the great proneness of the people to neglect their duty.

Ver. 2. *He shall utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods.*] So that no opinion should be left of their being sacred places by any relic or memorial of the old idolatry remaining there. It was not sufficient that the gods which the seven nations worshipped were abolished, but the very places also where they were worshipped were to be made common, and employed to other uses.

*Upon the mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree.*] These were the places where the ancient heathen chose to worship their gods, imagining their sacrifices were more acceptable upon mountains than in valleys. Lucian himself gives this reason for it, because men were then nearer to the gods, and so more easily obtained audience: Ὅτι τῶν εὐχολέων ἀγχόθεν ἑπαΐουσι οἱ θεοί. And Tacitus saith the same in the last of his Annals. Demons also were wont to haunt woods and shady places, and there appear to men: and were thought also to be the presidents of mountains; others of woods and forests. And accordingly the heathen erected altars to them in these and such-like places, particularly under great oaks, which were held sacred places, where their gods were thought to have a peculiar power. By this law therefore God intended to root out this superstition; and commanded his tabernacle to be built low and humble. And though afterward the temple was set upon a hill, there was only one, and no more: and therefore it could not be thought to be out of any opinion that a hill was more sacred than another place.

*And under every green tree.*] Nothing can illustrate these words more, than what Pliny saith, in the twelfth book of his Natural History, concerning trees; which thus begins, *Hæc fuere numinum templa,* &c. "*These were the temples of the gods;* and even now the simple people, after the ancient rites, dedicate to God such trees as excel the rest. Nor do we more adore the images glittering with gold and ivory, *quàm lucos, et in iis silentia ipsa, than we do the groves, and the solemn silence therein.*" And then he reckons what trees were peculiarly sacred to Jupiter, Apollo, Minerva, &c. concluding that several of their gods, such as the Sylvani, Fauni, and some of their nymphs, had their names from woods. This was a thing so notorious, that in their most sacred solemnities, they were wont to present the gods whom they worshipped with a crown or garland made of boughs and leaves of such trees in which they were thought to delight; as to Jupiter, a crown of oak; to Apollo, of laurel; to Minerva, of olive; to Venus, of myrtle; to Bacchus, of ivy; to Rhea, Pan, Neptune, and Vulcan, of pine, &c. (See Ezek. Spanhemius upon Callimachus's hymn to Diana, ver. 200.)

Ver. 3. *And ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and you shall hew down the graven images of their gods.*] See vii. 5. and Lev. xxvi. 1. He mentions all these so particularly, because this is the very foundation and hinge of the law (as Maimonides speaks), that all opinion of the sanctity of such things should be blotted out of men's hearts, and the memory of them extinguished, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 29. where he reckons abundance of things of this kind, which were among the old idolaters called Zabii.

*And destroy the names of them out of that place.*] From this, and such-like places, the Jews have framed this affirmative precept, that *the gentile idolatry is by all means to be destroyed.* For these nations having forfeited their land by their abominable wickedness, and God having bestowed it upon the Israelites, (whom he took for his peculiar people, and among whom he dwelt, and therefore calls this *his land,* see vii. 6.) he, as the King of the country, might enjoin what orders he pleased to have observed. And it was of the highest concernment, that there should not be the least footstep of the old idolatry left in the country; but that he who was the Lord of it, and the Lord of heaven and earth, should be alone acknowledged and worshipped. And there was a greater reason for this than at first sight may be imagined: for, as the host of heaven was worshipped, as the glorious bodies wherein their gods inhabited (which was the reason of the best of the heathen for this worship), so their demons were supposed to dwell in the images and pillars which for that end were erected to them; the sovereign celestial gods being worshipped in the sun, moon, and stars, wherein they were thought to dwell, and these petty deities, the demons, were worshipped in images and columns, which were made for them, and for no other deities, as our Mr. Mede observes, par. i. p. 778.

Ver. 4. *Ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God.*] That is, not serve him upon the mountains, nor in groves, nor under green trees. Which appears to be the sense, both from the foregoing words, (ver. 2, 3.) and from the following opposition in the next verse. And it is very probable, that, during their continuance in the wilderness, none sacrificed in high places, but offered all at the door of the tabernacle, which was not far from them. When they came

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into Canaan, and were many of them at a distance from the tabernacle, they did sacrifice in high places; and we do not find them reproved for it while they worshipped the Lord alone, and had priests who officiated there, and in other places, according to the precepts of the law: but when the temple was built, and the ark of God's presence no longer removed from place to place, the prophets required them not to sacrifice any longer in high places, nor any where else, but only at the temple. And they blamed even good kings for not taking away the high places, though no sacrifices were offered upon them to any strange god, but to the true God alone. Which connivance proved in time a great mischief; for here they first began to worship strange gods, the Israelites being very prone to choose mountains, and such shady places (as the rest of the world did), wherein to set up their images, (2 Kings xvii. 10, 11. Ezek. xx. 28. Hosea iv. 13.)

Ver. 5. *But unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes.*] Unto one certain place which God intended to set apart; unto which all the tribes should resort, as the only place where they might sacrifice. By which means the notion of the unity of God was preserved, and his worship kept pure and sincere, as long as they kept to this one place, where the priests of God constantly attended, to see his service rightly performed.

*To put his name there.*] By the *name* of God is meant God himself (as to *call upon his name*, is to call upon him), and therefore the sense is, where he would make his dwelling-place, by settling the ark, and the cloud of glory there, which was the token of his presence. This place at first seems to have been Mispeh, and afterward Shiloh. And when that was destroyed, the ark removed to several places (Kirjath-jearim, Mizpeh, Gilgal, Nob, Gibeon, the house of Obed-Edom), till at last it settled at Jerusalem. Where, when the temple was built, God saith to Solomon, "I have chosen this place to myself, for a house of sacrifice," (2 Chron. vii. 12.) Which is the plain sense of these words, *choose a place to put his name there.*

*Even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come.*] This explains what he means by the place where he would *put his name, viz.* the place where his sanctuary was settled, which was his habitation; where he placed his majesty (as Onkelos paraphrases), that all might repair thither, to seek his grace and favour.

Ver. 6. *And thither ye shall bring your burnt-offerings, and your sacrifices.*] By *sacrifices*, as distinct from *burnt-offerings*, must be meant their *sin-offerings* and *peace-offerings.* And the latter of these were sometimes for mercies received, and sometimes free-will-offerings, or vows, as we read in Lev. vii. 12. 16. Which, if they had been bound, as oft as there was occasion, to bring to one certain place (Jerusalem suppose), though they were at never so great distance from it, it would have been an intolerable expense to devout people. And therefore the Jews think the meaning is, that they were bound to these sacrifices, either for offences committed, or for mercies received, &c. at the next feast at the farthest; and not to defer them beyond that time. (See Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service, p. 99, 100. of the first edition.)

*And your tithes.*] Not those which were to be paid to the Levites, or by them to the priests, but another tithe which was to be set aside, after that to the Levites was paid, and employed as is directed, xiv. 22, 23, &c. (See here below, ver. 17.)

*And heave-offerings of your hand.*] The *first-fruits*, as the LXX. and Vulgar Latin rightly translate it, *viz.* of corn, and wine, and oil, and other fruits of the earth. Which are called the *heave-offerings of their hands*, because they brought them in their own hand; and having heaved them up to the Lord, they gave them to the priests. (See Numb. xviii. 11, 12. and Deut. xviii. 4. xxvi. 4. 10.)

*And your vows, and your free-will-offerings.*] Which were comprehended before under the name of *sacrifices*, but here more particularly expressed, to signify, that though they might choose whether they would offer them or not, or whether they would vow them, yet they could not choose the place where they should be offered (if they vowed, or were disposed to it), but must be determined by this law.

*And the firstlings of your herds, and of your flocks.*] This shews, that the *heave-offerings of their hand* comprehend only the first-fruits of the earth; besides which, these *firstlings* also belonged to the priests, (Numb. xviii. 15—17.)

Ver. 7. *And there ye shall eat.*] Their part of the things beforementioned; the people being wont, in ancient time, before the law of Moses, to feast upon part of the sacrifices of peace-offerings; as appears from Exod. xviii. 12. xxxiv. 13, 14.

*Before the Lord your God.*] Not in the tabernacle or temple, where only the priests might eat the most holy things, which were peculiarly theirs, (Numb. xviii. 10.) but in some place very near to the sanctuary: it being the custom of other people (and perhaps before the time of Moses) to feast with their gods in their very temples, or near their altars, according to that of the apostle, 1 Cor. viii. 10. Therefore God entertained his people also at his own house, commanding them here, and in other places, to eat their sacrifices *before him* at his sanctuary, and no where else; that is, in some place adjacent to the sanctuary. Whereby they declared that they had communion with him, and not with idols, by partaking with him at his table, that is, his altar: for there could be no need of their eating there, but only to signify this, and to secure them in his religion by feasting in his presence, and thereby owning themselves to belong to him. This is repeated very often in this book, (ver. 18. of this chapter, xiv. 23. 26. xv. 20. xvi. 5.) but especially xxvii. 6, 7. where they are required, before the temple was built, to eat their sacrifices near the altar which was erected after they came over Jordan. This being a profession of the true religion, to eat at God's altar, as to eat of things sacrificed to idols was to profess the heathenish religion. So all have understood it, as Elmenhorstius hath shewn from a great heap of authors, in his Annot. ad Minutium Fœlicem, fol. 69.

*And ye shall rejoice in all that ye put your hand unto, ye and your households, wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee.*] This signifies either that they should rejoice at these feasts in the goodness of God, who had blessed the labour of their hands (of which the tithe they brought thither was a fruit), or that, doing thus, God would bless all their future labours, and make them and their families prosper, and take comfort in all their enjoyments.

Ver. 8. *Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day.*] This doth not signify, as if there was no civil government, or that the courts of justice did not sit



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and execute judgment between man and man, but relates to the place of offering sacrifice, (as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 15. n. 4.) which, in their wandering condition, they did not so strictly observe as God expected when they came to be settled. Our learned Dr. Spencer thinks it relates also to other old customs, which were rather childish than profane; and therefore tolerated by God for the present. To which he thinks those words of St. Paul have respect, Acts xiii. 18. Many things also perhaps they omitted, which they could not, or did not, observe in the wilderness; as their new moons, and other solemn days; with several rites of purification and cleansing prescribed by the law of Moses.

*Every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes.*] This doth not import that there was no good order kept among them, or that they were left at liberty to sacrifice where they pleased; but that, in such an uncertain state, when they were removing from place to place, many took the liberty in such matters to do as they thought good.

Ver. 9. *For ye are not yet come to the rest.*] This explains what goes before, and gives the reason why God connived at some irregularities, because they were not fixed to a place, but uncertain when they should have a sign to pack up their goods, and be gone to another station.

*To the inheritance which the Lord your God giveth you.*] Where they were to abide, as long as they observed God's commands.

Ver. 10. *And when ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you to inherit.*] When their condition was altered for the better, God expected that they should be so too.

*And when he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety.*] This intimates, that the fear they were in, while they wandered in the wilderness, of the incursions of their enemies, might make them sometimes offer sacrifice where they ought not, and commit other disorders.

Ver. 11. *Then there shall be a place which the Lord thy God shall choose, to cause his name to dwell there.*] God was not pleased (as Maimonides observes) to declare any where in the law where this place should be; but, though he often determines them to one place, (ver. 26. xiv. 23. xvi. 6.) yet he leaves the place undetermined. Which he imagines might be for these three reasons: first, lest the gentiles should get possession of it, and make war upon that account; thinking that this place was the end of the law (as he speaks). And, secondly, lest they, in whose hands it was, should do all they could to destroy it. And, thirdly (which is the truest reason), lest every tribe should desire to have it in their lot, and strife should arise among them about it. (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 45.)

*Thither shall ye bring all that I command you, your burnt-offerings, your sacrifices,* &c.] All that he mentioned before, ver. 6. This may seem a heavy imposition, that they might not offer them in any place, and at any time: but Maimonides makes this wise reflection upon it; "That God intended to teach them, not to have so high an opinion of sacrifices, as of prayers and deprecations, and such-like parts of Divine worship (*viz.* acknowledging his goodness, praising him, and giving him thanks), which are the things God mainly intends, and may be offered every where. Whereas sacrifices are not of that account with him; which made him limit them to one place where he should appoint them to be offered; and not suffer any but one certain family to discharge this office. These and such-like things were to diminish the value of sacrifices: for which reason the prophets often reprehend men for their too great diligence and zeal in bringing sacrifices, of which God had no need, and did not principally intend as the worship he delighted in: for which he cites 1 Sam. xv. 22. Isa. i. 11. Jerem. vii. 22. Sacrifices being appointed, and one place for them, not for any good in themselves, but only that all idolatry might be abolished, and the belief of the unity of God preserved," (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 32.)

*All your choice vows.*] In the Hebrew the words are, as our margin notes, *the choice of your vows.* So their peace-offerings, which were vows, were called; because they were to be selected out of those creatures which were perfect, and without the least defect. Whereas those creatures which had something superfluous, or lacking in any part, might be accepted for a free-will-offering, which a man was not bound to make, but brought it merely out of good-will. So we read expressly in Levit. xxii. 23.

Ver. 12. *And ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God, ye and your sons, and your daughters, and your men-servants, and your maid-servants.*] The whole family was to feast with God, and one with another; whereby brotherly love and friendship were increased and strengthened, by their meeting and eating together at one place. And nothing is more joyful, than to see brethren dwell together in unity. (See ver. 7.)

*And the Levite that is within your gates, forasmuch as he hath no part nor inheritance with you.*] See x. 9. This whole tribe (as Maimonides well notes) being devoted to the Divine service, and the study of the law, neither minded ploughing nor sowing, but were wholly consecrated unto God. And, therefore, we find them very commonly reckoned among the strangers, the fatherless, and the widows, because they had no certain possessions; which made it the more reasonable they should constantly be entertained at these feasts, which were kept at God's house, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 31.)

Ver. 13. *Take heed to thyself, that thou offer not thy burnt-offerings.*] Under *burnt-offerings* are comprehended all the other offerings beforementioned; for these were the chief, and the most usual; and if they might not be offered but at a certain place, much less might any other, as every body might understand, without repeating them all again.

*In every place that thou seest.*] To be beautiful, lovely, and inviting, by its situation, and shady trees, and fountains, &c. Such as are mentioned ver. 2. Which the gentiles chose, perhaps, wherein to sacrifice, because they were more delightful or solemn than other. Whence Ezekiel, vi. 3. mentions rivers and valleys (together with mountains) where there were fine pastures, and springs of water; which were so pleasant and refreshing in those countries, that they fancied the gods delighted in them. So St. Jerome notes upon Jer. vii. that this gentile error, *omnes provincias occupavit,* &c. *spread itself in all parts of the world,* That they should offer their sacrifices at the heads of fountains and delightful groves.

Ver. 14. *But in the place which the Lord shall choose in one of thy tribes, there shalt thou offer thy burnt-offerings.*]

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This he had said before, ver. 5, 6. 11. but repeats it again, because of the great importance of it, to prevent all strange worship. Elijah, indeed, offered upon Mount Carmel, after the temple was built, but it was by a prophetical inspiration; and if any one at that time had asked him if they might take that liberty, he would have answered, By no means; but he that offers out of Jerusalem shall be cut off; (Levit. xvii. 4.) as for what I do now, it is an extraordinary case, to convince the lying prophets of Baal, &c. Thus Maimonides in Seder Zeraim.

*And there thou shalt do all that I command thee.*] Bring their tithes and first-fruits beforementioned, ver. 6. and eat and rejoice before the Lord, (ver. 7.)

Ver. 15. *Notwithstanding, thou mayest kill and eat flesh.*] For common food.

*In all the gates.*] In any city, town, or house. While they were in the wilderness, indeed, they might not kill their beasts, but only at the door of the tabernacle; and, consequently, they ate nothing but peace-offerings, which had been first presented unto God, and part of them burnt at his altar, (Levit. xvii. 3, 4, &c.) But when they went into Canaan, they were freely indulged to kill their beasts in any place, without bringing any part of them to the altar.

*Whatsoever thy soul lusteth after.*] Of all sorts of creatures, not prohibited in the eleventh of Leviticus.

*According to the blessings of the Lord thy God, which he hath given thee.*] Suitable to every man's estate and condition.

*The unclean and the clean may eat thereof.*] They who were under any legal uncleanness might not eat of the sacrifices; but of common food, at their ordinary tables, they might, as well as others.

*As of the roe-buck, and as of the hart.*] He instances in these, because there was great plenty of them in that country, as Ælian observes in the end of his fifth book; where he saith they were ἐν μεγίστοις ὄρεσι, *in the highest mountains* of Amanus, Libanus, and Carmel. These creatures might not be sacrificed to God: but they might eat of others which were used in sacrifice (sheep, goats, oxen), as freely as of these which were not.

Ver. 16. *Only ye shall not eat the blood.*] But of the blood of those creatures they might no more eat, than of those that were sacrificed at the altar. But, as there it was to be sprinkled upon the altar, and then poured out at the foot of it, so here it was to be poured on the earth.

*Ye shall pour it upon the earth as water.*] So that it might sink into the ground and disappear, as water doth when it is poured on the earth. Which is so strictly enjoined, though it was not the blood of an oblation, to prevent those superstitions which were exercised by the old idolaters about the blood of their sacrifices, in which they thought their demons delighted, and by eating of which they hoped to have communion with them, as Maimonides observes, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46.

Ver. 17. *Thou mayest not eat within thy gates.*] In their own private habitations.

*The tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thy oil.*] This cannot be meant of the tithe paid to the Levites, which the people might not eat any where, being appropriated to the Levites alone: he speaking therefore of a tithe which the people might eat, though not at home, yet in the place where the sanctuary was, it must be meant of that which the Hebrews call the *second tithe*, which was set out after that to the Levites was paid. Concerning which he speaks, xiv. 22, 23, &c.

*Or the firstlings of the herds, or of thy flock.*] These were entirely the priests' portion by an express law, (Numb. xviii. 15. 17, 18.) and therefore could not lawfully be eaten by the people, either at home, or at the sanctuary. Which makes it necessary to understand this of some other *firstlings;* and it is not improbable that it is meant of the females which open the womb: for the males only were the Lord's (as appears from Exodus xiii. and other places), who gave them to his priests; but he would have the first-born females also to be in some sort sacred, by requiring them to be eaten at his sanctuary, where his priests had their share of them. For I see no ground to think, that as there was a *secondary tithe*, so there was a *secondary firstling* set apart by every man to this use.

*Nor any of thy vows which thou vowest,* &c.] All such things were also wholly the Lord's, (Levit. xxvii. 28.) and given by him to his priests, (Numb. xviii. 14.) But that is only to be understood of what was vowed to God absolutely, without mentioning any particular use to which it was designed. Besides which, they might vow what they pleased to be spent in solemn feasts with the Levites, the widows, the fatherless, and other poor people; and of such Moses here speaks.

*Or heave-offerings of thine hand.*] These were first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil, as I said upon ver. 6. which were also the priests' portion, (Numb. xviii. 12.) Therefore this can be meant of no other first-fruits but such as men freely offered, without any obligation to it, to be spent in this fashion; for he was speaking before of such kind of things; unless we will understand this of the first-fruits of young trees, which might not be eaten in three years after they were planted, but in the fourth year were "to be holy, to praise the Lord withal," (Lev. xix. 24.) which, as Josephus saith, were spent in these sacred feasts. (See there.)

Ver. 18. *But thou must eat them before the Lord thy God, in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter,* &c.] See before, ver. 11, 12.

Ver. 19. *Take heed to thyself, that thou forsake not the Levite as long as thou livest upon the earth.*] He gives this caution, lest covetousness should make them defraud the Levites of their tithes, and not let them have convenient habitations, or profaneness make them not invite them to the sacred feasts before spoken of. This is repeated xiv. 27. And in this the Jews were so careful, that when there was such increase of the Levites that their cities could not contain them, they assigned them more than were given them at first: for Joshua gave them only forty-eight; but before the captivity of Babylon they had twenty more added to them, as appears from 1 Chron. vi. 65, 66, &c. where, after the mention of the old number, there is an account given of twenty more added to them out of several tribes: for though they could not enlarge the bounds prescribed to their cities, yet, as the number of Levites increased, they might give them new cities. And so they did, that they might not be straitened in their dwellings among them.

Ver. 20. *When the Lord thy God shall enlarge thy border.*] That is, when he had brought them out of this wilderness, where they were encamped round about the tabernacle,



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into a spacious country, where they might live far distant from it.

*As the Lord hath promised thee.*] Which he promised to enlarge even as far as Euphrates, if they were obedient to him, (Gen. xv. 18.)

*And thou shalt say, I will eat flesh.*] Have a desire to eat it.

*Because thy soul longeth to eat flesh.*] There were several sorts of flesh that were lawful to be eaten, which they could not have in the wilderness, and therefore might be supposed to desire them very much when they came into Canaan, which abounded with them. And besides, they would have more plenty of such cattle as they now had, which might incline them to keep greater tables.

*Thou mayest eat flesh whatsoever thy soul lusteth after.*] This was said before, ver. 15. and now repeated with all the rest that belongs to this matter, to let them see God did not intend to abridge them too much of their liberty: for though they might not eat the tithe of their corn, wine, and oil, (and the rest mentioned ver. 17.) at their own home, because they were holy things, and therefore to be eaten in one certain place where God's sanctuary was; yet all sorts of flesh, used at their private tables, he now gives them leave to kill any where, without bringing it to the tabernacle, and offering the blood at the altar, as they were tied to do while they were in the wilderness, (Lev. xvii. 3, 4, &c.) For then the tabernacle was very near to every one of them; but when their border was enlarged, it must needs be at so great a distance from some of them, that it would have been too heavy a burden to oblige them to kill every thing they ate at the tabernacle, and therefore he dispenses with it.

Ver. 21. *If the place,* &c.] The particle *chi* may better be translated here *because;* which makes these words a reason of the allowance given in the foregoing verse, *Because the place which the Lord thy God hath chosen to put his name there, is too far from thee, thou mayest kill,* &c.

*Of thy herd, and of thy flock.*] Such creatures as are now allowed for sacrifice, oxen, sheep, lambs, and goats.

*Which the Lord hath given thee.*] For food as well as other uses.

*As I have commanded thee.*] Given thee leave to eat at home, without carrying them to the tabernacle: so it follows, *And thou shalt eat in thy gates whatsoever thy soul lusteth after; i. e.* all manner of things, of which there was great variety, not prohibited by this law.

Ver. 22. *Even as the roe-buck and the hart is eaten, so mayest thou eat them.*] Which were creatures not allowed to be offered to God in sacrifice, (see ver. 15.) and therefore they might less doubt to eat of them, than of such as were peculiarly appointed for that use. From which they might possibly have thought, that out of reverence to God they should abstain; but are here satisfied they might as freely eat of them as of the other.

*The clean and the unclean shall eat of them alike.*] Whereas, while they were in the wilderness, only such as were clean might eat flesh, because it was sanctified by being killed at the altar; now all are indulged the same liberty, whether "they were removed from holy things (as the Jerusalem Targum expresses it), or were pure to use them, both might eat flesh alike."

Ver. 23. *Only be sure that thou eat not the blood.*] Take great care, as the word signifies in the Hebrew (which is, *be strong*), use thy utmost diligence to prevent this.

*For the blood is the life, and thou mayest not eat the life with the flesh.*] See what I have noted upon Gen. ix. 4. Levit. xvii. 11. 14.

Ver. 24. *Thou shalt not eat it, thou shalt pour it out upon the earth as water.*] Since they could not pour it out at the altar, where nobody could meddle with it, they were to pour it out on the earth, that it might sink into it. Or, as the law required in Leviticus, (xvii. 13.) cover it with dust, that the cattle might not lick it up: or, the meaning may be, pour it as a common thing (which *water* is), without any religious rite used about it.

Ver. 25. *Thou shalt not eat of it.*] This is repeated here so often, as it is also in Levit. xvii. to shew the weightiness of this command.

*That it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, when thou shalt do that which is right in the sight of the Lord.*] When they neither followed the idolatrous customs which the gentiles used about the blood, nor profanely meddled with that which was peculiar to God, when it was offered at the altar: which was the great reason why they were prohibited to eat blood.

Ver. 26. *Only thy holy things which thou hast, and thy vows, thou shalt take, and go into the place which the Lord shall choose.*] Only he would have them not to forget that the things mentioned ver. 17. they were not to eat at home, but at the house of God, though it was never so far distant from them.

Ver. 27. *And thou shalt offer thy burnt-offerings, the flesh, and the blood, upon the altar of the Lord thy God.*] No sacrifices were to be offered any where but at the sanctuary, as he had said before, ver. 6. and now reminds them of it, that they might observe it, and do accordingly.

*And the blood of thy sacrifices shall be poured out upon the altar of the Lord thy God.*] All their *peace-offerings,* as well as others, were to be there offered, and their blood poured on the altar as a holy thing; whereas the blood of those creatures they killed at home was poured out, as a common thing, like water.

*And thou shalt eat the flesh.*] After God and his priests had their parts.

Ver. 28. *Observe and hear all these words which I command thee, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee for ever.*] This was the great commandment, To serve God alone: and the observance of it was the great condition upon which all their happiness depended; which makes him again press their care in this matter.

*When thou doest that which is good and right in the sight of the Lord thy God.*] Please God by a strict obedience to this precept.

Ver. 29. *And when the Lord thy God shall cut off the nations from before thee, whither thou goest to possess them,* &c.] See ix. 1.

Ver. 30. *Take heed to thyself that thou be not snared by following them, after that they be destroyed from before thee.*] It is plain from hence, that in this chapter, as well as in the foregoing, he is still endeavouring to secure them from the idolatrous customs of the country which they went to possess; which is the ground of the following prohibition, about which he could not say too much, they

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being so prone to idolatry, and the danger they incurred thereby so exceeding great. There are some of the Jews who think, that by *following them* is meant following their fashions in their clothes, and in their ornaments (as it is explained in the book Siphri), which might entice them to imitate their religious rites, which it appears by the next words are principally intended.

*After that they be destroyed from before thee.*] It was the most unaccountable folly to worship the gods of those nations, whom they saw expelled their country for their idolatries.

*And that thou inquire not after their gods.*] They were not so much as to ask what gods they worshipped.

*Saying, How did these nations serve their gods?*] Nor endeavour to know the manner of their worship. Which was very different, as Maimonides observes, according as their gods differed one from another; for that sort of worship which was acceptable to one god, might not be given to another. As they uncovered themselves (if we may believe him) before Baal-Peor, and threw a stone to Mercury. See his tract concerning the Worship of the Planets, cap. 3. sect. 2, &c. and Dionys. Vossius's annotations there; where he resolves, that, if they uncovered themselves to Mercury, or threw a stone to Baal-Peor, it was not idolatry, because not their proper worship: which is a foolish opinion; for they were not to use any of their religious rites, no more than to offer sacrifice, burn incense, or bow down to any of their idols, which he acknowledges was idolatry. In short, if they gave the idol the worship proper to him, or that worship which was proper to the true God, he acknowledges they were guilty.

*Even so will I do likewise.*] Though men only resolve to do it, yet they were guilty of committing this sin. The Jews, indeed, make no great account of sins committed in the heart, yet in this case they are very strict, having framed this maxim, as R. Levi Barzelonita observes, Præcept. ccxxvi. which their rabbins industriously inculcate into their scholars, that "the blessed God imputes no thought of any transgression to an Israelite, as if it were the fact itself, except only the thought of idolatry, which is imputed to a man, as if he had committed idolatry." Now it was a reasonable presumption, that he who inquired how the people of Canaan worshipped their gods, intended at least to worship the God of Israel, as they did those idols: and this gave too much cause to suspect, that he had an inclination to worship their idols instead of God: for otherwise he would have rested content with that way of worshipping God which the law had prescribed. Whereupon the Jews have determined (as our Mr. Thorndike hath observed), that there are four ceremonies, which, whosoever performs to any thing but to God alone, must be understood to worship it for God; which are sacrificing, burning incense, pouring out drink-offerings, and adoration. But others there are, by doing which men cannot be concluded to worship any thing but God, till they do it in that way and fashion as is done by those who profess to worship it for God. (See his Principles of Christian Truth, chap. 26.)

Ver. 31. *Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God.*] See ver. 4. of which the reason is here given.

*For every abomination to the Lord which he hateth, have they done unto their gods.*] For instance: "The Zabii (saith Maimonides), I find in their books, offered to their great god, the sun, seven bats, and seven mice, and seven other creeping things: which alone may suffice to demonstrate how vile and abominable their worship was, and what reason there was so severely to prohibit their idolatry, and every thing pertaining to it." (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 29.)

*For even their sons and daughters they have burnt in the fire to their gods.*] This is the great instance of their abominable wickedness. Of which, see Levit. xviii. 21. xx. 2. This was notoriously practised by the Carthaginians, who, it is certain, derived it from the Phœnicians, the ancient inhabitants of this country. Plato mentions it in Protagora, where he saith, "The Athenian laws did not permit them to sacrifice men; but among the Carthaginians it was a holy rite; so that some of them permitted their sons to be offered to Saturn:" which wicked custom at last overspread all nations, even the Greeks themselves, as Joh. Gensius hath demonstrated, lib. de Victimis Humanis, par. i. cap. 11. and par. ii. cap. 6.

Ver. 32. *Whatsoever thing I command you, observe to do it.*] Keep close to the precepts I have given you about my worship, ver. 28. and see iv. 2.

*Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.*] They were not to add any other rites of worship of their own devising, or from the idolatrous customs of those countries, nor omit any of those which God had commanded them to use: for if they had used any of the gentile ceremonies, whereby they honoured their gods, it would easily have introduced the worship of the gods themselves, and, if they had omitted any of the rites which God had ordained, some other would have easily stepped into their room which were used by idolaters.

Maimonides, from these words, labours to prove the *eternity of the law of Moses.* But it is very strange, that so great a man should be so blind as not to see what some of his brethren could discern, that God did not bind up himself neither to change nor alter these laws, though he did not permit the Israelites to do it. So the author of Sepher Ikkarim wisely glosses upon these words: (lib. iii. cap. 14.) "The Scripture prohibits us to add unto, or detract from, these precepts, according to our will and pleasure; but what hinders the blessed God either to add or detract, when his blessed wisdom shall think fit? Which he illustrates in the foregoing chapter, by this example among others; A physician prescribes a diet to his patient, for such a time as he judges convenient, which he doth not declare to the sick man. Now when the time comes that the physician hath obtained his end, he changes the diet, and permits his patient what he formerly forbade, and prohibits that which he formerly permitted. Which exactly agrees to what our blessed Saviour had done."

## CHAP. XIII.

Ver. 1. *If there arise among you.*] In future times.

*A prophet.*] One that pretends to have a message from God delivered to him in a vision, or by the word of the Lord: for there was a constant succession of prophets (to whom God revealed his mind several ways) among the Jews, to preserve them in the true worship of God, and

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instruct them in their law, and admonish them on some occasions of things to come; which was the more necessary, because there were such kind of persons among the gentiles.

*Or a dreamer of dreams.*] Who pretended God had appeared to him in a dream, (as he did unto Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 11.) and revealed his mind to him. Such there were in Jeremiah's time, (Jer. xxix. 8.)

*And give thee a sign.*] Foretell something.

*Or a wonder.*] By what follows one would think this belongs to the foregoing words, which are to be understood as if he had said, *If he foretell some wonderful thing*, which shall shortly come to pass. Or, it may be interpreted, *shall work a miracle;* unto which the heathen did not so much pretend, as they did to predictions, which were common among them.

Ver. 2. *And the sign or the wonder come to pass whereof he spake unto thee.*] The event confirms the prediction; so that he seem a true prophet.

*Saying, Let us go after other gods which thou hast not known, and let us serve them.*] And, consequently, he persuade you to worship other gods, which he pretends is demonstrated to be lawful, by the fulfilling of his sign and wonder.

Ver. 3. *Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or dreamer of dreams.*] Notwithstanding, look upon him as a liar, and not as a true prophet: for God cannot contradict himself, nor do any thing to persuade men to forsake him, and give his worship to another. This shews that he still pursues his intention (in this chapter, as well as all the foregoing), to establish them in the belief and worship of one God, according to the first commandment, from which nothing was more likely to seduce them, than false prophets, who were the great instruments of establishing the foulest idolatry in Israel, as appears from 1 Kings xviii. 19. where we read of no less than four hundred prophets of Baal, and four hundred and fifty prophets of the groves, that is, of other false gods, particularly Astarte, as Mr. Selden conjectures, in his Syntagma ii. de Diis Syris, cap. 2. And there could not be a greater demonstration that a man was a false prophet, than if he endeavoured to draw them to the worship of other gods, or if he pretended to speak in the name of any other god, (Deut. xviii. 20.) or if he commanded them to offer such sacrifices as God abhorred. Thus Aristander (as David Chytræus notes) discovered himself to be a false prophet, though he foretold the destruction of Babylon; for he required human sacrifices to be offered: as Tiresias also predicted victory to the Thebans, provided Creon's daughter was offered up in sacrifice; and Chalcas at the time of the siege of Troy, but together therewith commanded the sacrifice of Iphigenia. These, and such-like things, plainly discovered they were not inspired by God, who is the lover of mankind, and cannot delight in their blood.

*For the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul.*] That there might be an open and public discovery made, whether they sincerely loved God or not, or were steadfast in their religion. So Maimonides in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 24. "God would make known to the nations of the world the measure of your faith, in the truth of his law, and of the approbation wherewith you apprehend it," &c. For it had been a great weakness to suffer even a miracle to shake their faith, after it had been confirmed by so many miracles.

Ver. 4. *Ye shall walk after the Lord your God.*] Follow the will of God (as Maimonides interprets it), declared by himself, (More Nevochim, par. i. cap. 38.) Which is a plainer and more genuine interpretation than that of the Gemara of Sota, cap. 1. sect. 52. where R. Chama expounds it of imitating God, in clothing the naked, visiting the sick, burying the dead, &c. for "beneficence is the beginning and the end of the Divine law." Which is a pious sense, but not here intended.

*And fear him.*] Worship him alone, (vi. 2.)

*And keep his commandments.*] The greatest of which is this, (xi. 13.)

*And obey his voice.*] Which you heard from Mount Sinai, saying, "Thou shalt have no other gods but me."

*And ye shall serve him, and cleave unto him.*] Steadfastly adhere unto his service, and not be drawn from it by any persuasion.

Ver. 5. *And that prophet, or dreamer of dreams.*] These two signify persons who pretended to different sorts of revelations, by visions or by dreams.

*Shall be put to death.*] This the Jews interpret to signify *strangulation*, unto which, upon good proof of the fact, he was to be sentenced by the great Sanhedrin: for that was a received maxim among them, that "a lying prophet was to be judged no where but by the council of seventy." (See Selden, lib. iii. de Synedriis, cap. 6. n. 1.)

*Because he hath spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage.*] Persuaded you to forsake your God and his service, to whom you owe your liberty, and all your possessions in the land of Canaan.

*To thrust thee out of the way which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walk in.*] These words express how zealous such impostors were in their importunities, and how restless in their endeavours to draw men to idolatry, pressing them so earnestly, as if they would force them to it.

*So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee.*] *i. e.* The danger of idolatry; by taking away the life of him that would have seduced others unto it.

Ver. 6. *If thy brother, the son of thy mother.*] Who lay in the same womb with him.

*Or thy son, or thy daughter.*] Who were dearer than a brother.

*Or the wife of thy bosom.*] Who was still dearer, sleeping in the same bed with him, as the Jerusalem Targum expounds it.

*Or thy friend, which is as thine own soul.*] Whom thou lovest as thou dost thy life. He puts a friend in the chief place, (as the son of Sirach also doth, Eccles. xxxiii. 19.) which their wives, by the ill choice they made of them, had not always in their affection.

Here is no mention of father or mother, because a child, as the Hebrews fancy, was to have more reverence for them, than to accuse them of any crime whatsoever. As if a greater regard was to be had to them than to God himself. The true reason is, because there was no need to name them; for, if their piety to God was to overcome their love to all those relations beforementioned, it could not be supposed that respect to parents was to come into competition with it.

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*Entice thee secretly.*] In the foregoing verses he speaks of an open seducer, and here of a secret one; there of one that came with authority, and here of one of the ordinary people.

*Saying, Let us go and serve other gods.*] The Jews think this is meant of one who invited others to idolatry, but did not press them with reasons, as in the former case. Which is not likely; for all men pretend some reason or other for such a great alteration as that to a new religion.

*Which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers.*] This aggravates the crime; to entice them to forsake God, who was known to have done such wonders for their fathers, and was so good to them, and go to serve gods with whom they had no acquaintance.

Ver. 7. *Namely, of the gods of the people which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee.*] Wheresoever they were (for several nations had several gods), whether in the neighbouring countries, or in remote parts; it made no difference at all, if they were strange gods.

*From one end of the earth, even unto the other end of the earth.*] The enticer might possibly suggest the universality of the worship to which he invited him, as an argument to embrace it.

Ver. 8. *Thou shalt not consent unto him.*] As many words as there are in this verse, the Jews think there are so many precepts. The first of which is this, not to be led by affection and kindness to yield unto his motion. So they interpret these words, *thou shalt not love him.*

*Nor hearken unto him.*] I do not see how this differs from the former; but they interpret it, that *they ought to hate him*, as well as his motion. So Maimonides, in his book of the Worship of the Planets, (cap. 5. sect. 6, 7.)

*Neither shall thine eye pity him.*] This they fancy signifies, that, if he were in danger of death, they should not help him, but let him perish.

*Neither shalt thou spare.*] When he was brought before the judge, they were not to intercede for him, nor say any thing in his favour, nor assist him to defend himself.

*Neither shalt thou conceal him.*] Dissemble any thing that might make against him. And, no doubt, God intended by all these words to signify, that he ought to be looked upon as his greatest enemy; upon whom therefore they were to have no mercy, but to prosecute him unto death, as guilty of the highest treason against the Divine Majesty.

Ver. 9. *But thou shalt surely kill him.*] Not privately, as he enticed others, but by a legal process against him in a court of judgment. And that not the highest, but in the court of twenty-three, who might proceed against him, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 6. The only difficulty was, how to prove him guilty who enticed another *secretly* (as the text saith), and not before witnesses. To which the Jews answer, That he who was enticed was to dispose some persons as secretly near to the place of their next meeting, who might hear all he said, and testify it in court.

*Thy hand shall be first upon him to put him to death.*] He was to be stoned to death, and the accuser was to throw the first stone at him, together with the witnesses, (xvii. 7.) For it would have weakened the credit of his accusation if he had not been the foremost in the execution. (See xvii. 7.)

*And afterward the hand of all the people.*] Who were to assist in the execution of this sentence.

The first words of this verse, which we translate, *Thou shalt surely kill him*, the Vulgar Latin translates, *Thou shalt forthwith kill him.* And so the Jews understand the Hebrew phrase, *Killing thou shalt kill him; i. e.* immediately have him before the court of judgment. As the LXX. understood it, ἀναγγέλλων ἀναγγελεῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ, *informing thou shalt inform against him*, that is, without delay. And accordingly the Jews add, that, after he was condemned, he was immediately also put to death. Whereas in other crimes the execution was respited, after the sentence was pronounced, for a day and a night, that the man might have time to clear his innocence, if he were able, by any new proofs. Such severity was but needful among a people prone to idolatry, and encompassed on all sides with idolatrous nations.

Ver. 10. *And thou shalt stone him with stones, that he die.*] But if, upon admonition, he desisted from his enticement, and repented of what he had said to his neighbour, and resolved himself not to worship other gods, he was not bound to inform against him.

*Because he hath sought to thrust thee away from the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt,* &c.] See ver. 5. The very attempt of this was criminal, though he did not prevail in his seducement.

Ver. 11. *And all Israel shall hear and fear, and shall do no more any such wickedness as this among you.*] The end of this severity was to preserve the body of the people from the contagion of idolatry. Nothing being more apt to deter men from crimes than such exemplary punishments of them. So Callimachus, in his hymn to Ceres, (ver. 23.) makes this the design of the punishment she inflicted on Erysichthon,

———— ἵνα καί τις ὑπερβασίας ἀλέηται·

*that others might shun the like transgression.*

Ver. 12. *And if thou shalt hear say in one of thy cities, which the Lord thy God hath given thee to dwell in, saying.*] If the infection was spread into a city, or a considerable part of it, there was still more danger, and greater severity was to be used, to prevent the whole country about it from being drawn away from their allegiance to the Divine Majesty. And therefore, upon such an information as follows in the next verse (which is here meant by *thou shalt hear say*), given to the great Sanhedrin, they were to do as is directed ver. 14.

Ver. 13. *Certain men, the children of Belial.*] So the most profligate wretches are called in Scripture, (Judg. xix. 22. 1 Sam. i. 16. x. 27. xxv. 17. 25.) signifying lawless persons, who had no regard either to God or men.

*Are gone out from among you.*] Left the worship of God at the tabernacle: for it doth not signify their forsaking the city (in which they continued to seduce men from their religion), but forsaking their communion in Divine service. By which many have well observed that place in St. John may be interpreted, 1 John ii. 19.

*And have withdrawn the inhabitants of their city.*] The Hebrew word which we here translate *withdraw*, is twice before (ver. 5. 10.) translated *thrust away*; signifying only earnest endeavours to seduce men from their religion. But here it seems to signify also the effect of those endeavours, whereby they had prevailed with men to forsake the God of Israel, or to worship other gods with him.

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*Saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which ye have not known.*] Strange gods, as they are often called in Scripture, which the nations round about them worshipped, (ver. 7.) but were always abhorred by true Israelites.

Ver. 14. *Then shalt thou inquire, and make search, and ask diligently.*] The great Sanhedrin, who only could take cognizance of this crime, were, upon this information, to send some, on whose fidelity they could rely, to examine the truth of the report which was spread abroad, concerning the defection of a city to the worship of other gods. Who were to use their utmost care and diligence in this inquisition, and, by all possible means, endeavour to find whether or not the information was true. For it was a matter of great concernment, that neither the innocent should suffer, nor apostates go unpunished. But the punishment being so dreadful, there was the greater exactness used to be certain of the crime; and there were likewise a great many *temperaments* (as Mr. Selden calls them) found by the Jewish lawyers (partly from the nicest interpretation of every syllable in these two verses, and partly from the pretended tradition of their elders), whereby they mitigated the sharpness of this law. For they would not proceed upon it to destroy a city, though they found them idolaters, unless the seducers were *two*, or more; and those also *men*, not *women;* because the law here speaks in the plural number, of *certain men*, children of Belial. As if their forsaking God was not a crime, whether they were persuaded to it or not by others. They say, also, it was not to be a mere *town*, or *village*, but a *city;* because the words here are *in one of thy cities*, in which there were more than a hundred houses: if there were fewer, it was no city in their account, and so escaped. They who seduced a city also were to be of the same city; because it is said here, These men of Belial are gone out *from among you.* All which are mere quirks, which have no solid reason in them. They are all mentioned together in the title Sanhedrin, set forth by J. Coch. cap. 11. sect. 4. and by Maimonides more largely, in his Avoda Zara, and our Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 5. n. 2.

But there are other *temperaments* of this law, which have better foundation in reason. As, first, that a city was not to be destroyed, unless the major part of the inhabitants were fallen off to serve other gods. And, secondly, that the law speaks only of lesser cities, not of those which were so large that the greatest part of a tribe lived in it; for God would not have a whole tribe cut off by the senate. Thirdly, they might not destroy any of the six cities of refuge, because they were none of theirs, but God's: and the words of the law are, "In one of *thy* cities, which the Lord hath given thee to dwell in;" whereas these were given for a further purpose. And, fourthly, some add, not a frontier town; because it is said, *in the midst of thee* (so the words are in the Hebrew, which we translate *among you*), to which they subjoin a better reason, because the whole country might have been exposed to be overrun with the gentiles. And, lastly, they except Jerusalem from this law, because it was God's seat; and (as Maimonides will have it) it was not distributed to any particular tribe. Which, how it is to be understood, see Selden in the place abovenamed, sect. 3, 4. where he touches upon all these. But, if Jerusalem was to be excepted from the judgment of men, God took care to have this sentence executed upon it by his own judgment; for he sent Nebuchadnezzar against it, whose soldiers burnt with fire both the house of the Lord, and the house of the king, and all the houses of Jerusalem, (Jer. lii. 13.)

*And, behold, if it be truth, and the thing be certain, that such an abomination is wrought among you.*] If the inquisitors found, upon due examinations, that there was a plain and evident proof of their guilt, they were to make their report to the great Sanhedrin; who, being satisfied that either the whole city, or the greater part of them, were fallen to idolatry, sent to them two men of extraordinary wisdom (who were candidates for the senatorial dignity) to admonish them, and, by arguments and persuasions, to endeavour to reduce them to the worship of the Lord God of Israel. And if they prevailed, they were pardoned, and no further proceedings against them: but if they continued obstinate, then the Sanhedrin commanded the people of Israel to raise an army, and besiege the place, and enter it by force, if they could not otherways. And when the city was taken, several courts were appointed to try and condemn all that were guilty. Thus Maimonides, in the forenamed treatise, reports the method of proceeding, out of their ancient authors. (See Selden, sect. 6.)

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword.*] The same author there saith, that, in the hearing of their cause, every one who was found guilty of idolatry, after admonition, by two witnesses, was set aside: and if they proved to be the lesser part of the city, they were stoned (according to the law of single apostates), the rest being freed from punishment: but if they were the greater part of it, they were sent to the great Sanhedrin, who adjudged them to be cut off by the sword, together with their wives and children. And thus the whole city was to be punished if there was an universal defection.

*Destroying it utterly, and all that is therein, and the cattle thereof, with the edge of the sword.*] In the Hebrew the word is, Thou shalt make it a *cherem*, or *an accursed thing.* And so the LXX. Ἀναθέματι ἀναθεματεῖτε αὐτήν, where the Vulgar translates it as we do, *Thou shalt utterly destroy it;* which is consonant to the notion of the Hebrew word. (See Selden, lib. i. de Synedr. cap. 7. p. 131.) So that if any righteous man had any thing therein at that time, it was to be destroyed, as the very words are in the title Sanhedrin, cap. 11. sect. 5. But it is to be supposed, that all who feared God would remove their effects, together with themselves, from so wicked a place, before sentence was pronounced against them. On the contrary, they say, the goods of the idolaters, wheresoever they were found, whether within the city or without, were to be burnt.

Ver. 16. *And thou shalt gather all the spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof.*] Into the market-place, as the Jews interpret it. Or, if it had none, they were to make a spacious place, into which all the spoil and the household-stuff was to be brought, and fire set to it, to consume it, as an anathema, or cursed thing. What temperaments, as they called them, there were to mitigate the severity of this sentence, see Mr. Selden, in the place forenamed, sect. 7.

*And shalt burn with fire the city, and all the spoil thereof, every whit, for the Lord thy God.*] For the vindication of God's honour, and preserving men in their allegiance to him. R. Simeon, in the title Sanhedrin, interprets it in this

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manner, sect. 6. "Thus saith the Lord, If you do justice upon a city full of idolatry, I will account it, as if you had offered a whole burnt-offering unto me."

*And it shall be a heap for ever; it shall not be built again.*] The Hebrew doctors do not entirely agree in the interpretation of these words. For some of them say (in that place of the Sanhedrin now named), that they were not so much as to make a garden or orchard in that place. Others of them say, though it might not be restored into the form of a city, yet they might employ the ground in plantations of trees. But there are those who interpret the words so rigidly, that they think it was not lawful to erect any building there, not so much as a dove-house, but it was to lie waste. (See Selden, sect. 8.) If any man did attempt to build such a city, he was to be beaten, as the same great man observes, lib. i. de Synedriis, cap. 13. p. 558.

Ver. 17. *And there shall cleave nothing of the cursed thing to thine hand.*] They were not to take the smallest part of the spoil to their own use. "For as long as the wicked are in the world (say the Jews in the forenamed title Sanhedrin), the fierce anger of God will remain in the world; but when they are removed, the wrath of God also will cease." Now the wickedness of purloining any thing that was a *cherem*, as the Hebrews call it, or *an accursed thing*, appears in the story of Achan, who brought all Israel into danger by it, as we read in the seventh of Joshua. And Saul is an eminent example of it also, for he lost his kingdom for this sin, (1 Sam. xv. 3. 9. 19. 26, &c.)

*That the Lord may turn from the fierceness of his anger.*] This explains, in part, what he means in the former verse, when he bids them burn the city and the spoil, *for the Lord their God, i. e.* to pacify the Divine Majesty, who was highly incensed by such a wickedness. The punishment of which was, indeed, very terrible, but very necessary; because the crime was of so high a nature, that it struck at the very foundation of their religion and government.

*And shew thee mercy, and have compassion upon thee.*] God promises to deal the better with them, for executing this judgment upon such dangerous offenders.

*And multiply thee, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers.*] They were not to fear any want of people, by cutting off such a multitude; for God promises to increase them by this loss.

Ver. 18. *When thou shalt hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep all his commandments which I command thee this day,* &c.] It was not sufficient that they kept themselves from idolatry, unless they also executed his vengeance upon idolaters: for the inflicting the punishment beforenamed was as right in his eyes, as the observance of any other of his precepts.

## CHAP. XIV.

Ver. 1. *YE are the children of the Lord your God.*] So the Lord had owned them to be, when he sent Moses unto Pharaoh, to command him to dismiss Israel; telling him he was *his son, even his first-born,* (Exod. iv. 22, 23.) This was a good reason, therefore, why they should own no other God but him; and, consequently, follow none of the customs of idolatrous people, but be wholly governed by his laws.

*Ye shall not cut yourselves.*] This might seem to forbid the making any incisions in their body, as the heathen did (at least in future times), who marked themselves thereby to belong to such and such gods (for the Israelites had received the mark of God in their flesh by circumcision, which obliged them to receive no other), if the following words did not plainly determine this to their cutting themselves for the dead; which hath been sufficiently explained in Levit. xix. 28. Yet it is fit to note, that the Jerusalem Targum expounds this of *incisions here and there for idolatry.* And it may be further observed, that the heathen were wont to cut themselves in pangs of devotion, (as appears by the priests of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. 28.) as well as when they were full of sorrow and grief for the dead, (Jer. xvi. 6.) and in all public calamities, (Jer. xli. 5. xlvii. 5.) All which arose from an opinion they had, that the more they afflicted themselves, the less they should be afflicted by God.

*Nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead.*] Some of the heathen, saith Theodoret (Quæst. 13. upon this book), cut off all their hair, and offered it to the dead; others shaved their beards; and others their eye-brows and eye-lids, or (which some think is the meaning of *between their eyes*) the hair in the forepart of their head, or near their temples, as R. Solomon interprets it. Which seems to be the meaning of the Jerusalem Targum, which translates it, *Ye shall not make any baldness in the house of your countenance.* And whether it were done with a razor, or they used any art, by plasters or ointments, to make the hair fall off, it was the same crime, as Maimonides saith, that is, a piece of idolatry. For this was practised, not merely to make themselves look ruefully, but there was some respect to their gods in it, which is the reason it is here prohibited. Certain it is, that in aftertimes the gentiles pulled off their hair, or cut it off, and laid it upon the face or the breast of the dead, or in their sepulchres, to pacify the infernal gods. We find instances of it in Homer. And likewise they made incisions in their flesh, and spilt their blood at funerals, with the same intention, to appease the gods below, and make them kind to the dead. (See our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 2, 3.)

All which shews that Moses still pursues the argument, which he begins at the sixth chapter, and hath continued ever since, to press upon them the strict observance of the first commandment. Insomuch, that he would not have them use any of the rites which were used at their funerals by those that worshipped other gods.

Ver. 2. *For thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God; and the Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all the nations that are on the earth.*] The very same words, in a manner, we had before, vii. 6. as a reason why they should destroy the images of the heathen, &c. Which shews he is still speaking of the idolatrous customs which they should eschew, because they were separated to God as a peculiar people by laws different from all other nations. The author of Sepher Cosri speaks not amiss, That the people of Israel were called God's *Segullah*, because they were elected by him to enjoy special privileges above other people; and brought by him for that end out of the land of Egypt in a wonderful manner, and then had his glory dwelling among them. From whence it is, that he doth not say in the preface to the ten commandments, *I am the Lord of heaven and*



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*earth,* or, *thy Creator,* and therefore thou shalt have no other gods but me; but *I am the Lord thy God that brought thee out of the land of Egypt,* &c. to shew that this law was given peculiarly to them; and that they were tied to it, by virtue of their deliverance out of Egypt, and God's placing his glory among them. Whereas, if they had been bound to it by virtue of their creation, it would have belonged to other nations as well as to them. (Par. i. sect. 27.)

Ver. 3. *Thou shalt not eat any abominable thing.*] All the meats forbidden by God to be eaten are called *abominable,* not merely because his prohibition made them so, but because the gentile superstition had consecrated most of them to their gods. (See upon Levit. xi. 2.) However, after this law was given, the Jews were to look upon them as *abominable;* by which means they were kept from having such free conversation, as otherwise they would have had, with their idolatrous neighbours. So that this law also was intended to preserve them in the true religion.

Ver. 4. *These are the beasts which ye shall eat.*] The original of the difference of meats, see in the learned J. Wagenseil, in his Tela Ignea, p. 553, &c. where he shews it was not to continue for ever. And it is a rational account of this, which I just now gave, that hereby they were preserved from common conversation with other nations, and consequently from their idolatries. But it is a mere fancy, and indeed a proud imagination, which some of the Jews have (particularly the author of Schebet Judah), that as men are more excellent than beasts, because they have better food, so Jews are more excellent than all other men, because they do not feed upon all sorts of animals, but only of some certain kinds; and that after much preparation, by rejecting the blood and the fat, &c. whereby they fancy the flesh is so much altered, that it is not so much flesh as some other food.

*The ox, the sheep, and the goat.*] These were the only beasts that were offered in sacrifice to God; and therefore are the first that are mentioned as clean for their use.

Ver. 5. *The hart and the roe-buck.*] These, and the rest that follow in this verse, though they might not be offered in sacrifice, were allowed to be eaten; and seem to be mentioned as the principal food in the land of Canaan, (xii. 15. 22.)

*And the fallow-deer.*] It is not very material what the word *jachmur* signifies, because we are not now concerned in this law about difference of meats; therefore we may follow our translation, as well as any other: and the famous Bochartus hath made it probable, that it signifies either a kind of *deer,* or of *goat,* (par. i. Hierozoic. lib. iii. cap. 22.)

*And the wild goat.*] So the Hebrew word *akko* signifies (which is no where else to be found), the same author proves in the same book, cap. 19.

*And the pygarg.*] This is also a kind of doe or goat, (as he shews, cap. 22.) which the Hebrews call *dison.* We find mention of *pygargus* in Juvenal's eleventh satire; where the old scholiast gives this account of it: that it is a kind of deer, "quæ retriores partes albas habet," *whose hinder parts are white.* From whence it had its name among the Greeks, who call the buttocks Πύγη.

*And the wild ox.*] So we translate the Hebrew word *theo,* or *tho.* But herein Bochartus dissents; because there were no such creatures in Judea, (as he observes there, cap. 26.) which are bred in colder countries. And therefore he reckons this also among his deer or goats, (cap. 28.)

*And the chamois.*] The Hebrew word *zemer* he also thinks signifies, as the former, a kind of goat or hart; of which there was great variety in those countries. And this he thinks of all other was *maximè ἁλτικὸν, remarkable for jumping;* which is the signification of the word *zemara* in the Arabic language. (See cap. 21.)

Ver. 6. *And every beast that parteth the hoof, and cleaveth the cleft into two claws, and cheweth the cud, that shall ye eat.*] He forbears to reckon up any more particulars, and only sets down the general marks whereby they might be known; which he had delivered in Lev. xi. 3. (See there.)

Ver. 7. *Nevertheless, these shall ye not eat of those that chew the cud, or of them that divide the cloven hoof,* &c.] These exceptions from the general rule have been explained, Lev. xi. 4—6.

Ver. 8. *And the swine, because it divideth the hoof, yet cheweth not the cud, it is unclean to you.*] See upon Lev. xi. 7.

*Ye shall not eat of their flesh, nor touch their dead carcass.*] See Lev. xi. 8.

Ver. 9. *These ye shall eat of all that are in the waters: All that have fins and scales shall ye eat.*] See Lev. xi. 9.

Ver. 10. *And whatsoever hath not fins and scales,* &c.] See Lev. xi. 10—12.

Ver. 11. *Of all clean birds ye shall eat.*] He doth not name any (as he did of beasts), but by enumerating those of which they might not eat, all the rest were left free to be used for food.

Ver. 12. *But these are they of which ye shall not eat: The eagle, the ossifrage, and the osprey.*] All these are mentioned just as they are here in Lev. xi. 13.

Ver. 13. *And the glede, and the kite, and the vulture, after his kind.*] There are only two of these mentioned in Lev. xi. 14. the last of them, *hadajah,* being there omitted; for it is so near to *haajah,* which goes before, that the transcriber (as Bochart imagines) might there leave it out. But rather, Moses now adds this sort of bird, which was not so like in nature as in name; otherwise he would not have distinctly forbidden it.

Ver. 14. *And every raven after his kind.*] The same words with those Lev. xi. 15.

Ver. 15. *And the owl, and the night-hawk, and the cuckoo,* &c.] All the birds mentioned in this and the three next verses, 16—18. are the very same which are forbidden in Lev. xi. 16—19. And therefore I refer the reader to what I have noted there; only adding, that from hence it appears how false their opinion is, who think the Hebrew word *tzippor* is a general name only for small birds (such as sparrows); for it is evident from this place, that it is a name for all birds whatsoever, even the greatest, such as are here mentioned.

Ver. 19. *And every creeping thing that flieth is unclean to you: they shall not be eaten.*] See Lev. xi. 20.

Ver. 20. *But all clean fowls ye may eat.*] This is not the same precept with that ver. 11. for there he speaks of birds, but here of other winged creatures, which are not birds, but insects, as we call them. And in Lev. xi. he describes the flying creeping things which they might eat; and particularly mentions several sorts of them, (ver. 22.)

Ver. 21. *Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of it-*

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*self.*] Unto this discourse about food, it was very proper to add a caution, (which he had given before, Lev. xi. 39, 40.) that, though they might kill and eat any clean creature, yet if it died of itself, it was unlawful to eat it, because the blood was in it.

Some verses ascribed to Phocylides contain this sense so fully, that one would think he had read Moses. (See Jos. Scaliger in Eusebium, p. 88.)

*Thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is within thy gates.*] The proselytes of the gate (as they called them) who had not embraced their religion, but were not idolaters, and therefore suffered to dwell among them, might eat such meat, having no obligation upon them to observe these laws; for they were not circumcised.

*Or thou mayest sell it unto an alien.*] To a mere gentile, who might happen then to be in their country. For there were three sorts of people called by the name of *strangers*, being not of the Jewish nation. First, such as had received circumcision, and consequently embraced the Jewish religion, who were called *gere-tzedek* strangers, or proselytes of justice. Others were not circumcised, but yet worshipped the God of Israel, who were called strangers of the gate, or *gere-tosha*, strangers dwelling among them; because they were to abide in their country constantly. But there was a third sort, called *nocherim*, which we here translate *aliens*, who were mere gentiles, and not suffered to have a habitation among them; but only to come and go in their traffic with them.

*For thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God.*] This reason was given in the beginning of this discourse, (ver. 2.) and so it is in Leviticus, in the conclusion of it. (See xi. 44, 45.)

*Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.*] Now he plainly returns to caution them against idolatrous customs. For this was practised among the heathens in the end of harvest, when they sprinkled their fields and their gardens with this broth, to make them fruitful. It is mentioned twice before. (See Exod. xxiii. 19. and xxxiv. 26.)

Ver. 22. *Thou shalt truly tithe all the increase of thy seed, which the field bringeth forth year by year.*] This doth not seem to reach unto herbs, as the pharisees interpreted it; of which see Grotius on Matt. xxiii. 4. But though Casaubon and Drusius, and other great men, are of this opinion, yet the contrary is maintained by persons of no small note; because our Saviour, when he determines this case, saith, "These things ye ought to have done, and not left the other undone."

As for the *tithe* here mentioned, I have shewn elsewhere, that it was the manner of the eastern princes to receive the tenth of the fruits of their country, for the maintenance of their ministers and officers; as we read 1 Sam. viii. 15. In like manner, God, the great king of all the earth, and the peculiar sovereign of this country, required a tenth of all their increase for the maintenance of his priests and Levites in his service. After which he ordered also a further tithe to be taken out of the nine parts remaining (which was called the *second tithe*), to be spent in feasts at his tabernacle. And this is, with great reason, thought to be particularly enjoined in these words; for of such tithes he speaks in the next verse. It might seem indeed a little hard, to give another tenth part, after they had paid one already, which they might be tempted not to perform exactly; and therefore he saith, *Thou shalt truly*, that is, faithfully, without any deceit or fraud, *tithe all the increase of thy seed.* And when this was done, he required also, once in three years, a *third tithe*, for the use of the poor, (see ver. 28.) that they might also be entertained at his cost, though not at that time at his house. For it was suitable to his royal greatness, that all his subjects should be feasted by his order at his palace; and that the poorest of them should not be neglected, but some time or other partake of his bounty; as they did at those feasts I mentioned, where their men-servants and maid-servants were to be entertained as well as the Levites, (xii. 12. 18.)

Ver. 23. *And thou shalt eat before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose to place his name there.*] See xii. 5, 6.

*The tithe of thy corn, and of thy wine, and of thine oil.*] This cannot be meant of the tithe paid to the Levites; of which the people were not to partake, but only the priests, to whom the Levites were to give a tithe. Therefore it must be understood of the second tithe, separated (after the other was paid) for this holy use. The design of which was, that they might be secured in his religion, by eating and drinking in his presence; and thereby professing that they belonged to him, and were his thankful servants.

The observation of R. Bechai upon these words [*thy corn, thy wine, and thine oil*] is something curious, but it hath a great deal of truth in it:—If thou pay the tithe, saith he, then it is *thy* corn; if thou do not, it is *my* corn, and not thine (in like manner, if they paid the tithe of wine and oil); for it is said in Hosea ii. 9. "Therefore I will return, and take away my corn in the time thereof, and my wine in the season thereof." For they forfeited the whole, who did not pay the tenth, which was the rent God reserved to himself. And the same R. Bechai represents this as a very merciful law: For it is the fashion of the world, saith he, if a man have ground of his own, to let it out to tenants at what rate he pleases, for a half or third part, to be paid to him: but it is not so with the Almighty, whose the earth is, and who raises clouds, and waters it with rain, and sends down drops of dew, and makes fat the fruits of the earth; and yet requires but one part of ten, for his own uses. This made it highly reasonable, that Moses should admonish the Israelites so often diligently to pay their tithe.

*And the firstlings of thy herds, and of thy flocks.*] See concerning these, xii. 6.

*That thou mayest learn to fear the Lord thy God always.*] This justifies what I said, that the design of this was to preserve them steadfast in their religion, by having communion with him, in so solemn a manner, every year: for that is meant by *fearing the Lord always;* continuing in the worship and service of him alone. (See vi. 1.)

Ver. 24. *And if the way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to carry it; or if the place be too far off from thee, which the Lord thy God shall choose,* &c.] If they lived at so great a distance from the sanctuary, or the way was so bad, that it would be very troublesome and chargeable to carry those tithes in kind, here they have a liberty granted them to make money of them, and with that to buy provision for the feast at the sanctuary, when they came thither; as it follows in the next verse. All things, likewise, which would not keep so long as till they could go to the house of God, they were to turn into money; but things that were



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not perishable, they were to carry in kind, if they did not dwell too far off from it.

Ver. 25. *Then shalt thou turn it into money.*] Adding a fifth part to it, as the law is, Lev. xxvii. 31.

*And bind up the money in thine hand, and shalt go unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose.*] Put it into a bag by itself, and not mix it with other money, but keep it bound up till the next feast; and then carry it in their hand, to the place where God's house was settled.

God would not have them excused from going to that place with these things in kind upon every slight reason; and therefore made it something chargeable to exchange them into money, by requiring a fifth part to be added. And besides, the elders made a constitution, That this liberty should be allowed to none, but those who lived above a day's journey from Jerusalem, which at last was the fixed place of God's worship. And, that it might be known certainly what was a day's journey, the places at that distance were fixed from every quarter; *viz.* Lydda on the west, the river Jordan on the east, Acrabatta on the north, and Elath on the south, as J. Wagenseil hath observed in his confutation of that blasphemous book, called Toldos Jeschu, p. 22.

Ver. 26. *And thou shalt bestow that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, for oxen, or for sheep,* &c.] Purchase such provision as they most delighted in, of all meats that God's law allowed.

*And thou shalt eat there before the Lord thy God.*] Make a holy entertainment at the house of God.

*And thou shalt rejoice, thou and thine household.*] Men-servants and maid-servants, as well as sons and daughters, (xii. 18.) together with the Levites, widows, orphans, and strangers.

Ver. 27. *And the Levite that is within thy gates, thou shalt not forsake him.*] They were always to be invited to these feasts. (See xii. 19.)

*For he hath no part nor inheritance with thee.*] They being wholly devoted to the worship of God, and the study of the law, as Maimonides observes, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 39. (See xii. 19.)

Ver. 28. *At the end of three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase.*] The opinion of the Hebrew doctors is, That this was not a distinct tithe from that which they call the *second tithe,* paid every year, but the very same, which every third year was not to be carried to the sanctuary, but to be employed to the comfort of the poor, in their own cities and houses. For thus they explain it: That in the third year after the year of release, and in the sixth year, the tithe that was wont to be carried to the place where the sanctuary was, and there spent in feasts before God, was to be spent upon the poor in every town where they that paid the tithe lived; but every first, second, fourth, and fifth year, from the year of release, it was spent in holy entertainments at the house of God. In the year of release itself (which was every seventh year), no tithes at all were paid of any kind, because all lay common. So that every year the owner of the ground set out a second tithe; but he was not bound to carry it every year to Jerusalem; for in the compass of seven years, four of those years only were appointed for their journey thither, and two they stayed at home. (See Selden, of Tithes, and lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. p. 693.) But this is contradicted by other great men, particularly by Bishop Montagu, who asserts these to be two distinct tithes: see p. 332, &c. especially p. 346. and those that follow. And Josephus seems plainly to be of his mind, p. 349. Old Tobit calls it τρίτην δεκάτην, *the third tithe,* i. 8.

*The tithe of thine increase the same year.*] *i. e.* Of the third year.

*And shall lay it up within thy gates.*] It was not to be carried to the place where God's house was, but to be spent at home.

Ver. 29. *And the Levite, because he hath no part nor inheritance with thee.*] See ver. 37.

*And the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat, and be satisfied.*] This tithe was not spent in joy and gladness, as the second tithe was, (ver. 26.) when they went to God's dwelling-place, but merely in the relief and comfort of the poorer sort of people, who otherwise might have been forced to beg, or to serve strangers, and thereby be in danger of being perverted from their religion.

*That the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.*] This tithe, the Jews say, was called the *consummation of tithes;* because herein the love of their neighbours was most eminently apparent. For it is likely they themselves had no share in this, as they had at the feasts upon the second tithe, but is wholly spent upon the persons here named. Whose hearts could not but be moved to pray to God for his blessing upon them in all their labours, which he here promises to bestow.

## CHAP. XV.

Ver. 1. *AT the end of every seven years.*] It appears, from ver. 9. that this phrase signifies as much as *every seventh year.*

*Thou shalt make a release.*] Perfectly free their brethren from all their debts which they owed to their creditors. This year was famous not only for this, but for letting servants go free (as some think, Exod. xxi. 2.) and for letting their ground rest, (Lev. xxv. 34.) and for reading this law publicly to all the people, (Deut. xxxi. 10.)

Ver. 2. *And this is the manner of the release.*] It is thus to be understood.

*Every creditor that lendeth aught unto his neighbour shall release it.*] It was an entire acquittance, not of debts contracted by sale of lands or goods, to those who were able to pay, but of money lent to a neighbour or friend, merely to relieve his poverty, not to carry on trade, or to make a purchase. For nothing could have been more absurd, than to have extinguished such debts, whereby the borrower was enriched.

*He shall not exact it of his neighbour or his brother.*] Here the word *brother* is added, to explain what is meant by a *neighbour; viz.* an Israelite, or a proselyte entirely of their religion, who had all the privileges of an Israelite. Some think, that by not *exacting* money lent to such a man, is meant no more but only forbearing to demand it in this year, because there was no sowing or reaping in it; or if he did, that he should not have power to recover it by law this year, though afterward he might. But the plain meaning seems to be, that he should be perfectly free from his debt, as a servant, after six years, was from his service:

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though, if afterward he grew rich, in good conscience he was bound to pay it.

*Because it is the Lord's release.*] In the Hebrew the words *schemitta laihova* signify, that this year was *a release to the Lord*, or *for the Lord*. In honour, that is, of him, who made this a year of great charity: in obedience to whom they were bound to be very kind to their poor brethren. But the Jews fancy they were not bound to be so kind as to make this release, till the very last day of the year. So that if a man had borrowed money in the beginning of it, he was not acquitted till the year expired.

Ver. 3. *Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it again.*] Of an *alien*, as we translate the word *nocri*, in the foregoing chapter, ver. 21. that is, of one who was neither an Israelite, nor proselyted to their religion, but a mere gentile. The only question is, whether they were not to remit the debts of a proselyte of the gate, who, I think, is no where called their *brother* in the law; and therefore they were not obliged to discharge them from what they owed.

*But that which is thine with thy brother thine hand shall not touch.*] This seems to restrain it wholly to those who were Jews, or had all the privileges of Jews.

Ver. 4. *Save when there shall be no poor among you.*] Whether we follow this translation, or that in the margin of our Bibles, it appears that they were obliged to acquit only their poor brethren; of whom they were not to exact their debts, lest they should be tempted to flee to the gentiles, and forsake their religion: so this was a provision still against idolatry. Or, if we understand it as it is in the margin, *to the end that there be no poor among you*, the sense is the same; that they were by this charity to keep men from extreme necessity, which might force them to go a begging, or to seek for relief in strange countries.

*For the Lord shall greatly bless thee in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it.*] He would not have them think that they might become poor themselves by this means; for he assures them God would prevent that, by sending his extraordinary blessing upon them. Cardinal Cajetan, and some others, understand this verse as if it were all of it a promise, and contained no precept in it; *viz.* That God would take care they should not be burdened by this law, for he would so bless them, that they should have no poor among them; and then they were not obliged to acquit those of their debts, who were able to pay them.

Ver. 5. *Only if thou carefully hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all these commandments which I command thee this day.*] Particularly this, of releasing their poor neighbours from their debts; which would entitle them to the blessing he promises again in the next verse.

Ver. 6. *For the Lord God blesseth thee, as he promised thee.*] God had many ways blessed them already, and he promises to reward their obedience with greater blessings.

*And thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow.*] Grow so very rich, that other nations should come to borrow of them; but they be beholden to none.

*And thou shalt reign over many nations*, &c.] I suppose he means no more than Solomon doth, when he saith, *the borrower is servant to the lender*, (Prov. xxii. 7.) But it may extend to their dominion over many nations, whom they conquered, till they enlarged their bounds as far as Euphrates.

Ver. 7. *If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren in any of thy gates, in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thy hand from thy poor brother.*] As they might be inclined to do, after the passing of this law; thinking with themselves, that what they lent to such a man they should never have again, but must lose it if he were not able to repay it before the year of release. This seems to be the meaning of this verse, which the Jews interpret not of lending, but of giving alms. It is not much material which way we take it: for he that lent to a poor man, was willing to give what he lent, if he could not pay him before the year of release, after which he could not demand it.

*Thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shalt thou shut thine hand from thy poor brother.*] Covetousness proceeds from want of pity, tenderness, and compassion towards others in their miseries; unto which nature itself inclines us, especially towards members of the same society. And the Jews had several particular obligations to be tenderhearted, as they were all children of God after a peculiar manner, who had been wonderfully kind and merciful to them, (xiv. 2.)

Ver. 8. *But thou shalt open thine hand wide to him.*] Bountifully supply him with what he wants.

*And shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need, in that which he wanteth.*] The Jews understood this, not merely of affording him food sufficient to satisfy his hunger, and clothes to cover his nakedness and keep him warm, but furnishing him with household goods (if he had been forced to sell all he had), that he might live comfortably. Yea, they proceed so far, as to determine, that the neighbourhood should join together, and make a purse for him, to put him in as good a condition as he was before he fell into this want. They determine also the quantity that every man should give; a very liberal person the fifth part of what he had, if need required; a man of moderate bounty, a tenth part. If any man gave less when the case required more, he was accounted a niggard; or, as they phrase it, a man of an evil eye. But, notwithstanding all these precepts, and their interpretations, the Jews so little minded their poor, that their governors were at last forced (as we now, alas! do) to lay a rate upon the rich for the maintenance of the poor, which they enabled their officers to exact. See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6. and Maimonides de Donis Pauperum, set forth by a very learned friend of mine, Dr. Prideaux, cap. 7. who argues from this place, that if a poor man wanted a wife, they were bound to provide him one, &c.

Ver. 9. *Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand.*] If such a thought came into their mind, that they should lose what they lent, because the seventh year approached, they were bound to stifle it immediately, and not suffer it to lodge there.

*And thine eye be evil against thy poor brother.*] This move thee to be unkind and unmerciful to him. So a man of *an evil eye*, signifies in Prov. xxiii. 6. one that grudges what another eats at his table.

*And thou givest him nought.*] Lending was in this case giving; when a man was very poor, and the year of release so near, that he could have no prospect of his being able to repay him.

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*And he cry unto the Lord against thee.*] Make his doleful complaint unto God, finding no relief from men.

*And it be sin unto thee.*] God charge it upon thee as an offence against his majesty, yea, a great offence. For so the word *sin* sometimes signifies, (John xv. 24. James iv. 17.)

Ver. 10. *Thou shalt surely give him.*] Not fail to relieve his wants.

*And thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him.*] They were not only to relieve him, but to do it cheerfully.

*Because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto.*] There is no difference between *all their works*, and all that they *put their hand unto* (for all works are performed by the hand), unless one refer to what they did within doors, and the other to their labours in the field.

Ver. 11. *For the poor shall never cease out of thy land.*] There would always be some or other among them, who stood in need of the forenamed charitable relief, by which they might be preserved from extreme poverty; which God intended to prevent, as is plain from ver. 4. (See Grotius upon St. Matt. xxvi. 11.) The Jerusalem Targum understands this, as if there should have been no poor amongst them, if they had been obedient to God's precepts.

*Therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide.*] If any one refused to give, or gave less than became him, Maimonides saith, in the forenamed place, the Sanhedrin compelled him to it, and whipped him with the stripes of rebellion or contumacy (*i. e.* very sorely), till he gave as much as they judged he ought to do.

*To thy brother, to thy poor, and thy needy, in thy land.*] Here are evidently three different sorts of persons mentioned as objects of their charity, which may be looked upon as directing the excellent order of it. For, first, they were to relieve those that were nearest to them in blood, called here their *brethren*. Then, secondly, such as were in great misery. And, thirdly, such as were low in the world, and required some help, but not so much as the former sort. Some indeed will not admit such a difference between the words *poor* and *needy*, but think the last signifies such whose condition was calamitous; about which I think it is not worth while to dispute. I shall rather observe, that God took exceeding great care that none should come to very great want, by the large provision he made for the poorer sort of people; who had the benefit of the *third tithe*, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, which was wholly given to them every third year; and of the sabbatical year, when all that grew of itself was common to every body; and of this release of debts in the same year; and of the large quantity of corn, which they were bound to leave every year, in the corners of their fields, with the ears that fell, and the sheaf that was left, &c.

Ver. 12. *If thy brother, a Hebrew man, or a Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee.*] Whether sold by themselves, or by the court of judgment, for theft. But there was some difference between a man and a woman. (See Exod. xxi. 2, 3, &c.) And the same law, they say, was to be observed about those who were sold by their father, or were born of Hebrew slaves.

*And serve thee six years, then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free.*] He doth not speak of the year of release, as if he were then to be set free, though he had served but one year, or perhaps no more than half a year before that time came, but of the seventh year from the time of his sale: for he was to serve six complete years, unless the *jubilee* happened to intervene, when every one was set free, though he had not served so long; but such servants as were taken in the wars, or were sold by Canaanites, or born of them, might be kept perpetual slaves, unless they were maimed by their masters, with the loss of some member of their body.

Ver. 13. *And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty.*] But bestow something upon him for his more comfortable subsistence when he was a freeman. And this comprehends women as well as men, as appears by the foregoing verse: but then it is to be understood of such as went out free by virtue of this law, after they had served six years, not of such as were redeemed by their friends, or redeemed themselves with their own money, (Lev. xxv. 18.) For such might be supposed not to need their masters' kindness, as they did who had nothing to help them out of their slavery.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine-press.*] That they might put themselves in a way of living well in the world; which they were not able to do without this assistance, because what they got in their six years' service was wholly for their master, and not for themselves. He doth not prescribe a certain measure to their bounty, but leaves every man to express his affection freely towards God and towards his neighbour. But the Hebrews say, they were bound to give them at least thirty shekels of silver.

*Of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee, that shalt thou give him.*] Considering how God hath enriched thee, even by his service.

Ver. 15. *And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and the Lord thy God redeemed thee.*] And did not bring them empty out of their slavery, but loaded with silver, and gold, and raiment, (Exod. xii. 35.) By which bounty of God to themselves, they might take the best measure of their duty to their poor brethren when they were dismissed from servitude.

*Therefore I command thee this thing to-day.*] In remembrance of that great benefit, he enjoined this benevolence to poor slaves.

Ver. 16. *And it shall be, if he say, I will not go away from thee.*] Refused to enjoy his liberty, when his six years' service was expired.

*Because he loveth thee and thine house.*] The phrase in Exod. xxi. 5. being, *saying, shall say, I love my master*, &c. Abarbinel from thence gathers, that it was necessary he should often profess how loath he was to leave his master and his family, and make repeated declarations of his affection to them.

*Because he is well with thee.*] Lives happily. Out of these words Maimonides infers, that there was to be reciprocal love between the servant and his master; for if the servant loved his master, yet if his master did not love him, his ear was not bored; for he could not take content in his staying with him. But these words suppose his master's kindness to him by his good usage of him.

Ver. 17. *Then shalt thou take an awl, and thrust it through his ear unto the door*, &c.] But first he was to bring

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him before the judges, that he might there in open court profess the same that he had done to his master; and thereby make it appear there was no fraud or deceit in the business; and that his master did not keep him against his will, contrary to this law. See Exod. xxi. 6. where all this is explained.

*And also unto thy maid-servant thou shalt do likewise.*] This relates only to the not sending maid-servants away empty; not to the boring their ears, if they had no mind to be freed; for that was not used, if we may believe the Hebrew doctors, to maid-servants. It was sufficient, if they had a mind to stay with their masters, that they addicted themselves, in solemn words, to their service for ever. But there were many differences between a man-servant and a maid-servant, at least in some cases, (see upon Exod. xxi. 7.) which are explained with great nicety by the Hebrew doctors: with which I need not trouble the reader, because there is no such slavery among us in these days.

Ver. 18. *It shall not seem hard unto thee when thou sendest him away free from thee.*] It is plain by this that he returns to what he was speaking of, ver. 12, 13, &c. concerning their not letting their servants go away empty when they had their freedom: for this was the chief thing that could seem hard to them.

*For he hath been worth a double-hired servant to thee.*] Who served at most only for three years, and had wages paid him all the time, (Isaiah xvi. 14.)

*In serving thee six years.*] Twice as long as a hired servant, and for nothing. So that, considering what wages he gave the other, and how small a price, perhaps, they paid for him, they would find themselves gainers by such slaves, and therefore should not think much to give them a gratuity when they send them away.

*And the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all that thou doest.*] He encourages them to hope they should be greater gainers otherways by this charity, which would procure God's blessing upon their future labours. This argument he had pressed twice or thrice before in this chapter, ver. 4. 6. 10.

Ver. 19. *All the firstling males that come of thy herd, and of thy flock, shalt thou sanctify unto the Lord thy God.*] All the first-born males were the Lord's, by a law made at their coming out of Egypt; and he gave them to his priests for their portion, (Exod. xiii. 2. 15. Numb. xviii. 15.)

*Thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thy bullock, nor shear the firstling of thy sheep.*] Besides the firstling males, which alone were separated to the Lord, there were also firstling females; which, though they were not sanctified to him as the males were, yet were not to be employed by the owners, as the rest of their cattle, but offered as peace-offerings to God. Of which they themselves had a good share, though some part of them was given to the priests.

Ver. 20. *Thou shall eat it before the Lord thy God.*] It is evident from hence, that he speaks of such female firstlings as I mentioned in the foregoing verse; for of the males they might not eat, but they belonged entirely to the priests.

*Year by year.*] At their solemn festivals, when they were first to offer them unto God; and then the feasts upon these peace-offerings followed.

*In the place which the Lord shall choose, thou and thy household.*] With the Levites and strangers, &c. whom they were to invite to these sacred entertainments: for this is but a repetition of the law twice or thrice mentioned before, xii. 6, 7, &c. 17, 18. 26. xiv. 23. and upon this occasion here again inculcated, because it was of exceeding great moment, to preserve them in the worship and service of God alone.

Ver. 21. *And if there be any blemish therein, as if it be lame, or blind, or have any ill blemish.*] This is another reason why he mentions these feasts again, that he might admonish them what to do with their firstlings, if there were any blemish in them, which made them unfit for sacrifice. These blemishes he had spoken of in Lev. xxii. 21, 22. 24. But here adds the *lame* to those there named. Which the prophet Malachi also mentions (and so do the heathens), as unacceptable unto God, (Mal. i. 8.)

*Thou shalt not sacrifice it to the Lord thy God.*] No, not to make such a charitable feast at the sanctuary.

Ver. 22. *Thou shalt eat it within thy gates.*] It was free for them to eat it at home: though it is very probable God expected they should invite the Levites and the strangers, the fatherless and the widows, to partake of it, (as they did of the third tithe, xiv. 29.) because, if it had been without blemish, it must have been so employed at the sanctuary.

*The unclean and the clean person shall eat it alike.*] Whereas, if it had been sacrificed at their feasts, only the clean could have eaten of it.

*As the roe-buck and the hart.*] See xii. 15. 22.

Ver. 23. *Only thou shalt not eat the blood thereof; thou shalt pour it upon the ground as water.*] He takes all occasions to mention this, because it was designed to preserve them free from idolatry. (See xii. 16. 23, 24.)

## CHAP. XVI.

Ver. 1. *OBSERVE the month of Abib.*] Which God, by a special order, made the beginning of their year. (See Exod. xii. 2. xiii. 4. xxxiv. 18.)

*And keep the Passover unto the Lord thy God.*] He now begins in this chapter, to admonish them about their great feasts which they were to keep; whereby the whole nation was preserved in the worship of one only God, which Moses still pursues to press upon them.

*For in the month of Abib the Lord thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt.*] In memory of which the feast of the Passover was ordained.

*By night.*] For then Pharaoh pressed them to be gone, when he saw his first-born slain in the night, (Exod. xii. 29—31.) and then they immediately prepared themselves for their journey, and borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of gold and silver, (ver. 25.) Insomuch that Moses calls this "a night much to be observed unto the Lord," and "that night of the Lord to be observed by all the children of Israel in their generations," (Exod. xii. 42.) though it was day-light before they began their march, as we read there, ver. 22. So that Moses bid them "remember the day when they came out of Egypt," (Exod. xiii. 3.) which comprehends both that which is properly called *day* and *night*.

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the passover unto the Lord thy God.*] The word *passover* signifies here not

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only the *lamb* (which was properly called *pesach*, or *passover*), which was offered the fourteenth day at even, but all the paschal sacrifices which followed after, as appears by the next words [*of the flock, and of the herd*]. Which sacrifices were appointed for all the seven days of unleavened bread, (Numb. xviii. 17—19, &c.) See Bochartus in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 50. where he shews at large that the word *passover* is here a general word, comprehending the particulars after-mentioned, (p. 565, 566.) and thus translates these words (which he justifies by many like instances), *Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the passover unto the Lord thy God*, viz. *of the flock and of the herd.* Which last words are added exegetically, to explain what that *passover* was which they were to offer unto the Lord. Such sacrifices as were offered in the solemn passover of Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxx. 22. and of Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv. 7—9. where it is apparent, that the king and the princes gave to the people, and to the priests, oxen as well as sheep, *lepesachim*, for the passover-offerings. And thus it is used in the New Testament, John xviii. 28. where it is said, the Jews would not go into the judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled; *but that they might eat the passover, i. e.* these *passover-offerings*, which were holy things, of which none might eat in their defilement.

*In the place which the Lord shall choose to place his name there.*] At the sanctuary, as hath been often said, xii. 5. 11, &c. where all sacrifices were to be offered.

Ver. 3. *Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it.*] That is, with the *passover* beforementioned. Which is a demonstration that all the sacrifices *of the flock*, and *of the herds*, spoken of in the foregoing verse, are comprehended under the name of *passover*. For with the *lamb* they could not eat unleavened bread seven days, it being to be eaten presently in the evening when it was offered; after which followed the seven days of unleavened bread, which could not be eaten so long with the passover, unless *passover* signifies all the seven sacrifices.

*Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread therewith.*] See Exod. xii. 15. xiii. 6, 7.

*Even the bread of affliction.*] So called, because it was insipid, and also heavy upon the stomach, and not easily digested. Whence it had the name of *matzah*, because it was lumpish, and could not rise as leavened broad doth.

*For thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste.*] Wanting time to put any leaven to their dough, (Exod. xii. 34. 39.)

*That thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of thy life.*] That their affliction there, and their speedy deliverance from thence, might never be forgotten. For their eating this bread seven days together every year, one would think, could not but make great impressions on their mind; and the more to imprint the sense of God's mercy there, the master of every family, when he brake this bread at the paschal feast, and gave every one a piece of it, said, *This is the bread of affliction which your fathers did eat in the land of Egypt.* So Maimonides and others tell us. (See Exod. xii. 17.)

Ver. 4. *And there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee in all thy coasts seven days.*] See Exod. xii. 18—20. xiii. 3. 7.

*Neither shall there any thing of the flesh which thou sacrificest the first day at even, remain all night until the morning.*] This is a plain description of the paschal lamb, which was to be eaten in the even wherein it was sacrificed, (Exod. xii. 10.) which he forbears here to call the *passover* (though that name properly belonged to it), because he had called other sacrifices by that name, (ver. 2.) and would not have them confounded.

Ver. 5. *Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*] Not at home, as they did when they first came out of Egypt, and that because it was a sacrifice; which was now required to be offered at the sanctuary, as was said before, (xii. 5. 11.)

Ver. 6. *But at the place which the Lord thy God shall choose to place his name in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover.*] From whence Maimonides infers, that even whilst high places were allowed, the passover could not be killed any where but at the sanctuary: if any man did offer it in a private high place, he was beaten, as he saith in his treatise concerning the passover, cap. 1. sect. 3.

*At even, at the going down of the sun.*] Between the two evenings, concerning which see Exod. xii. 6. After the offering of the evening sacrifice, they began to kill the passover, and continued this sacrifice till sun-set.

*At the season that thou camest forth out of Egypt.*] Then they were preparing themselves for their journey, and had warning to be ready, and eat the lamb with their staves in their hands, as men going forth to travel, (Exod. xii. 11.) though they did not actually go forth till the next morning.

Ver. 7. *And thou shalt roast and eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose.*] See Exod. xii. 8, 9.

*And thou shalt turn in the morning, and go unto thy tents.*] Unto their own habitations, which are called *tents*, because they had no other dwellings when these words were spoken. The only doubt is, whether he permits them to go home the next morning after the even beforementioned, or the morning after the whole feast of unleavened bread was over. It seems most reasonable to expound it of the former, that if men's occasions called them home, they were not bound to stay any longer at the place where the sanctuary was, but till they had eaten the paschal lamb; after which they might return home if they pleased. So Bochartus, who from hence proves that the most solemn days of the feast of unleavened bread were not observed like a sabbath, because men might travel home upon the first day of unleavened bread, as the whole nation travelled out of Egypt on this day, from Rameses to Succoth: yet pious people, who were able to bear so great a charge, were wont, no doubt, to stay the whole seven days before they returned home; because the first and last days of the feast were great solemnities. So they did in the passover of Hezekiah and Josiah, 2 Chron. xxx. 21. xxxv. 17. And there being special sacrifices to be offered every day during this festival (as was beforesaid), Solomon ben Virgæ observes, that all the country thereabouts brought their oxen and their sheep to be sold at this time to those who came from far; so that the mountains round about Jerusalem were covered with them, and not a bit of grass to be seen. He adds also, that whosoever did not come up to this feast, all his goods were forfeited and converted to sacred uses, (Schebet Judah, p. 378.)

Ver. 8. *Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly unto the Lord*

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*thy God.*] This is to be understood as if he had said, that after they had eaten unleavened bread six days, they should conclude the solemnity upon the seventh day with a *solemn assembly*, or, as it is in the Hebrew, *with a restraint;* but still continue also on this day to eat unleavened bread. For this feast was to last seven days, and in all the foregoing books they are expressly required to eat unleavened bread seven days, (Exod. xii. 15. Levit. xxiii. 6. Numb. xxviii. 17.)

*A solemn assembly.*] Which the Hebrews call *atzereth;* of the meaning of which see Lev. xxiii. 36.

*Thou shalt do no work therein.*] That is, no servile work, as it is explained Numb. xxviii. 25. but they might dress their meat, which the LXX. seems to mean in those words, which they add, πλὴν ὅσα ποιηθήσεται ψυχῇ, *save only such things as shall be done to preserve life.*

Ver. 9. *Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee.*] From the morrow after the sabbath, when they brought the sheaf of the wave-offering, as it is explained in Lev. xxiii. 15. (See there.)

*Begin to number the seven weeks from such time as thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn.*] For they began to cut barley at the Passover, as is manifest from hence, that Joshua passed over Jordan to enter into Canaan, in the time of harvest, (Josh. iii. 15.) and this was in the month of Nisan, when they kept the Passover, as appears from Josh. v. 10. which month could not be called Abib, or *the month of new fruits*, if some corn was not then ripe, *viz.* barley. This Josephus confirms, lib. iii. Antiq. cap. 10. which must be understood, as Hermannus Conringius observes, (in his treatise de Initio Anni Sabbatici, &c.) of that sort of barley which was sown in autumn (as it is this day in Frisia), which required a stronger soil than that sown in the spring, and produced a much richer crop. See Mr. Mede's works, p. 355. who observes how very different their climate was from ours.

Ver. 10. *And thou shalt keep the feast of weeks unto the Lord thy God.*] The reason of this name is given in the foregoing verse. And see Exod. xxxiv. 22. It was called also the *feast of harvest.* (See Exod. xxiii. 16.)

*With a tribute of a free-will-offering of thine hand, which thou shalt give unto the Lord thy God,* &c.] Besides those offerings which are prescribed, Lev. xxiii. 17, 18. Numb. xxviii. 27, &c. The quantity is not directed, but left to every man's piety. And whatsoever it was he brought, it was wholly given to God, and he that brought it had no share in it; but God gave it to his priests.

*According as the Lord thy God hath blessed thee.*] Though no quantity was prescribed, yet God expected every man should offer proportionably to his estate; and they who had a religious sense of God's goodness in *blessing* their labours, no doubt acknowledged it by a liberal tribute.

Ver. 11. *And thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite that is within thy gates,* &c.] This feast was made of such offerings as are mentioned, xii. 7. 17—19.

Ver. 12. *And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt.*] They are often put in mind of this as an argument to charity, particularly towards their servants. (See xv. 15.)

*And thou shalt observe and do these statutes.*] There was a particular reason for keeping this feast, because it was in remembrance of God's giving them his law from Mount Sinai; where he speaks with them himself.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt observe the feast of tabernacles seven days, after that thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine.*] This is the third great feast, at which all their males were bound to appear every year, as we read, Exod. xxiii. 16, 17. xxxiv. 22, 23. Of which he puts them in mind again, Lev. xxiii. 34—36. and here, ver. 16.

Ver. 14. *And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant,* &c.] There was the like law at Athens, where king Cecrops ordained (as Macrobius tells us, lib. i. Saturnal. cap. 10.) the master of every family should, after harvest, make a feast for his servants, and eat together with them, who had taken pains with him in tilling his ground; "delectari enim Deum honore servorum, contemplatu laboris," *for God delighted in the honour done to servants, in consideration of their labour.* This, it is likely, he learnt from Moses, for he reigned at Athens much about the same time that Israel came out of Egypt; and was the first, as Eusebius saith, who taught the Greeks to call God by the name of Ζεὺς, (lib. x. Præpar. Evangel.) which we may interpret *the living God.* Though therein he seems to be a little mistaken. For Pausanias saith more than once (both in his Arcadica and his Attica), that Δία ὠνόμασεν ὕπατον πρῶτος, *he was the first that called Jupiter by the name of the Most High,* or Supreme. And the same we read in St. Cyril against Julian, lib. i. (See Joh. Meursius de Legibus Atheniensium, lib. i. cap. 9.)

Ver. 15. *Seven days shalt thou keep a feast unto the Lord thy God in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose.*] In order to which, that it might be kept the more solemnly, it is once more enjoined, and all the sacrifices that were to be offered in each of the seven days appointed in Numb. xxix. from ver. 12. to ver. 35. where he orders also the eighth day to be solemnly observed for a special reason. (See there.)

*Because the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy increase, and in all the works of thy hands.*] Thankfulness to God for blessings bestowed was the way to procure more.

*Therefore thou shalt surely rejoice.*] In God the giver of all good things; whom the whole nation, by the institution of this feast, were incited to bless and praise for the fruits of his bounty to them. And peace-offerings were sacrificed on purpose for this end, (xxvii. 7.) From the repetition of this command, *Thou shalt rejoice,* the Jews infer, that though all festivals were times of joy, yet the feast of tabernacles was to be celebrated with greater joy than all the rest. And accordingly Maimonides tells us, the whole festival was spent in music, and dancing, and singing, night and day.

Ver. 16. *Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God in the place,* &c.] This is so frequently enjoined, (see ver. 13.) because it was of the greatest consequence that they should meet as often as they could conveniently, at one and the same place, to worship the Divine Majesty; whereby the notion of the unity of God was preserved among them.

*And they shall not appear before the Lord empty.*] This is also frequently repeated, where the feasts themselves are enjoined, (Exod. xviii. 15. xxxiv. 20.) And from these and the following words, *That every man should give as he*



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*was able*, &c. came the pious custom in the beginning of our religion, that the people when they came to the Lord's table, offered bread, and wine, and corn, and oil, and such-like things, for the support of God's ministers, and the relief of the poor, every one according to their ability. Which was done in acknowledgment of God as the author of life, and of all good things; for which they, in this manner, shewed their gratitude to him. And the priests, in the presence of all the people, lifted them up, and gave God thanks, and beseeched him to accept them: and out of these, in many places, they made their *agapæ*, or *feasts of charity*, for the poor. Mention is made of these oblations in the Canons ascribed to the apostles, chap. 3, 4. which, though not made by them, yet contain a great many apostolical customs.

Ver. 17. *Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God which he hath given thee.*] It was but reasonable, that the more bountiful God had been to them, the more liberally they should offer a grateful acknowledgment to him. For all the forenamed three feasts had relation to the fruits of the earth, which God had blessed them withal, as well as commemorated former great benefits bestowed on their forefathers: the Passover being at the beginning of barley-harvest, Pentecost at the beginning of wheat-harvest, and the feast of tabernacles, when they had gathered in all the fruits of the earth. At which seasons all mankind were ever wont to be full of joy, and to offer sacrifices. So Aristotle tells us, (lib. viii. ad Nicomachum, cap. 2.) Αἱ ἀρχαῖαι θυσίαι καὶ σύνοδοι φαίνονται γίνεσθαι μετὰ τὰς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὰς, *The ancient sacrifices and conventions seem to have been after the gathering-in of the fruits of the earth, as a first-fruit, at which time chiefly they rested from their labours.* And so Strabo, likewise, (lib. x. Geograph. p. 467.) "It is common, both to Greeks and barbarians, to offer their sacrifices with a festival intermission of their labours, &c. καὶ τοῦθ' ἡ φύσις οὕτως ὑπαγορεύει, *and so nature taught them to do*," that is, to thank God, with rejoicing and cessation from labours. For which he gives this surprising reason, ἥτε γὰρ ἄνεσις τὸν νοῦν ἀπάγει ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπινῶν ἀσχολημάτων, τὸν δὲ οὕτως νοῦν τρέπει πρὸς τὸ θεῖον· *for remission of labour abstracts the mind from human affairs, and turns it towards God.* This certainly was the ancient intention of all such festival times, as the heathen themselves could discern.

Ver. 18. *Judges and officers shalt thou make thee.*] To see that these, and all other laws, were duly observed. Moses de Cotzi, upon these words, makes this difference between *schofetim* and *schoterim:* that the former (*viz. judges*) were the senators in the several courts, who decided causes; and the other (*officers*) were no more than ministers attending the court, to keep the people in order, with a staff and a whip, and to execute the decrees and orders of the judges; whom they appointed not only in the court, but in the streets, looking after weights and measures in the market, and correcting offenders. Maimonides also makes them the same with our *apparitors*, or those who, in the Roman law, are called *officiales*, as Constantine L'Empereur observes, p. 362. upon Cornelius Bertram (who mistook them for a sort of judges), and in the digests *executores:* and in the New Testament πράκτορας, *exactors*, Luke xii. 58. Josephus makes them to have been *public criers;* and so we find them employed, xx. 8. Josh. i. 11. But then some of them, at least, seem to have been an honourable sort, like our *heralds*, (Josh. xxiii. 2.) and all of them were men of authority, though but young men (as Maimonides describes them), who had not attained the years and knowledge of the doctors of the law, and therefore unfit to be judges. But the Jews place them next under their wise men, or doctors, and above their scribes and clerks, as Mr. Thorndike observes, in his Review of the Rites of the Church, p. 94. But, that they were certainly only *under-officers*, and not *judges*, there is another argument; which is, that Solomon upon this account commends the ants, that they carefully do their business, though they have no *schoter* set over them, (Prov. vi. 7.) on ῥαβδοῦχος, or ἐργοδιώκτης, to force or affright them into it.

*In all thy gates.*] That is, in every city, as Mr. Selden observes out of the Jewish writers, lib. vii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 5. sect. 1. where he shews they interpret it, *in all the cities of Israel, both within the land and without, where Israel had any jurisdiction.* Which is so true, that they had consistories wheresoever they were dispersed, for the determining all differences arising out of the law, though not as to the power of life and death, which was seldom granted them by their sovereigns. Thus we learn from Philo, that there was such a consistory at Alexandria; and the little chronicle, called Seder Olam Zuta, tells us of the like in Babylonia. And after the destruction of the temple, it is manifest, not only by the Jewish writings, but by Epiphanius and others, that there continued a consistory at Tiberias for many ages, &c. (See Mr. Thorndike's Rites of the Church, p. 56, 57. and his Review of it, p. 56.)

But though this be granted, yet these words (*in all thy gates*) may suggest also the part of the city where they kept their court, which was in the gate: for there, as I observed, Gen. xxxiv. 24. all public business was transacted in the time of Abraham and Jacob, and continued so afterward. Insomuch, that the highest court in Moses's time met at the door of the tabernacle, (Numb. xi. 24.) the *gate* among the Hebrews being the same with *forum*, as I observed, among the Romans. As we see by 1 Kings vii. 1. where Elisha foretells at what low rates provision should be sold on the morrow *in the gate of Samaria.* Where it is evident there was a place so spacious, that Ahab assembled four hundred prophets there before him and king Jehoshaphat, who had, no doubt, both of them numerous attendants, (2 Kings xxii. 10.) And before this time, David, it is said, upon the news of Absalom's death, went up to *the chamber over the gate*, and wept; which we may well think was the council-chamber, (2 Sam. xviii. 33.) And when Joab advised him to come down, and shew himself publicly, it is said, *he rose and sat in the gate, and all the people came before him*, (xix. 6.) And therefore in these cities, which were so large, there was some place, I make no question, where there were benches for the judges.

*Which the Lord thy God giveth thee throughout thy tribes.*] In the cities of every tribe there was to be such a court erected, that people might have justice easily and speedily done them. And the Talmudists unanimously agree that the number of judges was proportionable to the greatness of the city wherein they were placed, and of the causes which they judged. Where there were less than a hundred and twenty families in any town or city, there was

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seated the lowest court of all, consisting of three judges, which tried only actions of debt, or damages done by man or beast, or defamation, &c. But in cities where there were above a hundred and twenty families, there was placed a higher court, consisting of three-and-twenty judges, who tried capital causes. Josephus, indeed, differs from the Talmudists about the number, for he saith they were but seven. Both of them, it is likely, may say true, with respect to different times and places; for it cannot but be presumed that both he and they understood the state of their country in such public matters. But at the place where God chose to settle his sanctuary, unto which all the country resorted at certain times, there was the supreme court of all, consisting, as the Talmudists say, of seventy persons, besides their president, who judged all manner of causes; and none but they could judge a false prophet, or a city fallen to idolatry. All appeals were made to them; but from them there was none, their sentence being final. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 4.)

Such a court, it is certain, there was in future ages, whose number was according to that of the seventy elders chosen by God himself to assist Moses in the government, and endued with the spirit of judgment to qualify them for that office, (Numb. xi. 25.) In Moses's time they sat at the door of the tabernacle, as I observed before; and afterward at Shiloh, or wheresoever the sanctuary was. Though it may be doubted, whether, after Moses's death, and the death of the elders, there was a court consisting of so many judges. Nay, it is highly probable that this consistory itself was not constantly settled there, according to law, till the time of Jehoshaphat; at least, not the inferior consistories beforementioned, which were to be settled in every city. For if they were, what reason can be given why the judges (Judg. v. 10. x. 4. xii. 14.) and Samuel should ride circuit up and down the country to minister justice according to the law, when the people might have had it every day in their several cities? And for this reason, it is likely, Jehoshaphat himself, desiring to put this law in force, first sent some great men, *who went about through all the cities of Judah*, (2 Chron. xvii. 8, 9.) and then settled judges according to this law *throughout all the fenced cities of Judah, city by city*, as well as in Jerusalem, (2 Chron. xix. 5. 8.) See Mr. Thorndike, in his Rites of the Church in a Christian State, chap. 4. p. 226. where he observes that Josephus, in express terms, rendering a reason of the great lewdness, upon which the war against Benjamin followed, attributes it to this, that these courts of judgment were not established according to this law, (lib. v. Antiq. cap. 2.) But though this, I think, be very evident, yet it is scarce credible that David, after he was set upon the throne of God in peace, did not take care to settle these courts, as he did to regulate a great many other things. And, indeed, we find a plain intimation of it in 1 Chron. xxvi. 29. but succeeding kings, it is probable, were negligent in keeping up this constitution, till the time of Jehoshaphat, who exercised his authority to enforce the exact practice of this law.

*And they shall judge the people with just judgment.*] According to the rules of this law. The judges, saith R. Solomon, were to judge the people; and the officers, to constrain them to do as the judges commanded.

Ver. 19. *Thou shalt not wrest judgment.*] See Exod. xxiii. 6.

*Thou shalt not respect persons.*] See Levit. xix. 15. and Deut. i. 17.

*Neither take a gift; for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous.*] The very same is said, Exod. xxiii. 8.

Ver. 20. *That which is altogether just shalt thou follow.*] The words in the Hebrew are far more emphatical (as they are in the margin), *Justice, justice shalt thou follow.* Mind nothing but the justice of the cause, and do it to all persons equally.

*That thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*] Be happy, and continue long in the land of Canaan: for nothing contributes more to the establishment of a government, than the exact and impartial administration of justice.

Ver. 21. *Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make thee.*] It is evident from this, that his great aim is to keep them from idolatry; which he still pursues, as he hath done from the beginning of his exhortation in this book. And their history teaches us, that it was very needful to inculcate this so often; for, notwithstanding all that Moses could say, they fell immediately after Joshua's death into the idolatrous customs of Canaan, and could never be wholly purged from their idolatry till the captivity of Babylon. And these words may be translated, *Thou shalt not plant thee a grove, nor make any wood* (*i. e.* a wooden image) *near to the altar of the Lord thy God.* So the LXX. For the very word we translate *grove*, sometimes imports the idol in the grove, as well as the grove itself. (See 2 Kings xxiii. 6. and Selden, de Diis Syris, Syntagma ii. cap. 2.) Certain it is, that nothing was more ancient in the east, than altars with groves of trees about them; which made the place very shady and delightful in those hot countries. They are so often joined in Scripture, that it would be tedious to number all the places, (Exod. xxxi. 13. Deut. xii. 3. Judg. vi. 25, &c.) Cadmus is thought by some to have brought this custom into Greece out of the east. And they planted the trees so thick, and they were so large and shady, as to make the place very dark and solemn; whereby a kind of horror was struck into those who went into them. And they became hereby the fitter for the devil to play his pranks there; and for the practice of these obscene and uncouth rites whereby he was worshipped. For the gentile custom had made these places proper to the infernal gods, and anciently consecrated them as sepulchres or temples for their heroes. That the Israelites, therefore, might be preserved from sacrificing to the dead, and from filthy lusts (by both which they afterward polluted themselves), they are forbidden to place a grove near to God's altar, nay, so much as *any tree* (as the words may be translated); for the heathen thought there was a sacredness in trees themselves, which they dedicated to their gods, and honoured several ways. (See xii. 2, 3.) And therefore the Jews say, they might not plant trees in the court of the temple, or in the mountain of the house (as they call it), for the ornament or beauty of God's house. And they gave this reason for it, because it was an idolatrous rite to plant trees near their altars, that the people might there meet together. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6. p. 186. and Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. cap. 16. sect. 1, 2.) And more lately, Ezekiel Spanhemius (in his most learned observations upon



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Callimachus), hath shewn that they planted odoriferous trees in some groves, to make them more inviting. Whence the grove dedicated to Pallas is called by that poet τεθυωμένος ἄλσος, though that may signify only a grove consecrated by many sacrifices. And the vulgar groves were planted with pines, fir-trees, cypress, laurel, olives, vines, and other lovely trees, especially oaks, which grew to a great height, in which both altars and temples were erected. See in Hymn, in Dianam. ver. 38. p. 156. and in Palladem, ver. 61. p. 595. and in Cererem, ver. 38, 39. p. 689. where he mentions the black poplar, as a tree of which her grove consisted, under the shade of which the nymphs delighted to dance at noon. And thence these shady places, consecrated to their gods, were called ψυκτῆρες, because of their refreshing coolness, as he observes out of Athenæus, (ad ver. 47. p. 695.) And indeed nothing is plainer in the Holy Scripture, than that these groves related to idolatry; for all pious princes took them away, and bad ones planted them. (1 Kings xviii. 4. 2 Kings xxiii. 14. 2 Chron. xiv. 3. xv. 16.) And they are frequently joined with statues and images, both here, and vii. 5. xii. 3. 1 Kings xiv. 23, &c.

Ver. 22. *Neither shalt thou set thee up an image.*] The Hebrew word *matzebah* is commonly translated by the LXX. στήλην, *a pillar;* and so we translate it in the margin. For as it was unlawful to set up the statue of a man, or any other creature, so it was as contrary to religion to set up a pillar, or an altar, or any such-like structure, for public assemblies to be held about them, though they worshipped there the true God. So Maimonides reports the sense of their doctors; "A statue or pillar signifies any work raised up, that religious assemblies may be made there, though they be for the worship of the Divine Majesty; for this is a practice among idolaters." And so Pausanias confesses (in Achaicis), that in the most ancient times, among all the Grecians, τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι, *rude stones had Divine honours given them, instead of statues or images.* (See Selden, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6. in the beginning; and Maimonides, of the Worship of the Planets, chap. 6. sect. 8—10. and Dionys. Vossius's annotations there.)

*Which the Lord thy God hateth.*] Hence it sufficiently appears, that this was an idolatrous practice; which is more odious to God than any thing else. And thus the Israelites we see understood it, being ready to take arms against their brethren on the other side Jordan, when they heard they had erected an altar there (taking it to be such a structure as is here forbidden); but were appeased when they understood, that it was not intended for worship, (Josh. xxii. 18.)

## CHAP. XVII.

Ver. 1. *THOU shalt not sacrifice unto the Lord thy God any bullock, or sheep, wherein is any blemish.*] Having warned them, as he had done often, against idolatrous practices, he here interposes a caution against profaneness in the worship of the true God: for it was a great disrespect to him, to offer him any thing that was not perfect, the heathens being ashamed of such sacrifices.

*Wherein is any blemish.*] Of this see Lev. xxii. 20, &c.

*Or any evil-favouredness.*] In the Hebrew, *any evil thing,* or *matter;* that is, if it had any disease, or was sick.

*For that is an abomination unto the Lord thy God.*] This is more than is said in Leviticus, where the words are, *for it shall not be acceptable for you.* For here he expresses the greatest disdain and abhorrence of such sacrifices.

Ver. 2. *If there be found among you, within any of thy gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*] In any cities or towns within their country.

*Man or woman that hath wrought wickedness in the sight of the Lord thy God.*] Now he returns to the business of idolatry; which is the *wickedness* here said to be wrought, as appears by the next words.

*In transgressing his covenant.*] For this was the principal part of the covenant, that they should have no other gods but him; (Exod. xx. 22, 23.) upon this all depended; so that the whole covenant was void, if they served other gods. Which was so foul a sin, that he would have none spared, who were guilty of it. Which is the reason, as Maimonides thinks, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 37.) why he here saith, *man or woman,* because men are naturally more tender towards the female sex, and inclinable to be favourable to them; against which he warns them in case of idolatry, and of profaning the sabbath; in which two cases only he uses these words.

He had shewn in the thirteenth chapter, what they should do with him that seduced others to idolatry, whether he were a pretended prophet, or a private man, (ver. 1. 9, 10.) And then, what should be done with a whole city that was seduced, (ver. 12, 13, &c.) And now he shews how they should proceed against any particular person who apostatized from God.

Ver. 3. *And hath gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven.*] The most ancient idolatry (of which Abarbinel makes account there were ten sorts) was the worship of the heavenly bodies, as I have observed before, iv. 19. and see Job xxxi. 26. The forenamed doctor, indeed, places first the worship of angels; about which I will not dispute; but only observe, that by condemning those who worshipped the host of heaven, though very glorious creatures, Moses suggests plainly enough how vile they were who worshipped images of wood and stone.

*Which I have not commanded.*] This is a way of speaking in this language, importing the quite contrary, *which God hath forbidden,* and that most strictly. (See Prov. xvii. 21. xxiv. 23. and many other places.)

Ver. 4. *And it be told thee.*] Thou hast had information of such wickedness.

*And thou hast heard it, and inquired diligently.*] Upon information, they were to make diligent search, whether the report were true or not.

*And, behold, it be true, and the thing certain.*] They were not to proceed upon rumours, nor yet to slight them; but endeavour to be satisfied, whether or not, there was ground for them; and if upon examination they found there was no doubt of the truth of the thing, to do as is here directed.

*That such abomination is wrought in Israel.*] So idolatry is frequently called. (See xiii. 14.)

Ver. 5. *Then thou shalt bring forth that man or that woman, which have committed that wicked thing, unto thy gates.*] Set them before the court of judgment in the city to which they belonged, (see xvi. 18.) For particular persons were tried and sentenced in the lower courts, but a

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tribe or a city, accused of idolatry, only by the highest court of all; as Maimonides and the rest of the Jewish doctors inform us. (See Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 4. n. 3. and cap. 5. n. 1.)

*And shalt stone them with stones that they die.*] This was the punishment of a particular person, as a city fallen to idolatry was to be killed with the sword; and a false prophet, who seduced others to idolatry, to be strangled. (See xiii. 5.)

Ver. 6. *At the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death be put to death.*] No man could be convicted but by two witnesses, at least, and those of a competent age, of good fame, and not convicted themselves of having borne false witness, &c. Many other qualifications, of lesser moment, the Jews required in a witness; which Mr. Selden reports, and the reason of them, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 11.

*But at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death.*] Because, though the witness was never so credible, it was possible he might be mistaken. But it was not likely that two or three honest men, agreeing in the same testimony, should all be deceived. Yet in pecuniary matters, the Hebrew doctors say, the testimony of one credible witness was sufficient to put a man to his oath for his purgation. And they set a mark of infamy upon him, who, in such matters as are here spoken of, had such a single witness against him. (See Maccoth, cap. 1. sect. 8. and J. Coch's annotations there.)

Ver. 7. *The hands of the witnesses shall be first upon him, to put him to death.*] This was great reason, that they might thereby still confirm the truth and certainty of their testimony, by being the first executioners of the sentence; which no men would easily venture to be, who were not sure they had testified the truth.

*And afterward the hands of all the people.*] From hence some infer, that he was to be put to death at a public feast.

*So shalt thou put away the evil from among you.*] See xiii. 5.

Ver. 8. *If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment.*] Now he returns to speak of the courts of judgment, which he had ordered to be erected in all their cities, when they came into the land of Canaan, (xvi. 18.) who might find some causes to be so difficult that they could not determine them.

*Between blood and blood.*] The Jews, I think, interpret this absurdly concerning menstruous women, and the tokens of virginity, (see Mr. Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 2.) when there is a plain and obvious meaning of these words, That there might be a doubt whether a man had committed wilful murder, or only casual, and, consequently, whether he should have the benefit of the city of refuge, or be taken from it.

*Between plea and plea.*] As the former words belong to criminal causes, so these to civil; such as suits about debts, or purchases of lands or houses, &c.

*Between stroke and stroke.*] It doth not seem reasonable to me, that this should be interpreted of the leprosy (which is often called a *plague*, or *stroke*), though the Jews so understand it, for that was to be judged solely by the priests; whereas he speaks also of other judges: therefore the meaning is, concerning any wound or hurt that was done to a man in his body. About which, if the judges could not agree, but were divided in their opinions, either about the fact itself, or about the punishment to be inflicted, an appeal was to be made to a higher court.

*Being matters of controversy.*] Or contention and strife; that is, disputes arising about them, which could not be determined by the judges in those courts below.

*Within thy gates.*] Where God commanded judges and officers to be settled, (xvi. 18.) And therefore here he speaks of the inferior courts of judgment, that were in the lesser cities of their several tribes.

*Then thou shalt arise, and get thee up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose.*] Where the supreme court was settled in the chief city of the kingdom. While they continued in the wilderness, the captains of thousands, and hundreds, and fifties, and tens (whom Moses constituted by the advice of Jethro), judged the causes of the people under Moses himself, to whom God joined seventy persons for his assistance; all hard causes being brought before him. But this authority of the captains lasted no longer than during their pilgrimage in the wilderness; for when they came to Canaan, the law, as I now observed, required judges and officers to be ordained in every city; who, if there fell any difference about the law, are here ordered to repair to the place where the sanctuary was, for there the highest court sat, as the successors of Moses, and his consistory of seventy elders, (mentioned Numb. xi. 16. 24, &c.) who judged all difficult causes while he lived.

Ver. 9. *And thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, and unto the judge.*] Who must be supposed to be resident in this place, where the sanctuary was. And these words, *the priests the Levites*, the Jews understand as if he had said, *the priests of the tribe of Levi*, or *the sons of Levi*; for so he speaks in xxi. 5. And Mr. Selden produces a great many other instances of the like phrase, (lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 8. n. 2, 3.) and shews they are so described (as the Jews think) to exclude all others that had been priests, before God took the sons of Aaron peculiarly to serve him in this office. But the Levites, as well as priests, they unanimously agree, were capable to be members of this great Sanhedrin; which, they all likewise say, did not consist only of priests and Levites, but of any other persons of other tribes, who were fit to be promoted to this dignity. Nay, they say, if there was not one priest or Levite in the court, it was a lawful judicature; for the high-priest himself, no more than any man else, had a place here, merely for his birth, unless his learning in the law was answerable: so Maimonides and others. And those other members who were not priests, nor Levites, they think are comprehended under the word *judge*, which, though it be in the singular number, may be thought to signify more than one, as appears from xix. 17. where it is said expressly, they shall bring the controversy there mentioned, *before the priests and the judges*. And farther, that *judge*, after the manner of this language, may signify *judges*, Constantine L'Empereur gathers from ver. 12. where *priest* in the singular number is used for those who are here called *priests* in the plural. (Annot. in Corn. Bertram, p. 389.)

But howsoever this be, it seems to me, that though the priests and Levites were not the only persons of whom this high court consisted (the members of which might be

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chosen out of any tribe where they could find men qualified), yet they are here first mentioned, because they were likely to be the most capable persons to exercise this authority, especially in the first constitution of this commonwealth, when they were newly entered into Canaan. For all other persons were then busily employed in looking after the inheritance that was fallen to them, and settling the affairs of their several families; whereby they were rendered less able to attend unto this weighty office. But the tribe of Levi having no inheritance among them (as is often repeated in these books), and no care about husbandry, and such-like affairs, had a full leisure both to study the laws of God and to judge according to them; especially being appointed by God to *teach Jacob his judgments and Israel his law*, xxxiii. 10. Besides, this court being settled at the place of God's worship, where a great many priests and Levites always necessarily attended, they were most ready, without any inconvenience to themselves, to execute this office of judges, having their maintenance from the public, which no other persons had. But otherwise, as I said, they had no more right than other men to be members of this court, which we cannot certainly say consisted of seventy judges, together with their *nasi, i. e.* their *prince*, or *president;* nor that they always sat at the place here appointed: for there were sometimes great troubles in the land, and they were under the power of their enemies, which extremely disturbed their government, and made it necessary for God to raise them up extraordinary judges, because the power of this court was broken in pieces. So Mr. Selden himself acknowledges, that there were great intermissions of their sitting in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, and of Herod the Great, (lib. ii. de Synedriis, cap. 14. n. 3.) And therefore, why not in the times when they were oppressed by the Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, and other cruel neighbours, in the days of the judges? and thus Grotius, Hermannus Conringius (to name no more), here understand the word *judge*, who is joined with the priest and Levites.

*And unto the judge.*] The forenamed authors thus translate this verse, *Thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, or unto the judge that shall be in those days.* Where by *judge* they understand such as Othniel, Ehud, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Samuel, and others, whom God raised up when they were oppressed by their enemies, and in great confusions, to govern his people; which they did with the highest authority, being equal to kings, save only that they kept not royal state or equipage, but are plainly called by that name, Judg. xvii. 6. xix. 1. xxi. 25. Now, though the priests and Levites (*i. e.* that court, of which they made a considerable part) were the ordinary supreme judges of controversies, yet the judge, when God raised one up, was endued with an extraordinary power above theirs; to whom the people therefore resorted for his decision. For just as all ordinary magistrates among the Romans gave place to a dictator, when they had one, so all the Hebrew magistrates did to such a judge, when God appointed him, who determined all manner of controversies, as, at other times, the other judges, whether priests or others, were wont to do. (See Herman. Conringius de Republ. Ebræorum, sect. 39.)

I know but one objection against this, which is, that those extraordinary judges were not fixed, as far as we can find, in the place where the sanctuary was; unless we may judge of all the rest by Eli and Samuel, who seem to have been settled there. But we must consider that they were not confined by their commission, which was not grounded on this law, to any one certain place, but left at liberty to live where they thought most convenient for the discharge of their trust, in the reformation of the people. And the truth of what I said concerning their supreme power, plainly appears in Samuel, who went up and down the country executing judgment, when Shiloh was destroyed, and had no court, like that which the Jews speak of, to assist him. But when he needed assistance, he appointed his sons to be judges, (1 Sam. viii. 1.) of whom, when the elders complained, (ver. 4.) because they did not discharge their duty well, it was to himself, and not to any other persons; and they desire not a Sanhedrin, but a king to judge them, (ver. 5.) Which petition we do not find that he communicated to the Sanhedrin, but only unto God; nor is any mention made of them in the choice of a king, or, after he was chosen, in the history of their kings, till Jehoshaphat's time, no more than there is in the books of Joshua and Judges; where we read, that when there was no king (that is, judge) in Israel, every man did what was right in his own eyes; which is a sign that there wanted such a court to keep them in order. After the time of Jehoshaphat, who settled judges in every city, (as I observed, xvi. 18.) they continued, it is plain, till the captivity; but what number there was of them we do not know. After the captivity, Ezra and Nehemiah seem to have done all themselves, (see Neh. ix. and x.) Which makes it very probable, that though there were judges appointed according to the direction of this law, yet the exercise of their power was often interrupted by the great changes which were in that nation; and that there was no such Sanhedrin as the Talmudists describe till the time of the Maccabees. For the very name of Sanhedrin plainly shews its original to have been when the Greek tongue was common among the Jews; and that was, when the kings of Syria and Egypt (who were of the Macedonian race) had the chief power in Palestine. (See Conringius, in the forenamed book, sect. 37.)

*And inquire.*] They were to lay the cause before this high court, and desire their opinion in it.

*And they shall shew the sentence of judgment.*] They were bound to determine the controversy; and whatsoever sentence they gave, it was to stand good till it was reversed by other judges of the same authority; for the Jews (who understand all this of the great Sanhedrin, and scan every syllable with great nicety) will have the words just before [*that shall be in those days*] to signify that every sentence must hold in the time when it is given: so that if this court determined a matter, which in after-times, by other judges of the same court, should be judged otherways, that second sentence was to stand, being the opinion of those days. For this sentence was, in their judgment, the meaning of the law, by which they were all to be governed; and, if there was no tradition in the case, they judged themselves as well as they could.

Ver. 10. *And thou shalt do according to the sentence which they of that place.*] That is, the high court which sits there, or the judge who is in those days.

*Which the Lord shall choose.*] The Jews, who understand this only of the Sanhedrin, say, it was not lawful for them

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to judge causes, at least not those which were capital, in any other place. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 15. n. 6, 7. 10.)

*Shall shew thee.*] Shall pronounce.

*And thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee.*] Some fancy that he speaks to the inferior judges, who brought the cause thither to have the opinion of this highest court, who were then to pronounce sentence according to it; but whoever brought the controversy before this court (when the inferior could not determine it), they gave the sentence, in which he requires the contending parties to acquiesce, and to do according to their determination; which did not concern questions of faith, as if men were to believe whatsoever they should teach them, but such controversies as are mentioned ver. 8. about civil or criminal matters, which they were finally to determine; so that men should not farther controvert the matter, but rest in their decisions. For in all governments there must be an end of suits, somewhere or other; and God required all his people to submit to the sentence of this court: for so the words run in the Hebrew, *And thou shalt do according to the sentence which they shall shew thee, from the place which the Lord thy God shall choose;* that is, from the supreme court of judicature, which resided where God himself did. For if men had been permitted to disagree to their sentence, the very end and use of this court had been taken away; as Maimonides speaks, in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41.

Ver. 11. *According to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee.*] In the Hebrew, According to the *mouth*, or *the word of the law*, which they shall teach thee; that is, according to the interpretation which they gave of the law.

*And according to the judgment which they shall tell thee.*] That is, according to the order or decree which they made thereupon.

*Shalt thou do.*] Pay, suppose, the money, which they judged to be due to another man: for he doth not speak of their doing whatsoever they bade them (as if they could control the commands of God), but of obeying the sentence of this court, about those matters which were in question between one man and another, (ver. 8.) who were not to be judges in their own case, but rest in the judgment of those whom God had made the supreme interpreters of his law.

*Thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall shew thee,* &c.] They were not to make the least alteration in their sentence: for though they might think it was wrong, and the senate perhaps did really err, and be better informed afterward, (which the law supposes, and in that case orders an expiatory sacrifice, Lev. iv. 13.) yet it was not lawful for any man to act contrary to their present decree, nor to teach the contrary, whatsoever his private opinion might be.

Ver. 12. *And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken.*] This they understand, not barely of a private man, that would not stand to their sentence, but of an elder, or inferior judge, who presumed to contradict it; as Mr. Selden shews, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 3.

*Unto the priest.*] It is commonly thought, as I observed, ver. 8. that the singular number is here put for the plural; and that the meaning is, if any man would not hearken to the highest court of judgment, which consisted commonly of a great many priests, he should die for his contempt: but they have a great deal of reason on their side, who insist upon the letter of this word *priest*, and of that which follows, or *the judge* (understanding both of single persons), and take the *high-priest* only to be here meant; who seems to be described in the next words, *that stands to minister there before the Lord thy God.* For when God did not raise up *a judge* to govern his people, the high-priest was the supreme governor under God until the days of David; and so he was after the captivity. Hence it is, as Grotius observes, (lib. de Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra, cap. 9. sect. 4.) that *cohen* is a name common to priests and princes: for, among a great many nations anciently, he shews, the priests had the highest power; particularly among the Cappadocians (Strabo, who was of that country, saith), the sacerdotal dignity was next to the regal; but howsoever this word be interpreted, the crime here mentioned was contumacy, in not submitting to the sentence of the highest authority, whether it were vested in one person or more, whereby the government was in danger to be broken; and therefore God orders such a person to be put to death.

*Or the judge.*] See before, ver. 9.

*Even that man shall die.*] The Jews, who interpret this, as I said, of a judge in inferior courts, who presumed to contradict the judgment of the supreme court, have tempered the severity of this law by several explications and exceptions; which have regard, either to the manner of passing this decree by the highest court, which an inferior disobeyed (and that was when a cause came before them upon an appeal, for it was not so criminal to disobey every sentence of the supreme court, but only such as these), or to the place where it was made, which was to be no where else but at God's dwelling-place, or to the things about which the decree was made; which some will have to be only weighty matters: and the act of contumacy also was considered; for he was not put to death, they say, unless in open court he declared a contrary sentence. The death he suffered was strangling; and he could suffer in no other place but where this high court sat. (See Selden, of all these, in the place beforementioned, n. 2—6.) And it may be farther observed, that the prophets themselves were subject to the power and jurisdiction of this high court, by whom they might be sentenced to capital punishment, if they taught contrary to the law of God. But our Mr. Thorndike makes a doubt, whether the constitution which the Jewish writers mention about a rebellious elder (as they call him who taught any thing contrary to the determination of this supreme court), was ever in force or not? For it was made, because of the differences between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, who lived not long before our Saviour's time; when, it appears by the gospel, that nation had lost the power of life and death. (See Rites of the Church, chap. 5. p. 256.)

*And thou shalt put away the evil from Israel.*] This may refer either to the evil person, or to the great scandal and dangerous example he gave, by resisting the highest authority, and thereby breaking the bond of unity and peace.

Ver. 13. *And all the people shall hear and fear, and do no more presumptuously.*] This punishment was intended to strike a terror into all the people, that they should not

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adventure to oppose the supreme authority. And for this end the offender was to be kept in custody, as R. Aquiba understood this, till the next great feast (either of the Passover, or Pentecost, or tabernacles), and then executed, when the whole nation, *i. e.* all the males were present. This Mr. Selden observes (in the forenamed place, n. 7.) is the most received opinion; though R. Jehuda saith, they did not make the sentence sharper by a long delay, but executed it presently: and for the farther publication of it, they sent letters to all the tribes and cities of Israel, to give notice, that such a man was executed at such a time for this crime. (See Selden there, n. 8.)

Ver. 14. *And when thou comest into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein.*] When they had conquered the land of Canaan, and were settled in it.

*And shalt say, I will set a king over me.*] The Jews commonly, from this and the next verse, fancy that God commanded them to make a king when they came to the land of Canaan, and had a quiet possession of it; following herein the Gemara of the Sanhedrin, cap. 2. Insomuch, that they have presumed to make this an affirmative precept, "a king of the people should be chosen;" and quote this place for it. To which some learned men among Christians have seemed to incline; particularly Petrus Cunæus, lib. ii. de Republ. Hebr. cap. 14. and Guil. Schickardus, in his Jus Regium, cap. 1. Theor. 1. But Abarbinel himself contradicts this; and so doth Josephus, who observes, that God intended they should keep their present government; but if they would have a king, he should be one of their brethren. For thus he interprets this place, (lib. i. Antiq. cap. 8.) that *they should not affect any other government, but love the present, having the law for their master, and living according to it;* ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἡγεμὼν εἶναι, *for it is sufficient that God is your ruler.* And then he adds, But if you desire to have a king, ἔστω μὲν οὗτος ὁμόφυλος, *let him be one of your own nation,* as it here follows in the next verse.

*Like as all the nations that are about me.*] Such as the Edomites, who had been governed by kings before the days of Moses. (See Gen. xxxvi. 31.)

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee.*] Install, and receive him into the throne.

*Whom the Lord thy God shall choose.*] They could not elect whom they pleased, but the first king, at least, was to be appointed by God himself, who was their supreme governor. So the people understood it, when they desired Samuel, who was their chief ruler under God, to make them a king, (1 Sam. viii. 5.) but durst not to presume to set one up of themselves. And to confirm them in this opinion, Samuel saith to Saul, (1 Sam. x. 1.) "The Lord hath anointed thee to be captain over his inheritance;" and saith to all the people, (ver. 24.) "See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen." And accordingly, when the lot was to be cast, to shew who was to be their king, Samuel bids all the tribes present themselves before the Lord, (ver. 19.) And when it fell upon Saul, and they could not find him, they inquired of the Lord, and the Lord answered where he was, (ver. 22.) In like manner, when Saul was rejected, the Lord himself appointed David to be anointed their king, and settled that authority in his family. And to determine which of his sons should have it, God himself appointed his immediate successor, *viz.* Solomon. For so David declares to all the princes and the great men whom he assembled before his death; "Of all my sons, the Lord hath chosen Solomon to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord God of Israel," (1 Chron. xxviii. 5.) And again, (xxix. 1.) "David said unto all the congregation, Solomon my son, whom alone God hath chosen, is yet young," &c. But though it was thus in the beginning of this kingdom, yet God intended at length to make it hereditary, as appears from ver. 20. of this chapter.

*One from among thy brethren shalt thou set over thee.*] *i. e.* Saith the tradition, mentioned by the Jews out of Tosiphta, the most select and choice person that could be found, not one of mean extraction or employment. This they fancy is meant by *from among thy brethren.*

*Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.*] This the Jews extend to all offices whatsoever, as Maimonides reports their sense. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 20. p. 647.) And by thy *brother* some of them understand one that was an Israelite, both by father and mother; though others think it sufficient, if a king was an Israelite by the mother's side. See there, cap. 22. which in his book de Succession. ad Pontificat. lib. ii. he shews was sufficient for any dignity among the Israelites, but only the priesthood. See also, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 9. n. 6. where he observes the Talmudists say, the great Sanhedrin was to see that no king but one thus qualified was set over the people; which, when there was such a court, may be allowed to be true; though all the power which they ascribe to their Sanhedrin over their kings, is by no means to be admitted; but is an apparent figment: for it is manifest out of the Bible, that their kings had that very power which they ascribe to the Sanhedrin; particularly, it is notorious that Solomon, by his own power, put Abiathar out of the office of high-priest, (1 Kings ii. 6. 26.) which judgment the Talmudists say belonged only to the great Sanhedrin. In like manner other kings judged prophets; which they appropriate to the same court.

Ver. 16. *But he shall not multiply horses to himself.*] There is no certain number determined; but the Jews well resolve, that he was not to keep them for mere pomp and state, but only so many as were for use and service; to draw his chariot, for instance, and for the guard of his person; but he was to take care that he did not burden his people by too many, under this, or any other pretence: and therefore not to keep up a body of horse for war. For among the Jews their armies consisted altogether of footmen; there being no breed of horses in that country; and their people, who were all husbandmen and shepherds, being accustomed to labour, and to run as swiftly as a horse, (2 Sam. ii. 18. xviii. 19. 22, &c.) Certain it is, that in the days of David they had no horsemen in their army; for when Absalom lost the battle and fled, it was upon a mule that he endeavoured to make his escape. And though Solomon was so prodigiously rich, that he was able to maintain forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, (1 Kings iv. 26.) yet succeeding kings could not keep up such an expense; but when they had occasion sent for succours from Egypt, which commonly consisted of horsemen. Now one of the reasons the Jews give why their king was *not to multiply*

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*horses*, is, lest he should be puffed up with pride; for a horse being a stately creature, his rider is often swollen with a high conceit of himself, as more than one of the heathen have observed. (See Bochart, in his Hierozoicon, lib. ii. cap. 9.) Nachmanides gives another good reason, lest he should confide and trust in the power of his horsemen more than in God. (See Schickard, in his Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 3. Theor. 10.) But the chief reason is given by Moses himself in the next words, Lest they should be tempted to go to Egypt, with which country it was dangerous to have familiarity.

*Nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses.*] Send his people thither to buy horses for him, it being a country that abounded with them, as Judea did with asses. For when Sheshak, king of Egypt (whom the Greek writers call Sesostris), came against Jerusalem, there were threescore thousand horsemen in his army, (2 Chron. xii. 3.) Which shews how they abounded with horses in that country in those days, though in aftertimes they did not care to breed them. They might indeed have horses out of other countries, as well as Egypt, but not so easily, nor so good: which made Solomon send thither, and Pharaoh set a great price upon them; because he knew their value, and that they could not furnish themselves so easily with them elsewhere, (1 Kings x. 28, 29.)

*Forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.*] Or the first words may be rendered, *forasmuch as the Lord saith unto you*, &c. as he did now by him, that they should not maintain traffic with the Egyptians, at least while they continued idolaters. We read, indeed, that many Jews went thither, and Urijah the prophet fled thither: (Jer. xxvi. 21.) of which the Jews give this account: first, some say this was but a temporary constitution, which was not to last always: secondly, they distinguish about the way of returning thither; conceiving that they might not go thither out of the land of Israel, but they might out of another country whither they were driven. Maimonides thinks they might go thither as merchants, but not fix their dwelling there. But the true meaning is, that they might not voluntarily go thither upon any account, at least while they remained, as I said, so corrupted in their religion and manners, as they were at this present: for there is an express law, Lev. xviii. 3. "According to the works of the Egyptians ye shall not do." (See Schickardus, in the forenamed place, p. 78.) Whence those words of the prophet Isaiah, where, when he saith the land of Israel was *full of horses*, he adds, *their land also is full of idols*, (Isa. ii. 7, 8.) For by multiplying the one, they multiplied the other. And, therefore, though David did reserve some chariots and horsemen, which he took to his conquests, for his own use, yet no great number, (2 Sam. viii. 4.) But still great men rode upon mules, (2 Sam. xviii. 9. 1 Kings i. 33. 38. 41.) as they had done in the days of the judges, (Judg. v. 10. x. 4. xii. 14.)

Ver. 17. *Neither shall he multiply wives to himself.*] This is not a prohibition to take more wives than one, but not to have an excessive number, after the manner of the eastern kings, whom Solomon seems to have imitated: I see no ground for what the Jews say, that he might have eighteen. (See Schickard, in the book abovenamed, cap. 3. Theor. 9. Selden's Uxor. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 8. Buxtorf. de Sponsal. par. i. sect. 40.) For the proof which R. Solomon and Bechin give of it is very weak; which is, that David having already six wives, (2 Sam. v. 13.) the prophet tells him, if he had not offended God, he would *moreover have given him such and such things, i. e.* say they, twice as many wives, (2 Sam. xii. 8.) Much less is there any ground for what they say, that if he took more than his number, he was to be scourged by the authority of the Sanhedrin, as he was, they pretend, for the breach of any of these precepts here mentioned. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 9. n. 5.) Which Grotius, indeed, endeavours to soften, by affirming that these lashes were no disgrace to him, because he received them voluntarily, in token of his repentance; and therefore was not scourged by the common executioner, but by such a person as he himself chose to give this correction; and he received also such a number of stripes as he himself pleased, and no more, (lib. i. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 3. sect. 20.) But this is directly against Maimonides, who saith, in downright words, that the Sanhedrin appointed this chastisement; as Selden observes in another place, (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 9. n. 5.) And there is no example in the whole book of God of any such jurisdiction which the Sanhedrin had over their kings; but all this may well be looked upon as a mere invention of the Jewish doctors, to magnify the power of their great council.

*That his heart turn not away.*] From all serious business and employment, whilst he was caressing and studying to please a multitude of women: some understand it, lest they turned his heart away from God, and the duties of piety, of which there was great danger, if he married worshippers of strange gods, as Solomon did. Otherwise, I should think it might be interpreted, of turning his thoughts from minding his people, and their good and welfare; which must needs suffer much, when they were burdened with a great company of wives, who were to be richly maintained and provided for.

*Neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.*] No more, saith the Sanhedrin, (cap. 2.) than would pay stipends to his servants, &c. Others of them scan the words more nicely; and observe, that, first, he is forbidden to multiply gold and silver *greatly*, that is, to content himself with moderate riches, and not set himself to heap up treasure, which could not be done commonly without great oppression of his subjects. And, secondly, he is forbidden to multiply them *to himself*: but for the public benefit he might lay up money in the treasury at the temple, though in his own coffers, for his private interest, he might not. See Schickard in his Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 3. Theor. 11. where he produces their answer to this question,—How should the king be able to manage a war, or do any other great thing, if he did not furnish himself with good store of gold and silver? He might, say they, fill the public exchequer, though not his own private bags: and that for two reasons; first, lest he should wax proud and haughty, when his purse swelled: and secondly, lest he should be tempted to squeeze his subjects, and exact more from them than they were able to bear; as Solomon seems to have done, whose treasurer the people stoned, (1 Kings xii. 18.)

Ver. 18. *And it shall be, when he sitteth on the throne of the kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book.*] Not only of this book of Deuteronomy, but of the whole law, and that with his own hand, as a means to fix it more in his mind: insomuch, that though a copy was left



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him by his father, he was, notwithstanding, to transcribe one himself, as the Jews say, in the Gemara Sanhedrin, (cap. 2. sect. 13.) All this is very agreeable to these words; but whether he was bound, if he had not written a copy before he was king (as every private Israelite, they say, was bound to do), to write two when he sat on the throne, may be doubted; for it cannot, without violence, be drawn from these words; and their authority is not sufficient to warrant it: they give, indeed, a plausible reason for it, that the one he was to carry about with him whithersoever he went, and to read in the other at home: but why one copy might not serve for both these purposes, I do not see.

*Out of that which is before the priests the Levites.*] He was not to write one word of it out of his memory merely, or any private man's copy, but out of the book which was in the sanctuary, where the original and uncorrupted copy was in the custody of God's ministers: there are a great many rules the Jews give about the right writing of this copy, which may be seen in Guil. Schickardi Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 2. Theor. 5.

Ver. 19. *And it shall be with him.*] Wheresoever he was, either in the camp, or at home, or in any other place, provided it was pure, and free from filth, as the Jews limit it. (See there, Theor. 6.)

*And he shall read therein all the days of his life.*] Diligently study it, not spending his time, as Maimonides glosses, in drinking and making merry, but in learning the law of God. (See there, p. 53.) From the neglect of this precept, their kings became so ignorant of the laws of God, and of their obligation to observe them, that, in the days of the good king Josiah, he was strangely started at what he heard read out of this book of the law, when it was found in the temple, where it had long lain without any knowledge of it.

*That he may learn to fear the Lord his God.*] Be preserved in the true religion.

*To keep all the words of this law, and these statutes, to do them.*] Be acquainted with his whole duty, and perform it constantly. (See Josh. i. 8.)

Ver. 20. *That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren.*] Not imagining himself to be above all laws, nor slighting his subjects as unworthy of his notice, but taking a due care to promote their happiness. "For as the Scriptures (saith Maimonides) provided the king should have great honour done him, obliging all to reverence him, so it commands him to be lowly in heart, and not to carry himself insolently: let him be gracious, and full of clemency to little and great, so shall he go out, and come in, with the love and good wishes of them all." Unto which Nachmanides adds this pious reflection: "If the Scripture deters kings from pride and haughtiness of heart; how unbecoming is it in other men, who are far inferior to them?" &c.

*And that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand or the left.*] Neither by changing the laws, on pretence of making better; nor by abrogating them, on pretence of their inconveniency: but where the Divine law was not clear, or where nothing was there defined, he might by his authority make new constitutions, as David and Solomon did, as well in sacred as in civil matters.

*To the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.*] This shews that God intended to establish a successive right in that family to which he chose to give the kingdom, if they continued in a constant observation of his laws. And, indeed, there is no way to establish and perpetuate a family in the throne, like the due observation of laws, though they be but human, not Divine laws: for, as Aristotle truly said, "He that commands the law shall govern all (*i. e.* all things be ordered according to law), δοκεῖ κελεύειν ἄρχειν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους, *seems to command that God should rule, and the laws:* but he that bids a man rule without laws (according to his own will), προστίθησι θηρίον, *sets up a beast to govern.*" And above all things, he ought to endeavour to win the love of his subjects, by humility and clemency; as the same Aristotle taught Alexander, if we may believe R. Jedaja, in his book called Mibchar Happeninim, where he reports a letter of his to that great prince, advising him to gain the affection of his people by a gentle government, which is far better than to rule tyrannically by force and violence: "For to what purpose is it to have possession of their bodies, when the true possession is to be master of their hearts? get possession of their hearts by clemency, and that will draw their bodies along with them."

## CHAP. XVIII.

Ver. 1. *THE priests the Levites, and all the tribe of Levi.*] Or, even the whole tribe of Levi. (See xvii. 9.)

*They shall have no inheritance with Israel.*] As had been said Numb. xviii. 20. and here in this book, x. 7. Which made it the more necessary Moses should remind the people of that maintenance God had appointed for them; which, unless it was duly given them, religion could not be supported; and consequently the government (of which he had been speaking) would be quite confounded.

*They shall eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire.*] Not the *burnt-offerings*, which were wholly God's; but all other offerings, of which a share was appointed for the priests the sons of Aaron, (Numb. xviii. 9—11. 18, 19.)

*And his inheritance.*] That is, the inheritance of the Lord, of whom he spoke before, who had reserved certain oblations to himself, and bestowed them upon the priests: They are mentioned Numb. xviii. 8, 9. and ver. 12—15. where he first speaks of the first-fruits, and the first-born, which were all *brought unto the Lord*, and by him given to them. In like manner, all the tithes of the land are said to be a *heave-offering unto the Lord*, ver. 24. where he saith, *I have given them to the Levites to inherit.* So these two, *the offerings of the Lord made by fire*, and *his inheritance*, comprehend all that belonged to his ministers, whether priests or Levites.

Ver. 2. *Therefore shall they have no inheritance among their brethren; the Lord is their inheritance, as he hath said unto them.*] The Lord had given them that part and portion of the offerings which were peculiarly his own; and therefore is said to be their inheritance, because they enjoyed *his inheritance*, as these holy things are called in the foregoing words. (See Numb. xviii. 20. 24. and Josh. xiii. 14. 33.)

Ver. 3. *And this shall be the priest's due from the people.*] Besides those things that God gave them, which peculiarly belonged to him.

*From them that offer a sacrifice.*] Of *peace-offerings*, which are sometimes called simply a *sacrifice*, (Lev. xvii.

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5. 8. Numb. xv. 3.) in which the people had a considerable interest.

*Whether it be ox, or sheep.*] Under *sheep* are comprehended *goats* also, as I have observed. (See Lev. iii.)

*And they shall give unto the priest the shoulder.*] Together with the breast; as we read Lev. vii. 32—34.

*And the two cheeks, and the maw.*] These were not given to the priests before, but were now added to their portion, being accounted the best part of the beasts: for, as the *cheeks* were the best part of the head, and the *shoulder* and *breast* the best of the other members of the body, so the *maw* was the principal part of the entrails, as Maimonides observes, par. iii. More Nevochim, cap. 39.

By the *maw* is meant the stomach; and in beasts that chew the cud, who have four stomachs, that which is called by the Greeks ἤνυστρον, *viz.* the lowest of them, which had this name, because the digestion which is begun in the other, is here perfected and completed: and it appears that this part of the entrails was accounted by the ancients a great dainty, as Bochartus proves out of Aristophanes, in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45. p. 505.

Ver. 4. *The first-fruits also of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thy oil.*] See Numb. xviii. 12. To which it may be useful to add this out of Maimonides (who hath distinctly represented the order wherein all oblations were made), that after the fruits of the earth were gathered, every man was bound to bring a fiftieth part of them, as a first-fruit to the priests, which was called *trumah gedolah, the great oblation,* of which Moses speaks in this place: and next of all, he separated a tenth part of the whole from the rest, which was *maasher rishon, the first tithe,* and given to the Levites, (Numb. xviii. 24.) Then, out of what remained, another tenth part was taken, called *maaser sheni, the second tithe,* which was every third year given to the poor, and in the two intermediate years, spent in feasting at the house of God, (Deut. xiv. 28.). So that, for instance, if a man had pressed out a hundred and two logs of oil, he sent two of them as first-fruits to the priest, and then ten more, as tithe to the Levites, and deducted nine parts more out of the residue for the poor; by which it appears, that one-and-twenty parts of a hundred and two, that is, a fifth part of the whole, was separated for pious and charitable uses. (See Schickard, in his Jus Regium, cap. 4. Theor. 15.)

*And the first of the fleece of thy sheep shalt thou give him.*] This is comprehended under first-fruits, but never particularly mentioned before now: and though the quantity is not mentioned, yet the Jews have adventured to determine, that less than one fleece in sixty was not accepted. For so they say of all other first-fruits, that a sixtieth part of the whole was the least that any man gave; and he was accounted a covetous man if he gave no more; they that were indifferently good, giving a fiftieth part, and liberal persons the fortieth. By this means the priests were provided with clothes, as by other offerings with food. And the wool also, as they call it, of goats (which were shorn in these countries) is comprehended under *the fleece of sheep.*

Ver. 5. *For the Lord thy God hath chosen him out of all thy tribes, to stand to minister in the name of the Lord.*] This was the office of a priest, to offer sacrifices unto God, and to bless the people in his name.

*Him and his sons for ever.*] The family of Aaron, of which he is principally speaking. Who, when they were few in number, all ministered unto God; but afterward they took their courses of attendance. And, as the Jews say, there were eight courses before Moses died; four of the family of Eleazar, and as many of Ithamar's, which in David's time were enlarged into four-and-twenty courses. (See Selden, lib. i. de Succession. in Pontificat. cap. 1.)

Ver. 6. *And if a Levite.*] By a Levite he seems here to mean a priest. (See ver. 1.) For they only could minister unto God, and the Levites ministered unto them.

*Come from any of thy gates out of all Israel.*] From any city, in any tribe of Israel.

*Where he sojourned.*] *i. e.* Leave the country where he hath been wont to live.

*And come with all the desire of his mind unto the place which the Lord shall choose.*] With a sincere affection to devote himself to the perpetual service of God at the sanctuary; so that, instead of coming in his course, he would always wait there, and never stir from that place.

Ver. 7. *Then he shall minister in the name of the Lord his God.*] Attend continually at the altar, to do all the service of the sanctuary. The LXX. translate it, *He shall minister to the name of the Lord, i. e.* to the Divine Majesty, who dwells there.

*As his brethren the Levites do.*] As all those do who live at that place.

*Which stand there before the Lord.*] To minister unto him: this was the case of Samuel.

Ver. 8. *They shall have like portion to eat.*] This shews that he is speaking of the priests; for the Levites did not eat of the holy things offered at the altar: and the meaning is, that the rest of the priests who waited there, should allow him the same portion which they themselves had in the sacrifices.

*Besides that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.*] Which was to remain proper to himself, and not be divided with other priests at Jerusalem (suppose) where he ministered. The Hebrew words are something obscure, being *beside his sales by,* or *unto the fathers,* that is, such possessions as their fathers purchased, and left to them: for though the priests had no share in the land of Canaan given them at the division of it, yet they might purchase houses, and goods, and cattle; and sometimes they purchased fields, as we read Abiathar had fields of his own at Anathoth, 1 Kings ii. 26. and the prophet Jeremiah, who was a priest also, purchased a field of his uncle's son in his own town, Jer. xxxii. 7, 8, &c.

But the Jews make a quite different construction of these three verses, which they understand in this manner, that if any Levite (*i. e.* priest, for they only ministered before God) came up out of the city where he commonly resided, out of pure devotion to attend at the three solemn feasts, which were held at the place where the sanctuary was (where they were bound to wait, only when their course came, but at these feasts might all come and minister in the sanctuary), his brethren, whose week it was then to attend, should both admit him to minister before God with them, and also give him an equal portion with themselves in the extraordinary sacrifices which were then offered at those festivals, except only those which were peculiarly assigned to them whose week of waiting at the



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altar it then was; who, by the ordinance of God, delivered to Moses and Aaron (who, they suppose, are here called *the fathers*), were to have the right shoulder of the peace-offerings. See Lev. vii. 33. where it is said, "He among the sons of Aaron that offereth the peace-offerings and the fat, shall have the right shoulder for his part;" in which none other was to participate. But why this should be called *the sales*, I do not understand, unless we interpret it as Forsterus doth, *venditiones, i. e.* "res venditas à patribus," *things sold by the fathers*, that is, appropriated by them (to the particular priest that offered the sacrifice), as things sold are to those that buy them.

Ver. 9. *When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*] The land of Canaan, which the Lord was about to bestow upon them, according to his promise.

*Thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations.*] Now he returns to warn them again not to fall into the idolatry and the superstitions of the country whither they were going. (See Lev. xviii. 3.)

Ver. 10. *There shall not be found among you.*] So as to be tolerated.

*Any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire.*] This was the most abominable idolatry practised in that country whither they were going, who consecrated their children in this manner to Moloch, or the sun, of which I have said sufficient, Lev. xviii. 21. Therefore I shall only add here, that this wicked custom seems to have flowed from this country of the Phœnicians and Tyrians unto the Carthaginians; who were guilty of the impiety of sacrificing their children, as they did also here unto Moloch, (Lev. xx. 2, 3.) which spread itself, in a manner, over all the world, as many have shewn; particularly Joh. Geusius, in his treatise de Victimis Humanis, par. i. cap. 11. and it was found among the Americans, when that new world was discovered. (See also par. ii. cap. 5.)

*Or that useth divination.*] Of which there were many sorts; and one was, by raking into the bowels of their sacrifices, particularly of human sacrifices; by the observation of which they pretended to foretell things, as many authors testify. Yea, they offered little children on purpose, that thereby they might make their auguries, as the same Geusius hath observed in that book, (cap. 21.) Unto which, perhaps, there is a peculiar respect in this place; for I find most of the things here mentioned, joined in other places with *making their children pass through the fire*, particularly 2 Kings xxi. 6. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6. And the prophet Ezekiel seems to intimate, that hereby they divined, when he charges the Israelites with this crime, xx. 26. 31. For he adds, *Shall I be inquired by you, O house of Israel*, who have inquired, that is, by making your children pass through the fire?

But it must be confessed, that the Hebrew words *kosem kosemim* (which we translate *useth divination*), are by many thought to have a peculiar respect unto such as used to divine by casting or drawing of lots. And the word, as our learned Dr. Castell observes, is so used in the Arabian language for *distribution of lots*. Which sort of divination was much in use among the Greeks and Romans; and had been so, it is very likely, in more ancient times among the eastern nations: for nothing is more known than the Sortes Prænestinæ and Pativinæ among the Romans; and the Dodonææ, and Dindymenæ, and many others, among the Greeks, particularly that at Bura in Achaia, where there was a cave in which was the image of Hercules; before which they, who resorted thither to inquire directions in any case, or the success of any affair, used to fall down, and say their prayers, and after that to throw four dice upon the table, and by the letters or marks upon which they fell, the divination was made; as Pausanias describes it in his Achaica. In other places they used them in a different manner, and the ancient Arabians divined by arrows, as our famous Dr. Pocock has shewn in his notes upon Gregor. Abulfaragus's book, concerning the Original and Manners of the Arabians, p. 327, 328, &c. where he describes the manner of it, and shews that it was performed before some idol, and therefore was strictly forbidden, by Mahomet in his Alcoran, as a diabolical invention. In which he seems to have imitated Moses, who may be thought here to forbid such kind of divination; which was in use among the eastern people in the days of the prophet Ezekiel, xxi. 21. where we find the same word *kosem*, which that learned author thinks is illustrated by that Arabian custom.

It is to be noted, also, that they used to divine by a dead man's skull, as our Dr. Windet hath observed out of the Sanhedrin, (cap. 7.) and Maimonides. Which custom the Greeks likewise followed; for Palladius relates how Macarius inquired *πρὸς τὸν ξηρὸν κράνιον, at a dry skull*, &c. (See Windet, in his book de Vitæ Functorum Statu, sect. 1.)

Several sorts of such kind of persons there were among the Edomites, Moabites, and other nations near Judea, who, in the days of Jeremiah, deceived the people with their divinations, prophecies, dreams, enchantments, and sorceries, as we learn from Jer. xxvii. 3. 9.

*Or an observer of times, or an enchanter.*] Of these I have said enough upon Lev. xx. 26.

*Or a witch.*] This word signifies worse than any of the former, *viz.* one that doeth mischief unto men or beasts by evil arts: concerning which see upon Exod. xxii. 18. Unto which I shall here add, that the Jewish nation have been extremely addicted to witchcraft, and some of their famous rabbins have been suspected of it. (See J. Wagenseil upon Sota, p. 529.)

Ver. 11. *Or a charmer.*] There are various conjectures about the meaning of the Hebrew words *chober chaber;* which importing something of *society*, or *conjunction*, some translate *fortune-teller*, who by the conjunction of the planets pretends to predict future things; others, one that hath society with evil spirits, which is mentioned afterward in another word. Job Ludolphus seems to me to have given the plainest account of the words, which he translates *congregans congregationem, gathering together a company*. For it was an ancient way of enchantment, to bring various kinds of beasts into one place, which the rabbins distinguish into the *great congregation*, and the *little congregation:* the great was, when they assembled together a great company of the larger sort of beasts; and the less, when they gathered together as great a company of the smaller, such as serpents, scorpions, and the like: but we cannot be certain of this; though Telezius tells us, it is in use at this day in the eastern countries. For so he describes the election of the king of Gingir, that he stood compassed about with lions, tigers, leopards, and dragons, which, by

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magical arts, were gathered together as his guard and courtiers. (See Ludolphi Comment. in Hist. Ethiop. cap. 16. n. 116.)

But the common interpretation which the Jews give of *chober chaber* is, that he is one who uses strange words, which have no signification; but he pretends are powerful to charm a serpent (for instance), that it shall not sting, or to preserve from any other harm. So Maimonides, in Avoda Zara, cap. 11. And to this sort of superstition the world was so addicted, that this precept of Moses could not bring the Jews quite off from it; but, when they threw away other charms, they used the words of Scripture instead of them; pretending, for instance, to cure wounds by reading that verse in the law, Exod. xv. 26. "I will put none of these diseases upon thee," &c. So we find they themselves acknowledge in Sanhedrin, cap. 2. sect. 1. And Maimonides saith, in the forenamed treatise, this is forbidden by Moses in this place, as much as any other kind of charm; "for the words of the law are turned hereby to another use than God intended in them; which was not for healing the body, but curing the soul." And I see no reason why it should not be thought as great a crime to use the *Schem Hamphorash* (as they call the name Jehovah) to such purposes; and yet the Jews are so stupid as to imagine Moses wrought all his miracles by the virtue of it. Maimonides, indeed, was so sober as to reject this common conceit, condemning those who think there was a power in the very letters and pronunciation of the word, (lib. i. More Nevochim, cap. 62.)

*Or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard.*] Of these two see what I have noted, Lev. xix. 31. and Lev. xx. 6.

*A necromancer.*] In the Hebrew, *one that seeks to, or inquires of, the dead.* It is not easy to tell wherein this differs from one that had a *familiar spirit*, as we translate it. For the woman whom Saul consulted, who had a spirit, called *Oboth*, inquired also after this manner; their spirit, it seems, teaching such persons to call for the dead to appear to them: but some, perhaps, had not such a spirit, who notwithstanding consulted the dead, by going to their graves in the night, and there lying down, and muttering certain words with a low voice, that they might have communion with them by dreams, or by their appearing to them: unto which the prophet Isaiah is thought to allude, viii. 19. xxix. 4. Maimonides, in Avoda Zara, cap. 11. sect. 15. thus describes a *necromancer;* He is one, who, having afflicted himself with fasting, goes to the burying-place, and there lies down, and falls asleep; and then the dead appear to him, and tell him what he desires. Such are they also, who put on a certain kind of garment, speak some uncouth words, and make a fume, and then lie down alone, that the dead, whom they desire, may come to them, and discourse with them in their sleep. To the same purpose Aben Ezra. To this the gentiles were very prone; and it was thought so high an attainment to come to this knowledge, that Julian the apostate, who was ambitious to be acquainted with all the heathen mysteries, secretly practised this Νεκυομαντεία, in the most retired part of his palace, cutting up the bodies of virgins and boys, to bring up the dead to him; which was far more impious than what the Talmudists say (in the title Beracoth), that such kind of people were wont to burn the secundine of a black cat, when she had her first kittens, and, beating it very small, put some of the powder upon their eye, whereupon demons appeared to them. (See Greg. Nazianz. in his invectives against Julian, p. 91. and St. Chrysostom, in his oration upon St. Babylas.) I shall only add, that this was not only privately practised among the gentiles, but there were also public places to which men resorted to consult the dead, particularly at Thesprotis, near to the river Acheron, where Herodotus, lib. v. mentions a Νεκυομαντήϊον; and Plutarch (to name no more) mentions another at Heraclea, which Pausanias, in his distress, went to consult, as he relates in the life of Cimon.

Ver. 12. *For all that do these things are an abomination to the Lord.*] Because they were invented by idolatrous people, if not by the suggestions of evil spirits.

*And because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee.*] Expelled the Amorites, and other wicked inhabitants of the country, where they practised these abominations; which, no doubt, had some relation to idolatry, and therefore were forbidden to the Israelites.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God.*] This shews there was something of idolatrous worship in all the forenamed practices; which, if they followed, it was, in some degree, to forsake the Lord, on whom they were wholly to depend, and seek to him alone in the ways which he had prescribed in his laws. For this was to be *perfect with the Lord;* to have nothing to do with any other God, nor with the rites and ceremonies that were used in their worship: and therefore the LXX. translate this word sometimes by ἁπλόω, (Job xxii. 3.) as well as by τελειόω; for then they were *perfect* with God, when they kept his worship simple and pure, without the mixture of any foreign religion; which the whole context shews to be the sense, both in the words foregoing and following.

Ver. 14. *For those nations, which thou shalt possess, hearkened unto observers of times, and to diviners.*] The ancient heathen, as Strabo tells us, lib. vi. had these diviners in such esteem, ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας οὐ ἀξιοῦσθαι, *that they thought them worthy of the highest authority.* But God would not have his people so much as to consult such persons: for it appears by these words, that not only they who were diviners (for instance), but they who hearkened to them, were odious to God. For that even the art of divination depended upon some idolatrous opinions and practices, appears evidently, even from the most refined account we have of it in ancient authors: for instance, Ammianus Marcellinus, who, to acquit his master Julian from the suspicion of sorcery, which some said he used, to get the foreknowledge of things future, makes it a principal point of wisdom, not unworthy such a prince, who was a professed lover of all sciences, to offer placatory sacrifices to draw in the spirit of all the elements, to endue him with a spirit of divination: for so his words are in the beginning of his one-and-twentieth book: "The spirit of all the elements, being all way and every way invigorated with the foreperceiving motion of the everlasting (*i. e.* the heavenly) bodies, makes us partakers of the gifts of divining; and the substantial powers, *ritu diverso placatæ, being rendered favourable by respective rites* (*i. e.* such as were proper and suitable to each of them), convey predictions to mortality, as from so many

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perpetual springs or fountains, over which (substantial powers) the goddess Themis is said to preside," &c. Which shews that Julian, who called Jupiter the most high God, the King of all, yet courted other inferior powers, by such rites as he imagined would win their favour: which was rank idolatry.

*But as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do.*] But absolutely forbidden it, Lev. xix. 31. xx. 6. where he warns them to have nothing to do with some of the persons here mentioned; and not only instructed them in the way to live happy, but established an oracle among them, to be consulted on all weighty occasions, and governed them by men, whom he had endued with his Spirit, (Numb. xi. 16, 17. 25.) Therefore, if any Israelite practised any of the things here forbidden, though he did not worship any idol, he was scourged by the sentence of the court of judgment. (See Selden, lib. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 7.)

Ver. 15. *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet.*] Since the Jews, as all other nations, were extremely desirous to know things to come, Moses reveals unto them from God a thing future of the highest importance, *viz.* the coming of Christ, and the greatness of his authority; and in aftertimes God revealed to them, by degrees, the time of his birth, his death, resurrection, &c. The Jews, indeed, commonly take these words to be a promise of a constant succession of prophets, that should be among them, to preserve them from going to such diviners as were famous among their heathen neighbours; and thus many Christian interpreters make out the connexion of these words with the foregoing. But though this may be allowed to be intimated, and this promise be acknowledged to be partly verified in those prophets which God raised up, from age to age, after Moses, for further knowledge of his will (as the promise of a Saviour was in part verified in those judges and kings by whom God delivered his people from their enemies), yet it is very evident, that he speaks of a single prophet more eminent than all the rest; and that these words, in their most literal sense, cannot belong to any other person but the Messiah. So that albeit the continuance of prophets among this people, was a means to prevent all occasions of consulting sorcerers or witches; yet the chief ground upon which Moses dissuades them from such practices, according to the literal connexion of these words with the foregoing, *the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee to do so, i. e.* to hearken unto observers of times and diviners, was, the consideration of their late mighty deliverance by Moses; the excellency of their present law, which God had given them for their direction; and their expectation of a greater Lawgiver in future times, when the first covenant should wax old, and prophecy itself for a long time fail, as it did before the coming of this great prophet, the Lord Christ. To this purpose Dr. Jackson, in his third book upon the Creed, chap. 21. parag. 19.

*From the midst of thee, of thy brethren.*] It was a great honour to them to have such a prophet as is here spoken of, arise out of their nation; but as he was after a peculiar sort raised up by Jehovah, not merely by the external assistances or impulsion of his Spirit, (to use the words of the same excellent person, parag. 9.) but by intrinsic assumption into the unity of his person; so likewise he was raised up in a strict and proper sense *from the midst of them,* being, as it were, extracted out of a pure virgin, as the first woman was out of the man, by the Almighty's own immediate hand.

*Like unto me.*] This shews he speaks of a single prophet, and not of a constant succession of prophets, there being none of them like to Moses, whom God himself distinguished from them all, (Numb. xii. 6—8.) And accordingly that Divine writer, who added those verses which are at the end of this book (concerning the death of Moses), testifies that there never rose in Israel a prophet like to Moses. (See Deut. xxxiv. 10.) It is commonly thought to be done by Ezra, who hath effectually confuted all the conceits of R. Bechai, Aben Ezra, Abarbinel, and other Jewish doctors, who take either Joshua or Jeremiah to have been this prophet. If Joshua, as some fancy, added these words, then he excluded himself from being the person; nor did Joshua act as a prophet, but as a judge or governor: and Jeremiah is acknowledged by Abarbinel himself to be inferior to Isaiah: for though in his preface to his commentary upon Jeremiah, he mentions fourteen things wherein he was like unto Moses, and saith he prophesied just forty years, as Moses did; yet, in his commentary upon the lesser prophets, he prefers Isaiah before them all, and censures the rudeness of Jeremiah's language, in many things preferring Ezekiel to him. So little do these doctors agree in their interpretation of this prophecy, which can belong to none of their prophets which succeeded Moses (who were all much inferior to him), until *He* came, who perfectly resembled him, but was much superior to him. (See ver. 18.) And thus the ancient Jews understood this prophecy; for though Maimonides only saith, the Messiah should be endued with wisdom greater than Solomon's, and should equal their master Moses, yet those before him proceeded a great deal further. This being a common saying among them, which Abarbinel himself remembers, in his commentary upon the small prophets, " He shall be exalted above Abraham, lifted up above Moses, and higher than the angels of the ministry." Nor is the cabalistical observation, mentioned in Baal-Hatturim, to be quite neglected; which is, that this verse begins and ends with the letter *nun,* which is the numeral letter for *fifty,* importing, that to the prophet here promised should be opened the fifty gates of knowledge, forty-nine of which only were opened to Moses. And that this verse also consists of ten words, to signify, that they were to obey this prophet no less than the ten commandments: which observation, it must be confessed, is weakly grounded, but contains a most illustrious truth, and shews that they believed Moses here speaks of the Messiah.

*Unto him shall ye hearken.*] As they had engaged themselves to do: it will appear from the following words.

Ver. 16. *According to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord,* &c.] So we read Exod. xx. 19. where they made this request unto Moses, saying, *Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die.* In which words the whole multitude bound themselves solemnly to hear the words of the Lord, being delivered not immediately from his own mouth, but by Moses, as is more fully expressed in this book, Deut. v. 27—29. where God highly commends this good resolution in them, as Moses here observes again in the next verse.

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Ver. 17. *And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken.*] He approved their desire, and resolved not to speak to them any more, as he did from Mount Sinai, with a voice out of the fire and cloud; but by Moses himself while he lived, and afterward by one like to Moses, as it here follows.

Ver. 18. *I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren.*] These words seem to have been spoken to Moses by God, when they desired God would not speak to them any more immediately by himself, but by a mediator. Then God was pleased to promise them a great deal more than they desired, which was to raise up another Prophet like to Moses, who should acquaint them more fully with his mind and will in as familiar a manner as Moses did, without striking any such terror into them, as they were in at the giving of the law, though the words of this prophet came from the mouth of God himself: in which two things the Israelites excelled all other nations (*i. e.* in that they had such an excellent law delivered by Moses, which was to be bettered by an everlasting covenant, made by this Prince of the prophets). In respect of both (as the same Dr. Jackson expresses it), the name of *soothsayer*, or *sorcerer*, was not to be named in Israel, as they were in the nations that knew not God, much less expected such a Mediator. In whom the Spirit of life should dwell as plentifully, as splendour doth in the body of the sun; from whose fulness, ere he visibly appeared in the world, all other prophets were illuminated: so that Moses himself, and all the prophets that followed him, were but as messengers sent from God, to solicit his people to preserve their allegiance free from all commerce or compact with familiar spirits, until the Prince of Glory came in person to visit them, and dwell among them.

*Like unto thee.*] This is well explained by Eusebius, δεύτερος κατὰ Μωυσέα νομοθέτης, *a second lawgiver, as Moses was:* for in saying not simply he would raise them up a prophet, but *like unto thee*, it must signify, saith he, that this Prophet should be a lawgiver as well as Moses, which none of the prophets were, till our Saviour came. Neither Isaiah nor Jeremiah were the makers of laws, but only called upon them to observe the law of Moses; whereas, when the Lord Jesus came, he gave laws to all the world, and those far superior to the laws of Moses, who only said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" but our Lord saith, "I say unto you, Ye shall not lust;" and instead of "Thou shalt not kill," he saith, "Be not angry with thy brother," &c. Whence it was that they who heard him were astonished at his doctrine, and said, that he spake *not as the scribes*, who were expounders of the law, but *as one that had authority*, that is, power to ordain and enact laws, and not only to explain those that were already written, (lib. i. Demonstr. Evang. cap. 7. and lib. iii. cap. 2. lib. ix. p. 443, &c. see also what Joh. Wagenseil hath said upon these words, in his annot. in Lipman. Carm. Memoriale, p. 548.)

*And will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.*] Reveal the whole mind and will of God, (John xii. 49, 50.) For he was herein like to Moses (though far superior to him), that he was intimately acquainted with God's counsels, being "in the bosom of the Father," (1 John xviii.) and confirmed all that he said to be from God by miracles, and wonders, and signs, far more mighty than those of Moses, and more in number than had been wrought by all the prophets, from the beginning of the world. Particularly, he fed multitudes with a little food, (which made the people cry out, "This is of a truth that Prophet which should come into the world," John vi. 14.) but above all this, gave them *that bread from heaven*, of which the manna which Moses gave them was but a shadow, as he took occasion to shew the people, upon their admiration of that miraculous feast he had made for them, with five barley-loaves, and two small fishes: for he himself was that bread of life, who nourished men's souls with the word of eternal life, which he had in himself, as he shewed by his resurrection from the dead, which he himself predicted, and thereby proved himself the greatest of all the prophets: for though Moses foretold his own death, yet neither he, nor any other prophet whatsoever but our Saviour, spake of his being raised up again. In which he may be thought to be like to Moses, who was raised up by God to be a saviour of his people out of that ark, which, without the special providence of God, had been his tomb. And unto this resurrection of Christ doth the propriety of this phrase, *from the midst of thee*, agree: for this was done, as Dr. Jackson also well observes, in the midst of Jerusalem, the metropolis of Judea, not without express notice given of it to the rulers of the people; and such a confirmation it was, that *he was the prophet they should all hear*, that there could not be a greater; as all strangers, both to their religion and ours, must agree, and they themselves cannot deny: for Nachmanides, relating, in a letter of his to the rabbins at Marseilles, how there was a man in those days, in the southern countries, who pretended to be the forerunner of the Messiah, unto whom great numbers both of Jews and Arabs resorted, tells us, that he being apprehended by the king of the country, and asked what miracle he shewed to confirm his commission, he answered boldly, "Cut off my head, and I will come to life again." To which the king of the Arabs replied, "There is no sign greater than this; which, if it come to pass, both I and the whole world will believe thee." Whereupon his head was cut off, and there was an end of all his pretences; though some of the Jews were so mad, as Maimonides there saith, that they still expected his return to life. Thus R. Gedaliah reports in his Schalshelet Hakkabalah.

Ver. 19. *And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name.*] This is the proper character of a prophet, to deliver in the name of God what he received from God. This did Moses: but Christ most eminently, as I before observed from John xii. 49, 50. where he saith, *I have not spoken of myself*, but the Father which sent me; *he gave me a commandment what I should say and what I should speak*, &c. *whatsoever therefore I speak, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak.* Which is a perfect commentary upon these words of Moses, who here calls Christ a prophet, not a priest, or a king (though he was to be both), because he would not have the Jews mistake, and expect to find in his person the worldly grandeur of a mighty prince, or the high honour and splendour of Aaron; but have the greatest regard to the heavenly doctrine which he taught them, as he himself (he told them) was taught by the Father: *For I proceeded forth* (saith he) *and came from God; neither came I of myself, but he sent me; and I do nothing of myself, but as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things,*

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John viii. 28. 42. This was the highest honour of all, to speak God's words, (ver. 47.) in the name of God, (ver. 42.)

I conclude this with the remarkable words of the Midrasch upon Ecclesiastes, who thus expresses the sense of this prophecy, "As was the first Redeemer, such shall be the last Redeemer." Which plainly determine the prophet here spoken of to be one single person; and he no other but the Lord Christ. (See Huetius, in his Demonst. Evang. propos. 7. n. 9.)

*I will require it of him.*] Severely punish him, so as to destroy him from among his people, as St. Peter interprets it, Acts iii. 23. And so this phrase is used, Gen. ix. 5. xlii. 22. And there was great reason for this severity, seeing they had so solemnly bound themselves to hearken to this prophet, when they desired God not to speak any more to them by himself, but by a mediator, which God then promised, as I observed, ver. 18. A mediator of a better covenant, who should secure them from such dreadful flames, as they then saw, if they would hearken to him, as they promised to do; otherwise, what could they expect, "but a certain fearful looking-for of judgment, and fiery indignation, to devour the adversaries?" For since "he that despised Moses's law died without mercy, under two or three witnesses, of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God," in the open face of all the world? Heb. x. 27—29. which is a full explication of these words, *Whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him:* or, as Onkelos translates it, *my Word shall require it of him:* where *Memra, Word,* can signify nothing but a Divine person, distinct from him who speaks these words, even that very person to whom the apostle applies them.

Ver. 20. *But the prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name,* &c.] These words plainly suggest to us, that Moses intended, in the foregoing discourse, to admonish the Israelites to hearken diligently to all such prophets as God should at any time raise up to them; though it be most evident, if we examine the propriety of every word or clause in the whole context, they cannot be exactly fitted unto any prophet but Christ; unto whom the whole discourse is as fully accommodated, as a well-made garment to the body that wears it. They are the words of the same excellent person, so often mentioned, Dr. Jackson, book iii. on the Creed, chap. 21. parag. 1, 2.

*Speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him, or that shall speak in the name of other gods.*] It was a manifest sign a man was a false prophet, if he spake in the name of Baal, or any other god, but the God of Israel: or if he said, Such a star by its spiritual influence coming upon me, said, Worship me after this manner, or, Thus call upon me, as Maimonides (who gives an account of the several sorts of false prophets) speaks, in his preface to Seder Zeraim. But how should they know a man to be a false prophet, when he spake to them in the name of the Lord? For men might pretend, as some did, that God had sent them, and given them a command, when he had not. To which he answers in the next verses.

*Even that prophet shall die.*] He was to be strangled, say the Jews, by the sentence of the great Sanhedrin: for it is a tradition of their rabbins, saith the Gemara Babylonica upon that title, that in the business of prophecy there are three sorts of persons, who are to be punished by the judgment of men, and three by the sentence of Heaven. He that prophesied what he did not hear from God, (an example of which we have in Zedekiah, 1 Kings xxii. 11.) or spake what was not said to him, but to another, (an example of which they make Hananiah, Jer. xxviii. 11.) or prophesies in the name of an idol (suppose Baal); all these were to be put to death by the sentence of the court of judgment; but he that suppressed his prophecy (like Jonah), or despised the words of a prophet, or did not observe his own words, was to be punished by the hand of Heaven. (See Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 6. n. 1.)

Ver. 21. *And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord hath not spoken?*] Which was but a reasonable question, there being as great care necessary, not to hearken to falsehood, as to be attentive unto truth. And this relates unto such prophets as came to them in the name of the Lord: for if a man came in the name of any other God, there needed no other mark to discover him to be an impostor.

Ver. 22. *When a prophet speaks in the name of the Lord.*] Predicting some wonderful thing to come to pass, as a token he is sent of God to deliver what he speaks to the people.

*If the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken.*] For if the Lord had sent him, he would have accomplished what he gave as a sign of his mission; which not coming to pass, he was proved to be a false prophet, who spake out of his own heart, and not the word of the Lord. But here the Jews distinguished between a prophet who predicts evil things, as famine, or pestilence, &c. and one that predicts good things, as rain (when there is great need of it), and fruitful years, &c. Though the predictions of the former sort did not come to pass, he was not to be reputed presently a false prophet, because God is very merciful, and often repented him of the evil, as he did in the case of Nineveh: but, in the latter case, if any one of the good things he foretold did not come to pass, he was to be taken for a deceiver; which they understand also of the very time and place, when and where he said the things he predicted would be fulfilled: and here they bring in the example of Hananiah, the son of Azur, mentioned before, Jer. xxviii. 11. and see ver. 8, 9. of that chapter. But this doth not give us the true difference; for both God's promises and threatenings many times depend upon a condition, as appears from that famous place in the prophet, Jer. xviii. 7—9. So that the good things a prophet foretold might not come to pass, and yet he might be a true prophet; because the people proved unworthy of them, and God did not absolutely intend them. Therefore the true meaning seems to be, that if a prophet foretold such a thing as the power of nature cannot produce, and gave it as a sign God sent him, who would justify his mission by doing that wonder, and the thing did not come to pass, he was to be looked upon as not a man of God: for example, when Moses threw his rod on the ground, and said it should become a serpent, if it had not been turned into a serpent, he had been convicted of falsity: or a prophet said fire should come down from heaven, and consume the sacrifice which lay before him, which was the case of Elijah; if it had not come down, he would have been no more owned for a true prophet, than the prophets of Baal. And, as Maimonides well observes, if a

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prophet's words were fulfilled in one or more things, he was not to be judged a true prophet, unless every thing he spake in the name of God came to pass: which he proves from those words concerning Samuel, (1 Sam. iii. 19, 20.) "The Lord let none of his words fall to the ground: and all Israel knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord."

The Jews also made this addition to the rule forementioned of trying prophets, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 5. n. 3.) that "whatsoever prophet had the testimony of another undoubted prophet, was to be taken for a true prophet." By which rule they might have known the great Prophet whom God promised to them in the foregoing verses: for John the Baptist, whom the whole nation took for a prophet, testified to them that Jesus was the Christ. And besides all other undoubted marks of his being sent from God, his rising from the dead, which he himself foretold, was enough to satisfy all men of the truth of what he said: for though every prediction of what afterward comes to pass, will not necessarily prove a man to be a true prophet; yet the fulfilling of a great number of things (not one of which fails, as was said before of Samuel), especially of such a thing as this, which was impossible to be brought to pass but by an almighty power, is an uncontrollable evidence of a Divine mission.

R. Solomon, upon this verse, hath a note which is worth our observation, though it be not to the purpose of Moses's words: "A prophet (saith he) that bids thee not observe some of the precepts, is not to be heard, unless he be known to be a man of eminent virtue, and upright life, as Elijah was, who bade them build an altar on Mount Carmel, even when the sacrifices upon high places were forbidden. But there was a necessity for it, that he might restore the true worship of God in Israel." Which should have made them hearken to our blessed Saviour, better than they did, he being so perfectly holy and pure, that he challenged any of them to charge him with sin; especially, when he only laid aside some of their vain traditions, but conformed to all the rites of Moses: so that if in conclusion we should grant that Moses (in the fourteenth and sixteenth verses, &c.) speaks of all the prophets that should succeed him (which it is certain he doth not principally intend), the Jews were impious in rejecting our Saviour, who came as a prophet to them, and had all the marks that a prophet could have of his being sent from God.

*But the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously.*] For it was an act of high presumption, and arrogant pride, for any man to pretend a commission from God, when he had not sent him. Which was done two ways, as the Jews interpret this, either when a man spake in the name of God that which was false, or when he pretended that to have been spoken to him which was revealed by God to another. (See Jer. xxii. 30.) Both these were impudent impostors, and accordingly to be treated.

*Thou shalt not be afraid of him.*] Have no reverence or regard to him, though he be never so confident: nor be afraid to lay hold of him, and endeavour to bring him to the Sanhedrin, to have their sentence passed upon him (as the Jews understand it), though he have never so powerful an interest to support him, and preserve him from punishment. Thus Maimonides, in the forenamed preface to Seder Zeraim: "Thou shalt not be terrified, or averted from endeavouring to have him put to death, by his religion, goodness, or knowledge, since in his proud brags he hath spoken false things of God." For to be afraid of such a person, and of his partakers, was to distrust God, who is the defender of those that defend the cause of religion.

## CHAP. XIX.

HAVING sufficiently pressed upon the people the great commandment, of loving God with all the heart, and soul, and strength, and him alone, Moses now proceeds to remember them of other precepts belonging to the *second table* (as we now speak), but not in an exact method, nor without interspersing some ceremonial matters. And he begins with what concerns that commandment, *Thou shalt not kill.*

Ver. 1. *WHEN the Lord thy God hath cut off the nations, whose land the Lord thy God giveth thee,* &c.] The very same words we had before upon another occasion, xii. 29. which are now used to signify, that they were not bound to what follows, till God had subdued the land of Canaan for them, and they were settled in it; as the last words of the verse import, *dwellest in their cities, and in their houses.* Accordingly, after the division of the land, God puts Joshua in mind of this business, (Josh. xx. 1, 2, &c.)

Ver. 2. *Thou shalt separate three cities from thee.*] According to an order God had given to Moses, Numb. xxxv. 14, 15. to set aside six cities in all, for the use here mentioned; three on this side Jordan, where they now were, and three on the other side in the land of Canaan. The former part of which command Moses himself had executed, (Deut. iv. 42, &c.) and now gives them a charge to perform the other.

*In the midst of thy land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it.*] In the *midst of their land,* signifies no more but *within their land:* for if they had been all three in the very heart of the country, it would have crossed the end and intention of them, which was, that they should be placed so conveniently in several parts of the country, that men might easily and speedily flee to them. And therefore *the midst of the land* may be opposed to the skirts of the country, where they would have been too far distant from some parts of it; or may denote, that they should be set in an eminent place, upon the top of mountains, where they might be seen afar off. And so they all three were, it is apparent from Josh. xx. 7. where they are said to be in Mount Naphtali, Mount Ephraim, and the mountain of Judah.

Ver. 3. *And thou shalt prepare thee a way.*] Make a plain road to them, and keep it in good repair, that, both in winter and summer, the manslayer might without difficulty flee thither. And for his more safe passage, the Hebrews say, where there were any turnings, or two ways parted, they were bound to set up a post, or stone, whereon was engraven, in great letters, the word MIKLAT, *i. e. refuge,* that he might not mistake his way to the place.

*And divide the coast of thy land (which the Lord thy God giveth thee to inherit), into three parts.*] The Jews un-



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derstand it, that they were to be placed at an equal distance, in three several parts of the country, that all might have the same benefit by them; and nobody have a longer journey to go than his neighbour for his safety.

*That every slayer may flee thither.*] Have the convenience of preserving himself in one or other of them. It is observable, that there were as many of these cities in the two tribes and a half, as there were in all the other nine tribes and a half; in which there seems to be a great inequality. I have given some account of it upon Numb. xxxv. 14. And the Hebrews fancy there was another reason for it, because of the frequent murders which were likely to be committed by the fierce nature of the Gileadites. (See the book of Judges, chap. x. and xi. and Hosea vi. 8.)

Ver. 4. *And this is the case of the slayer which shall flee thither, that he may live.*] Be preserved from the avenger of blood, who otherwise might kill him.

*Whoso killeth his neighbour ignorantly, whom he hated not in time past.*] These cities were not to be a protection to a wilful murderer, but to an innocent person, who, against his intention, was so unhappy as to kill a man, *belidaath* (as the words are in the Hebrew), *without his knowledge*, being free, that is, from any design to do him the least harm. But as for such as, out of hatred and malice in their hearts, killed another, they were so far from finding safety in these cities, that they were to be pulled from the altar, if they fled thither for sanctuary, as we now speak, (Exod. xxi. 12. 14.) Or, if they would not stir from thence, they might be killed there, as appears by the case of Joab, 1 Kings ii. 28. 30, 31.

Ver. 5. *As when a man goeth into the wood with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the head slippeth from the helve, and lighteth upon his neighbour, that he die.*] By this all other like cases were to be judged: that is, when a man was about a lawful business, if any thing happened which he intended not, he was not accountable for it. (See Selden, lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 2.)

*He shall flee unto one of those cities, and live.*] He might get to which of them he could most conveniently, and there be preserved. The Jews, from this word *live*, conclude, without any other ground for it, that a master was bound to go along with his scholar who fled thither; because, without the doctrine of the law, men did not live, but were dead.

Ver. 6. *Lest the avenger of blood pursue the slayer, while his heart is hot.*] With anger, which might boil up to such a degree, as to move him to kill the slayer, before he had examined whether there was a just cause.

It is evident that this verse is to be connected with verse the third (the two next, ver. 4, 5. coming in as a parenthesis, to shew who should be preserved in these cities, and who not), being a reason why the cities of refuge should be placed at an equal distance in the several parts of the country, that the journey might not be too long to any of them, but a man might soon flee thither, before the avenger of blood could lay hold of him.

*Because the way is long, and slay him.*] If he could not have gotten thither in a short time, he might have been in danger to lose his life, though not worthy of death. For, as the law did not punish him that killed a manslayer, when he found him out of the bounds of the city of refuge, (Numb. xxxv. 27.) so it seems to have indemnified him, if he killed him before he got thither.

*Whereas he was not worthy of death, inasmuch as he hated him not in time past.*] Which, in his rage, the avenger of blood did not consider; and therefore was guilty before God of shedding innocent blood, though the law did not punish him for it.

Ver. 7. *Wherefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt separate three cities for thee.*] To prevent which mischief, God commanded, not merely one, but three cities, and those in several places of the country; where men might find safety, if they made haste to flee to them.

Ver. 8. *And if the Lord thy God enlarge thy coast (as he hath sworn unto thy fathers), and give thee all the land which he promised to give unto thy fathers.*] As far as unto the river Euphrates, (Gen. xv. 18. Exod. xxiii. 31. Deut. i. 7.)

Ver. 9. *If thou shalt keep all these commandments to do them, which I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, and to walk ever in his ways.*] This seems to have been the condition, upon the performance of which depended the enlargement of their border. Which is more fully expressed, xi. 22—24. And so the covenant made with Abraham (in Gen. xv. 18.) is to be understood, as including in it this condition.

*Thou shalt then add three cities more for thee besides these three.*] We do not read of any more added to these, though their border was enlarged in David's and Solomon's time; and that as far as Euphrates. But those nations which they subdued, were only made tributaries to the kings of Israel, who did not people and possess those countries; and consequently there was no occasion for such cities there; unless the Israelites had been the inhabitants of those countries, as they were of the land of Canaan, (ver. 1.)

Ver. 10. *That innocent blood be not shed in thy land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*] As there would, if, upon supposition of such an enlargement of their borders, there had been no cities nearer to flee unto than these six; which were sufficient only for the land of Canaan, and the land they possessed on this side Jordan, where they now were.

*And so blood be upon thee.*] The guilt and punishment of blood, in not taking care of the safety of innocent persons.

Ver. 11. *But if any man hate his brother, and lie in wait for him, and rise up against him, and smite him mortally that he die, and fleeth into one of these cities.*] When there was a manifest design of killing another, and known hatred, he that committed the murder was to receive no benefit by his fleeing to a city of refuge. And then a man was judged to hate his brother, when for three days together he had never spoken to him, though they had kept one another company; as I observed before out of Mr. Selden, (lib. iv. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 2. p. 473.)

Ver. 12. *Then the elders of his city shall send and fetch him thence.*] Demand him of the elders of the city to which he fled; that he might be sent to them, and tried by them, whether he was guilty of wilful murder, or ought to have the benefit of their protection, being innocent of that crime. (Numb. xxxv. 12. 24.) It is likely there were probable reasons given why he was suspected to be guilty of murder; and therefore they desired the matter might be exa-

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mined; otherwise, if the case was known to be like that in ver. 5. they did not make this demand.

*And deliver him into the hand of the avenger of blood, that he may die.*] That is, if they found him guilty of wilful murder; otherwise, they were to *deliver him out of the hand of the avenger of blood, and restore him to the city of refuge,* that he might not die, (Numb. xxxv. 25.)

Ver. 13. *Thine eye shall not pity him.*] Nor take any satisfaction for the life of a murderer, as the law is, Numb. xxxv. 31.

*But thou shalt put away the guilt of innocent blood from Israel.*] By putting him to death.

*That it may go well with thee.*] By having no guilt upon them; as they had when they let this crime go unpunished.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance,* &c.] The Jewish doctors think that this hath respect to the holy land (as they call it), and to the terms or bounds which were set by Joshua in the division of the country, which no man might take away; for that made him both guilty of theft, and also of the breach of this precept; and consequently he incurred a double punishment, and was whipped twice as much as another offender. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 3. in the latter end.) This was a law among the Grecks, as appears by Plato, lib. viii. de Legibus, Μὴ κινείτω γῆς ὅρια μηδείς, &c. *νομίσας τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν ἀληθῶς τοῦτο εἶναι,* &c. *Let no man presume to remove the bounds of land; looking upon this, as being truly to remove things immoveable, i. e.* to unsettle and overturn all things: Numa Pompilius therefore made this crime capital. Which makes Josephus's explication of these words seem more reasonable than that of the Talmudists, who extend this precept to the grounds of all their neighbour nations who were at peace with them: *ὡς πολεμῶν ἐντεῦθεν στάσεων γενομένων, as being the occasion of wars and insurrections,* which arise from the covetousness of men, who would thus enlarge their territories, (lib. iv. Archæol. cap. 8.) Which may be thought a reason why Moses joins this to the foregoing precept, about punishing murder; and made this one of the curses they were bound to pronounce, and consent to it, at their entrance into the land of Canaan, (Deut. xxvii. 17.)

*Which they of old time have set in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit, in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it.*] This may seem to determine this precept peculiarly to the preserving the bounds in the land of Canaan; and by *those of old time* they understand Joshua and the elders, who divided the land, and fixed every one his lot. But it was as necessary to be observed in all other countries, as that which was their proper inheritance. For, as Josephus truly observes, "they that remove the bounds of lands, are not very far from subverting all laws."

Ver. 15. *One witness shall not rise up.*] They that gave their testimony in any cause always stood up.

*Against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin.*] A single witness was not to be admitted, as sufficient to convict a man of any offence whatsoever, whether in civil or in criminal matters. For an inquisition into the fact one was enough; but not for the condemnation of him that was accused. Yet in pecuniary matters, one witness was sufficient to bring a man to purge himself by an oath, (xvii. 6.)

*At the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established.*] The accusation shall stand, or fall to the ground.

Ver. 16. *If a false witness rise up against any man, to testify against him that which is wrong.*] In any matter, whether against God, or against man. For though one witness could not condemn another; yet, if it were proved he was a false witness, it was sufficient to condemn himself.

Ver. 17. *Then both the men between whom the controversy is.*] That is, the accuser and the person accused.

*Shall stand before the Lord.*] They were to come, in cases obscure, to the supreme court, where the sanctuary was settled. Who sat, it is likely, at the door of the tabernacle in Moses's time, (see xvii. 8. 22.) and so might properly be said to try them *before the Lord.*

*Before the priests and the judges which shall be in those days.*] This they all understand of the highest court, which consisted partly of *priests,* and partly of other great persons, whom he calls *judges;* under which name, the whole court is comprehended in the next verse. (See xvii. 8. and Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 8. n. 2, 3.)

Ver. 18. *And the judges.*] The court beforenamed; who are all (whether priests or others) comprehended under the name of *judges.*

*Shall make diligent inquisition.*] For it was not easy to prove a man to be a false witness; and therefore the matter was brought before this supreme court.

*And, behold, if the witness be a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his brother.*] If, upon strict examination, he was found to have given a false evidence against his brother, in a matter which touched his estate, or his body, or his life.

Ver. 19. *Then shall ye do unto him as he had thought to have done unto his brother.*] That is, saith Maimonides, if he designed to have taken away his brother's life, he was to lose his own; if to have him scourged, he was to be lashed himself; if to lose a sum of money, he was to be fined the very same sum. (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41.) But though in most cases a false witness was to suffer the very same kind of punishment, which he intended to have brought upon another, if his testimony had not been disproved; yet in some it was not exactly observed. As, if one falsely accused a priest's daughter of playing the whore, he was not to be burnt, as she should have been, but to be strangled as an adulterer. So J. Coch observes upon the title Maccoth. ad cap. 1. where the whole business of false testimonies is handled. But some foolish decisions were made by the rabbins, in opposition to the Sadducees, as he observes in his Annot. 20. in sect. 6.

Among the Athenians there was an action lay not only against the false witness, but against the person who produced him. Upon whom they set a fine; and they were made infamous. And if they were found thrice guilty of this crime, not only they but their posterity were made infamous throughout all generations; as Sam. Petitus observes, out of Andocides, and others, (lib. iv. in Leges Aticas, tit. vii. p. 359.) It is something strange they were not more severe against such offenders, many of their laws being plainly borrowed from Moses. And among the ancient Romans, by the law of the twelve tables, false witnesses were thrown down from the Tarpeian rock, as A. Gellius tells us, (lib. xx. cap. 1.) which was altered indeed, in latter times, for such punishments as the judges thought



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they merited: but he there tells Phavorinus, that, if the old punishment had continued to their days, they should not have had so many false testimonies given as they then saw.

*So shalt thou put the evil away from among you.*] This may be understood either of the false witness, or of his crime: the guilt of which was taken away by the just punishment of it.

Ver. 20. *And those that remain.*] The remainder of Israel, who see him suffer in his kind.

*Shall hear and fear.*] The end of punishment is to deter others from such wickedness. (See xiii. 11. xvii. 13.)

*And shall henceforth commit no more any such evil among you.*] Learn to beware by other men's sufferings.

Ver. 21. *And thine eye shall not spare.*] He speaks to the judges, who were not, out of compassion, to moderate the punishment, but make it equal to the damage he intended to another. Examples he gives of this in the words following.

*Life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.*] Concerning this *lex talionis*, see Exod. xxi. 23—25. Lev. xxiv. 19, 20. And see Grotius on Matt. v. 38. 40. where he well observes, that the party injured might forbear to require this punishment; but the judge, if it were required, could not deny to inflict it.

## CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1. *WHEN thou goest out to battle against thine enemies.*] Who either invaded them, (as in Judg. xi.) or with whom they had a just quarrel, because of injuries done them, without satisfaction: such as that mentioned 2 Sam. x. 4, &c.

*And seest horses.*] Which the Israelites wanted, (as I observed upon xvii. 16.) their armies consisting of footmen; who were taken from the plough, or from the sheepfolds.

*And chariots.*] Which carried a certain number of men in them; and when they were *falcati* (as they called them) were very formidable. For they made terrible slaughters among the enemy, cutting down men as we do grass, with a scythe or sickle. The Canaanites had great numbers of them, Josh. xi. 4. and Judg. iv. 3.

*Be not afraid of them.*] The Israelites were trained up to confide in God, and not in horses (which their country, as I said, did not afford, and consequently they had no chariots), nor in multitude of soldiers. And we find remarkable instances of this, particularly in Jehoshaphat, (2 Chron. xx. 6, &c. 17.) who followed the example of David, whose words are most memorable, Psalm xx. 7. "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God." (See also Prov. xxi. 21.)

*For the Lord thy God is with thee, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt.*] That was such an instance of his power, as made it unreasonable to doubt of good success, when he was present with them; as he always was while they continued faithful worshippers of him.

The translation of Onkelos is here very remarkable; which is, *The Lord thy God, his Word is thy help:* which plainly denotes another Divine person, the same with Jehovah.

Ver. 2. *It shall be when ye come nigh unto the battle.*] Are about to give or receive the assault.

*That the priest shall approach and speak unto the people.*] The Jews say there was a priest appointed for this very purpose, whom they call *Maschuach Milchama, anointed of war,* he being set apart, as they say, to this office by an unction, and that with the same oil which the king was anointed withal. His office was to blow with the trumpets, to make the following speech unto the army, when they were preparing to join battle; and when they first went out, to exhort all new builders, planters, and married men, to return back; and when they were drawn up in battalia, to exhort all that were faint-hearted to leave the army and go home. (See Numb. xxxi. 6.) A great many of the Jewish doctors thus explain this, particularly Maimonides, who may serve instead of all. See Schickard, Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 18. and Hottinger, in his Histor. Eccles. Seculum xvi. par. ii. p. 689, 690, &c. where he produces an excellent discourse out of R. Levi Barzelonita's Catechism, to shew the office of this πολεμόχριστος, *anointed for the war;* and the reason why he was appointed to it. For soldiers (saith he) in the time of war, have great need to be heartened and confirmed in their resolution. And because the more honourable any one is, the more willingly men hearken to him; therefore the law required, that he, who was to encourage others, should be a select person himself, and a priest, to whom they would be apt to pay a great reverence.

Ver. 3. *And shall say unto them,* &c.] Going from one battalion (as we now speak) unto another: or else, ordering the officers (mentioned ver. 5.) to go about and speak every where what he did at the head of the army. And he was to speak in the Hebrew language, and no other, as the Jews say, in Mischna Sota, cap. 8. sect. 1. And they have a conceit, that the Romans learnt both the form of encamping out of Moses's law, and also to make orations to their soldiers before they went to fight, as J. Wagenseil observes out of Shilte Hagibborim: though it is more reasonable to think, that common sense taught those that were leaders of others to encourage them to follow them.

*Ye approach this day unto battle against your enemies.*] Who often appeared very formidable, by the vast number of their horses and chariots, which the Israelites wanted.

*Let not your hearts faint.*] So we well translate the Hebrew word, be *soft,* or *tender.* Which though it be a quality highly commendable with respect to God, (2 Kings xxii. 19.) yet the contrary became them towards their and his enemies.

*Fear not, and do not tremble.*] Trembling, or, as the Hebrew word is, *making haste, i. e.* running away, is the effect of fear.

*Neither be ye terrified because of them.*] Sometimes a great dread of danger made men run away; and sometimes so dismayed them that they could not stir, much less strike a stroke.

Some of the Jewish doctors fancy, that the four several words here used are opposed to so many actions of their enemies, whereby they hoped to strike a terror into them. *Let not your hearts faint,* when your enemies brandish their swords, and clash them one against another. *Fear not,* when you hear the prancing of their horses, and the terrible rattling of their chariots. *And do not tremble,* when they

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shout, as if they were sure of victory. *Neither be ye terrified,* when you hear the trumpet sound an alarm to the battle. So Moses Kotzensis. (See Schickard, cap. 5. Theor. 16. p. 115.) And such a passage Wagenseil observes out of Philostratus, lib. ii. cap. 5. upon the Gemara of Sota, cap. 8. sect. ii. p. 876.

Ver. 4. *For the Lord your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies.*] Sometimes the ark of God's presence went before them, when they entered into Canaan, (Josh. iii. 3. 10, 11, &c.) and in the midst of them, when they compassed Jericho, (Josh. vi. 9.) So that God was properly then said to go with them, or in the *midst of them,* as the Vulgar Latin here translates it. And at all other times he was present, by his power, to aid them, especially against the people of Canaan, with whom their battles were said to be *the wars of the Lord.*

*To save you.*] To preserve them by the defeat and overthrow of their enemies.

Ver. 5. *And the officers shall speak unto the people, saying.*] This the Jews, particularly Abarbinel, think was spoken by the priest beforementioned, and then proclaimed by the officers, called *schoterim,* of whom I have observed enough before, xvi. 18. and other places. They that would see more may consult J. Wagenseil upon that title, in the Mischna called Sota, cap. 8. p. 854. But by whomsoever this was spoken, it seems most likely to have been delivered before they drew nigh to the battle, (see ver. 2.) at the first mustering of the army.

*What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it?*] *i. e.* Hath not yet dwelt in it. For at their first entrance to dwell in a house, they made a feast, which being the first meal they made there, was called *chanach,* or *dedication;* as the same Wagenseil observes out of Michlol Jophi. (See in cap. 8. Sota, sect. 2. annot. 3.) And because a year is allowed to a man to enjoy his wife, before he be obliged to go to the wars, (xxiv. 5.) they allow the same time in these other cases, for the enjoyment of a new house, or of a vineyard; as many have observed, particularly Selden, (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 1. and Schickard, in his Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 16, 17.) And they understand this, not only of a new-built house, but of a house newly come into a man's possession, either by succession, purchase, or gift; yet not of such houses as were not fit for habitation, as Mr. Selden reports their opinion, (lib. iii. de Uxor. Hebr. cap. 3.) In which he seems to have forgot himself; for the Mischna in Sota, cap. 8. sect. 2. saith expressly, this is to be understood of him that built a house, wherein to lay straw, to make a stable, a barn, or a granary; because, as Wagenseil there notes, such places might, in case of necessity, be turned into a dwelling-house.

*Let him return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it.*] This was allowed in those wars only which they made voluntarily, but not of those which were *ex præcepto,* by the Divine commandment, against the seven nations of Canaan and Amalek, in which every man was bound to engage. And so are the other cases, which here follow, to be understood, as all the Jewish writers agree.

*Another man dedicate it.*] First enjoy it; for this word here does not denote any consecration (as in other places), but beginning to use a thing; which in our English language (as Mr. Selden observes in the place forenamed) we call *taking handsel of it;* and so the Spanish Jews express it in their translation.

Ver. 6. *And what man is he that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it?*] Which he could not lawfully do for the three first years after it was planted. (See Lev. xix. 29, &c.) And in the fourth year, the fruit of it was to be carried to Jerusalem, and eaten there; after which, the fruit of the fifth year was wholly his own, when it was no longer sacred (as the Hebrew word *chillel* signifies), but common for every body's use. Aben Ezra takes the word in the sense of *rejoicing;* as if he had said, "Who hath planted a vineyard, and hath not danced in it;" for that was the custom (he saith) when they first enjoyed the fruits of their vineyards. And to this the LXX. seem to have had respect, when they translated it, οὐκ εὐφράνθη ἐξ αὐτοῦ, *he hath not been made merry by it.* But the other notion is more proper; and the Jews understand it, not only of *vineyards,* but of all other plantations wherein there were fruit-trees fit for food, if there were five of them planted together in good order, such as R. Solomon and Wagenseil have described: and see Selden, Uxor. Hebr. lib. iii. cap. 3. p. 334.

*Let him also go, and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man eat of it.*] The ground, both of this and the foregoing proclamation (and of the next also), seems to have been, that the minds of such men were commonly very much disturbed, to think of leaving what they had taken a great deal of pains about, and enjoy nothing of it; which would naturally make them fight with less courage. So R. Solomon. And Josephus much to the same purpose: μὴ πόθῳ τούτων φειδόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν, &c. *lest, out of a longing desire after these things, they should be sparing of hazarding their lives; and, reserving themselves for their enjoyment, not fight manfully.* But many think this was a bare concession to such persons; who, if they could overcome their affection to all things, but the safety of their country, might remain in the camp, and go to battle. Yet Abarbinel disputes strongly against this, and will have all these to be precepts, enjoining such persons, as are here mentioned, not to stay in the army, but to return home.

Ver. 7. *And what man is there that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her,* &c.] The Jews interpret this law, either of one who had espoused a wife, and not yet brought her home; or of one that had but newly completed his marriage. And whether he had married a widow or a virgin, an old woman or a young, it was the same thing. Yea, they extend it to him who had married his brother's wife; but not to him who had married a person prohibited to him by the law, or him that took his own wife again, whom he had formerly put away, because she was not a *new wife,* as the phrase is, Deut. xxiv. 5. where the time being limited, how long such a man should be free from the war, *viz.* for one year, they extend it, as I said, to the other two cases; that so long men might enjoy a new house, or a vineyard, after the first use of them, as the law allowed them to enjoy a wife before they went to war. (See Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 3. and Schickard, in his Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 17.) And it must be confessed, that this is a law of great equity, founded in nature, that conjugal love should not be disturbed; but have some time to knit into a strong and stable affection,

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by an uninterrupted conversation together in its beginning. The Jews were so favourable in this matter, that they say, if five brethren were in the war together, and one of them was slain, leaving a widow without issue, all the remaining four returned home; because every one of them, in their order, in case those before him refused, was to raise up seed to his dead brother.

Ver. 8. *And the officers shall speak further unto the people, and they shall say.*] Make this new proclamation throughout the camp.

*What man is there that is fearful and faint-hearted?*] This some of the Jews understand of a natural timorousness, which makes men quake at every danger; and others refer it to those that were old, in whom that heat and vigour, which make men valiant, were quite abated. Upon which account they would not admit one who had no children to go to war (if we may believe Maimonides), because he was not thought masculine enough; or rather, because they would not cut off all hope of his having posterity. But there are those who understand this of the terrors of an evil conscience. (See Sota, cap. 8. sect. 5.) For they did not do as we are wont in these days (who send the wickedest villains into the wars); but if they knew any man to be guilty of a great crime, thrust him out of the army, lest they should all fare the worse for having him among them. (See Schickard, in his Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 17. p. 124.)

*Let him go and return to his house, lest his brethren's heart faint as well as his heart.*] For the cowardice of some might enfeeble the rest. Yet all these who were thus dismissed, were bound (if required) to furnish the army with victuals and water, to clear the ways, and to take up their quarters; as it is in the foregoing place in Sota, cap. 8. where Joh. Wagenseil observes, that they, who restrain these offices only to the fearful, are mistaken.

Ver. 9. *And it shall be when the officers have made an end of speaking to the people, that they all make captains of the armies to lead the people.*] This shews that what I noted, ver. 5. is true; that the foregoing proclamation was made before they marched forth to the war: for how should they march till there were captains chosen, to lead the several *armies* (as those companies, into which they were divided, are called), which was not done till he had spoken all the forenamed things. And if we translate the words as they may be out of the Hebrew [*they shall place* or set *captains of the hosts in the head*, or the front, *of the people*], still it must be supposed, that this was done before they stirred a foot; for no order could be observed without leaders.

Ver. 10. *When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it.*] I have often noted, that there were two sorts of war which the Jews undertook: one by the Divine commandment against the seven nations of Canaan; another voluntarily, when they themselves found just cause to make war upon any other neighbouring nation. Now this precept many of the Jews will needs understand only concerning the latter sort of war; for the Canaanites were to be utterly destroyed, without mercy. But Maimonides and Moses Kotzensis take it to belong to both sorts of war. So the former of them in express words: "It was not lawful to make war upon any one whatsoever, before they offered them terms of peace," &c. Only they think the Ammonites and Moabites were to be excepted by that law: (xxiii. 6.) yet they temper it thus; that if those nations desired peace of themselves, it was to be granted to them, though not offered. And the most ancient writers of the Jews say, that Joshua sent three messages to the seven nations of Canaan before he invaded them, though he undertook the war with a command from God to destroy them; *viz.* if they did not submit to the summons which was sent them, either to flee, or to make peace; which was the subject of the two first messages. The next was a denunciation of war against them, as they say in the Jerusalem Talmud, quoted by Mr. Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 13. and see the learned J. Wagenseil, in annot. upon Sota, p. 845. Maimonides was of opinion, that the Gibeonites had not heard of these proclamations, which made them use craft to procure mercy from the Israelites. But P. Cunæus thinks it more probable, that they had refused, at first, to submit to Joshua's summons; but seeing him victorious, they betook themselves to that artifice, mentioned in the book of Joshua, when they could not hope for peace by any other means, (lib. ii. de Republ. Hebr. cap. 20.)

Ver. 11. *And it shall be, if it make thee an answer of peace, and open unto thee.*] Accept of the conditions offered to them, which were three. First, that they should take upon them the observation of the several precepts of the sons of Noah, and consequently renounce idolatry. Secondly, pay them a yearly tribute: and, thirdly, become their subjects. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gentium, cap. 4. and Schickard, in his Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 16.)

*Then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee.*] Here are two of the conditions beforementioned; and the first was necessarily supposed, because the Israelites were not to suffer any of their gods to remain among them. For though by *serving* the Israelites is not meant being made their slaves, yet it imports that they were to live in due subjection to them as their governors, who might employ them in their public works, as repairing the king's palace, the walls of cities, &c.

Ver. 12. *And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee; then thou shalt besiege it.*] Without any further summons to yield upon conditions of peace.

Ver. 13. *And when the Lord thy God shall deliver it into thy hand.*] Of which they were not to doubt, ver. 4.

*Thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword.*] Which was a just punishment for their obstinacy; of which the men, who were here condemned to destruction, were the authors, and suffered the more justly, because they were told, no doubt, beforehand, that if they did not yield when conditions were offered to them, they must expect this execution.

Ver. 14. *But the women and the little ones.*] Who had not offended, by rejecting conditions of peace, nor could do any harm. And by *little ones* are to be understood male children, as well as female.

*And the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof.*] Money, household-stuff, and all manner of goods.

*Shalt thou take unto thyself,* &c.] This was granted to them as a reward of their service in the war.

Ver. 15. *Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these*

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*nations.*] This clemency to the women and little ones, is limited to those that were not inhabitants of the land of Canaan; who, in the following verses, are ordered to be otherwise treated. For by the laws of war among all nations, the conqueror might use those whom he subdued as he pleased. See Grotius, lib. iii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 4. sect. 5. where, among other things, he quotes that saying of Marcellus in Livy, "Quicquid in hostibus feci, jus belli defendit," *Whatsoever I have done with enemies, the right of war defends it.*

Ver. 16. *But of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance.*] The cities of the land of Canaan.

*Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth.*] *i. e.* Neither man, woman, nor child, as we speak. But their cattle (except in few cases, when they were appointed to be a *cherem*, i. e. *accursed)* were not to be killed, as appears from Josh. xi. 14. And the slaughter of all the people, is to be understood only in case they did not surrender when they were summoned, but rejected the conditions of peace that were offered to them. After this, no mercy was to be had upon them. (See Exod. xxiii. 32.) In which their condition was worse than any other people's, whose men were only to be slain, (ver. 14.) but not women and children. For which difference there was a great reason, as I shall shew presently; but if we could see none, we ought to consider that it was done by God's command; who, as he is most just and merciful, so hath a greater right over men, than we have over beasts, as Grotius well observes; who alleges many examples of the like practice in the heathen world, both among Greeks and Romans. (See lib. iii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 4. sect. 9.)

Ver. 17. *But thou shalt utterly destroy them.*] After they had slighted all offers of peace. Some of the Jews, indeed, have been so merciful as to think this not a command, but a permission; which warranted them to kill all, without any distinction of sex or age; yet did not so enjoin it, but that they might, after they had taken a city, spare such as repented, and offered to become proselytes of the gate. This was the opinion, one would think, which anciently prevailed, as Selden observes, (lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 16.) because we find the relics of these people often mentioned in the Bible. And this is agreeable also to the law of nations, that such as beg mercy should be spared; which flowed from the ancient right which such persons were thought to have to it, as David Chytræus observes out of Thucydides, lib. iii. and the known verse of the oracle,

Μήθ' ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἱκέται ἱεροί τε καὶ ἁγνοί.

*Not to hurt supplicants, who are sacred, and acquitted of their offences.* He doth not mention the place where this oracle was uttered; but Ezekiel Spanhemius hath lately observed out of Pausanias, that it was at Dodone. See Observationes in Callimachi Hymnum in Dianam, ver. 123. where he notes, that from hence Jupiter was called Ἱκέσιος, because he was accounted a severe and implacable avenger of all violence done to supplicants. And they are supplicants (says the same Chytræus) who confess their sin, and, acknowledging they deserve punishment, give themselves up to the pleasure of the conqueror; but beg the punishment may be mitigated by mercy and clemency.

*Namely the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee.*] He distinctly mentions the nations which were to be utterly destroyed, that this severity might be extended no further. And so he had done before, vii. 1. where he mentions seven nations, though here are only six, the Girgashites being omitted. The reason of which Maimonides (in Hilcoth Melachim) thinks to be, that they upon the first summons of Joshua fled the country into Africa; and therefore are not named in Josh. ix. 1, 2. among those that "gathered themselves together to fight against Israel." But I take the true reason of this to be, that the Girgashites were a people mixed among the rest; and did not live in a separate part of the country by themselves: but that they opposed Joshua, as well as others, and were delivered into his hand, appears from Josh. xxiv. 11. Now this looks like a great cruelty, to kill so many nations; till we consider who these people were, that God commanded to be utterly extirpated, *viz.* most abominable idolaters, who offered their children to Moloch, as a piece of pious worship; magicians, witches, necromancers; and guilty of all those filthy lusts mentioned in Lev. xviii. For which crimes God thought them not fit to live any longer upon the face of the earth; and therefore commanded them to be utterly destroyed in this war, which was undertaken by his order, and called therefore *the war of the Lord.* And so was that against Sihon and Og, who were likewise Amorites, and upon that score rooted out by God's order, Numb. xxi. *ult.* Deut. ii. 34. For it was mercy to others not to suffer such a wicked generation to live.

Ver. 18. *That they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods.*] Here is the great reason given of the forenamed severe execution, that if they had been spared, they would have infected the Israelites with their filthy idolatry. Which some make an argument, why peace was not to be proclaimed to these nations, (ver. 10.) because they were so wicked, that on no terms it was fit to suffer them to live. But they that object this against what was before said, forget, or do not consider, that the great condition of peace with them was, that they should renounce their idolatry; and then there was no such danger in sparing them. And this was so settled in the opinion of the ancient Jews, that, after they had taken a city, they thought, upon these terms, there was room for mercy. So the book Siphri, upon these very words, *lest they teach you to do after all their abominations.* From whence it is to be observed (saith that author), "if they repented, the Israelites might let them live." And so R. Solomon himself; "It is to be understood, that if they repented, and became proselytes, it was lawful to receive them."

*So should you sin against the Lord your God.*] Both by suffering them to live, and imitating them in their wickedness.

Ver. 19. *When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making war against it, to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof, by forcing an axe against them, for thou mayest eat of them, and thou shalt not cut them down.*] It is very plain that he speaks of fruit-trees, such as bear apples, olives, dates, &c. which were to be preserved both in war and in peace: except in a few cases. In war, if the enemy made advantage of them, for their archers to lurk

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and shelter themselves behind them, by which the Israelites were much annoyed, then they think they might be cut down, to shorten the siege. And in peace, if they did not bring forth fruit, or if the fruit would not be so profitable as the wood would be for building, and other uses; or if they hindered the growth of better trees: in all these cases they might be cut down, as the Jewish doctors resolve. Who, when they please, mind the reason of a law, and not the bare words; insomuch, that they extend this law to a great many other things, which they say might not be destroyed, if they were useful and profitable. No houses, for instance, nor garments, nor household-stuff; nor were they to stop up fountains, &c. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 15. and Guil. Schickardus in Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 18.)

*For the tree of the field is man's life.*] The word *life* is not in the Hebrew text; but we add it to make out the sense. In which we follow many good authors among the Jews, particularly Aben Ezra, who observes many such elliptical, *i. e.* concise forms of speech in Scripture. As in 1 Sam. xvi. 20. where an *ass of bread*, is *an ass loaded with bread.* So here *the tree is a man, i. e.* the life or support of man. Just as (xxiv. 6.) it is said, a man should not take the upper or nether millstone to pledge, *ki nephesh hu, because it is his life, i. e.* that whereby he gets his livelihood. But there are a great many who translate the words by way of interrogation (and the Hebrew will bear it), and, joining them with those that follow, make this the sense, *Is the tree of the field a man, that it should come against thee in the siege?* So the Vulgar, the Greek, and the Arabic translation, and the Chaldee paraphrast, and Josephus, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 12.) As much as to say, They need not fear any danger from the trees, as if they were soldiers that could fight against them. And if this sense do not seem dilute (as some have censured it), there is no need of rendering the words by way of interrogation, but only of repeating the word *not* out of the foregoing words, in this manner, *Thou shalt not cut them down, for the tree of the field is not a man*, &c. Of this there are many examples, as Glassius and our Gataker have shewn. And thus R. Bechai among the Jews expounds these words; and the famous Abarbinel, who thus glosses upon them: "It is not decent to make war against trees, who have no hands to fight with thee, but against men only." And this sense Grotius follows, lib. iii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 12. sect. 2. where he produces Philo for this opinion, and Josephus, who says, "If trees could speak, they would cry out that it was unjust, that they who were no cause of the war should suffer the mischiefs of it." And thus Onkelos translates these words, and those that follow, *For the tree of the field is not as a man, that it should come against thee in the siege;* that is, they had no cause to fear trees, and therefore should not hurt them. But this is a reason against cutting down any trees whatsoever; whereas Moses speaks only of fruit-trees. From whence Grotius thinks that saying of the Pythagoreans took its original, ἥμερον φυτὸν καὶ ἔγκαρπον, &c. *trees that do not grow wild, and bear fruit, ought not to be hurt, much less cut down.* And yet it seems to be more agreeable to the Hebrew words, than our marginal translation, which makes this sense, *That there are trees of the field sufficient to employ in the siege;* so that they need not cut down fruit-trees to carry it on.

Ver. 20. *Only the trees which thou knowest, that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down.*] If it were necessary for the raising bulwarks (as it here follows), or otherways to distress the enemy, they had liberty to cut down trees that did not bear fruit; but not merely to make waste and desolation.

*And thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee.*] From whence they battered the city, and threw great stones into it; as well as begirt them round, that no provisions might be brought in to them. Thus we find they did in aftertimes, 2 Chron. xxvi. 15. 2 Sam. xx. 15. And they must have some such inventions in Moses's days; or else how could they take cities fortified with such high walls as are mentioned Deut. i. 28.? Or to what purpose should they build bulwarks, and cast up banks, but from thence to batter the city with some engine or other?

*Until it be subdued.*] From these words the Jewish doctors conclude, that it was lawful to make war even upon the sabbath; because, having set down before a city, they were to proceed till *it was subdued;* which these words suppose might not be in a short time. Only they say, that the siege was to be begun at least three days before the sabbath. Thus these superstitious people, not thinking common reason sufficient to justify them in so plain a case, make the Scripture speak what it intended not for their warrant. See Schickard, in his Jus Regium, cap. 5. Theor. 18. where he alleges Maimonides in his Hilkoth Melachim to this purpose. And Joh. Benedictus Carpzovius produces a plainer out of Hilkoth Schabbath, where he delivers their sense in these words: "A siege is to be begun three days before the sabbath; and then it may be continued every day, even upon the sabbath, until the city be taken: and this may be done in a war that is voluntarily undertaken. For thus our wise men understand these words by ancient tradition, *until it be subdued.*"

## CHAP. XXI.

Ver. 1. *IF one shall be found slain in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess.*] This follows very properly after the law he had delivered about making war; because then the bodies of dead men were most frequently found. About which the wisest lawgivers took the greatest care that inquisition should be made, how and by whom they were slain. This appears by Plato, who, in his ninth book de Legibus, hath a law something like to this, though far short of the solemnity that is here required to be used; as I shall observe in the conclusion of this statute.

*Lying in the field, and it be not known who hath slain him.*] The Hebrew doctors here stick too much to the letter of these words; for they will not have them reach to a dead body hanging in the air upon a tree, or hid in the sand or dust, or floating upon the water, which is extremely absurd.

Ver. 2. *Then thy elders and thy judges shall come forth.*] The great Sanhedrin were to send forth some of their members (so the Jews interpret it) to do what here follows. And indeed it may be thought that none but they could take care of this matter, the doubt being to which of the neighbouring cities (where the other judges lived) it be-

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longed. Therefore the paraphrase ascribed to Uzielides saith, "Two of the wise men or elders, and three of the judges, were sent by the great Sanhedrin about this business." (See Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 7. n. 2.)

Yet he observes, in another part of that most learned work, (lib. ii. cap. 7. n. 3.) that there was a sort of elders who were not ordained by laying on of hands, but only were venerable persons for their age and prudence, who, some think, might serve for this employment. And they called such elders *zickne hashuck, elders of the street,* or *vulgar elders.* But none, I think, hath discoursed more critically upon these words, *thy elders,* and *thy judges,* than our Mr. Thorndike; who observes, that there had been judges constituted to determine causes by Jethro's advice, (Exod. xviii.) the greater causes being reserved for Moses alone. For whose assistance God afterward appointed seventy elders, (Numb. xi.) who made up the great court of judgment in that nation. Now they of this great consistory are called *the elders of Israel:* but they of other consistories, or inferior courts, are called barely *elders,* or *elders of such a city.* See Review of the Rites of the Church, p. 70. where he alleges this very place for it; and by *thy elders,* understands the elders of Israel; the lower elders being mentioned in the next verse. And so those of the great consistory are commonly called in the gospel: and in like manner, *the scribes of the people,* and *thy scribes,* signify there those of this high court. Whereas the bare name of *scribes* is extended further, to the inferior doctors of the law. As also the name of *rulers,* and that of *rulers of the people,* are to be understood with the like difference.

*And they shall measure unto the cities that are round about him that is slain.*] That is, if it were dubious what city lay nearest to the dead body, as it sometimes happened. But commonly, it is probable, at the first view they easily discerned this, and so did not trouble themselves to measure. It is a frivolous dispute in the Mischna, from whence they were to measure; whether from the navel, or the nose, or the forehead: which last seems more rational to Maimonides, who calls it the centre of the body. But they did not (if we believe the Jewish doctors), in their measuring, take notice of any city wherein there was not a court of twenty-three elders; and Jerusalem was always excepted. (See Selden in the place forenamed, n. 3. and L'Empereur upon Bava-kama, p. 173. and Wagenseil upon Sota, p. 899.) If the dead body lay nearest to the country of the gentiles, then they did not measure at all; but it was presumed the man was killed by them.

Ver. 3. *And it shall be, that the city which is next to the slain man.*] From whence it might be presumed the murderer came, or was fled thither, as Abarbinel discourses.

*Even the elders of that city.*] Who were different from the elders beforementioned (see the foregoing verse), for they returned to Jerusalem when they had seen the body buried, if there was no discovery of the murderer: and then the senators of the city next to the dead body, who were twenty-three, performed what is here ordered.

*Shall take an heifer.*] That was not above two years old; for if it were a day more, they might not use it for this purpose, as Maimonides and others affirm. Yet the Scripture, in other cases, mentions one of three years old, (Gen. xv. 9. Isa. xv. 5. Jer. xlviii. 5.) as Wagenseil observes upon the Mischna of Sota, cap. 9. sect. 3. annot. 2. If two cities happened to be equidistant from the dead body, they then joined together to provide this heifer.

*Which hath not been wrought with.*] Never used in ploughing the ground.

*And which hath not drawn in the yoke.*] This may seem to be included in the foregoing expression, as Maimonides observes; but it is added, he thinks, to signify, that if it had been employed in any other labour, it became improper for this use. Such heifers were accounted by the heathen to be most acceptable to their gods, as appears by Homer, in whom Diomedes and Nestor promise such an offering to Pallas. (See Bochart, lib. ii. Hieroz. cap. 33. p. 1. out of Iliad K. and Odyss. Γ.)

But there was a particular reason for such a one in this case (wherein the heifer was not to be offered), that it might the better represent, as many think, the person that had committed this murder, who was a son of Belial, subject to no law, and deserved to be beheaded as this heifer was. It is not required that it should be without blemish, as those heifers were to be that were offered at the tabernacle: but it sufficed if it had never been accustomed to the yoke. Yet this is not to be taken without all limitation; for if it wanted any member, or were diseased, it might not be employed in this service, as Wagenseil observes out of Maimonides, in the place beforenamed, p. 907.

Ver. 4. *And the elders of that city shall bring down the heifer.*] Their cities, it seems, were commonly seated on hills or high grounds.

*Into a rough valley.*] The Hebrew word *nachal* signifies both a *valley* and a *torrent.* The LXX., Josephus, and the Vulgar, understand it as we do; and the following words favour this interpretation. But the Talmudists and the rabbins, who generally follow them, take it to signify a *torrent,* which is the sense of Maimonides himself; and the next word *ethan* (which we translate *rough*) they interpret a *rapid* torrent. Chaskuni thinks there is some reason for this in the sixth verse, where they are required to *wash their hands over the heifer* in the water that is of the brook. I see nothing to hinder the putting both senses together; torrents being wont to run down violently from the mountains, through the valleys which lie beneath them, which is the cause that the same word signifies both.

*Which is neither eared.*] Or rather, *ploughed.*

*Nor sown.*] Being a stony, craggy ground, representing the horridness of the murder, and the cruelty and hardness of the man's heart who committed it. They that follow the other interpretation of *nachal,* understood the foregoing words, *Ascher lo jeabeth bo,* which we translate, *neither eared,* as if they signified the torrent did not serve to water the neighbouring ground: and these words to be meant of the soil which lay next to the torrent, in which nothing was sown. And, besides this variety, there are those who take *ethan* not to signify either that which is hard or rapid, but the most fertile ground: so R. Bechai, and lately R. Jac. Abendana, in his marginal notes upon Michlal Jophi, where he gives this reason for it; that the inhabitants of each city might be the more careful to prevent such murders, being in danger otherwise to lose the best ground belonging to their inheritance. For the land where the body was found



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(if we may believe the Mischna) was never to be sown any more. (See Sota, cap. 9. sect. 5.)

*And shall strike off the heifer's neck there in the valley.*] Coming behind the heifer (saith the Mischna), as the murderer was supposed to have treacherously surprised the slain man; and should have been thus used, if he could have been found.

Ver. 5. *And the priests, the sons of Levi.*] See chap. xvii. 9. 18. xviii. 1.

*Shall come near.*] To see all performed according to the law, and to pray to God for the country in the words prescribed, ver. 8.

*For them the Lord thy God hath chosen to minister unto him, and to bless in the name of the Lord.*] See Exod. xxviii. 1, &c. Numb. vi. 23, &c.

*And by their word shall every controversy and every stroke be tried.*] They did not determine all matters whatsoever, but all of this nature; in which the law appointed them to take care things were done according to it. As in the killing the *red heifer;* the examination of the *woman suspected of adultery* by the water of jealousy; the *leprosy,* whether in men, or houses, or garments. Thus the Hebrews explain these words. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 8.) And so Bonfrerius here acknowledges, that they did not come hither as judges, but as directors; and that they might purge themselves, together with the elders, from all guilt of this crime.

Ver. 6. *And all the elders of that city, that are next to the slain man.*] If there were never so many elders in the city, they were all to clear themselves by doing what follows.

*Shall wash their hands over the heifer,* &c.] In the water of the brook which flowed through the valley; protesting their innocence, in the words prescribed in the next verse. So Chaskuni glosses, "As our hands are clean, so are we from the guilt of this blood." See Wagenseil upon Sota, p. 910. who thinks Pilate had respect to this rite, when he condemned our Saviour, (Matt. xxvii. 24.) notwithstanding all that learned men have said to the contrary.

Ver. 7. *And they shall answer and say.*] Being asked, perhaps, whether they knew any thing of this murder.

*Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it.*] That is, they professed solemnly they knew not who shed it, nor how the man came to be slain. And the Mischna beforementioned adds, that they said, (for how can any one think that elders would be murderers?) "This man did not come into our city that we know of, and dismissed without necessary provisions; nor was seen by us, and permitted to go away without company." Which Maimonides expresses more largely in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 40. where he represents the wisdom of this law in these words: "The elders called God to witness, that they had not neglected to secure the ways, nor to set watches to examine diligently those that travelled, saying (as our rabbins express it), *This man was not killed through any negligence, or forgetfulness, which we are guilty of, in not observing our public constitutions; nor do we know who killed him.* Now, by this inquisition into the fact, by this going forth of the elders, and the striking off the heifer's head, &c. a great deal of discourse necessarily arose about this business, which made the thing public, and was a probable means of discovering the murderer, by some or other who were there, or should hear of all this." And if any one came, and said he knew the author, then they forbore to behead the heifer: but the man being apprehended, if the house of judgment did not put him to death, the king had power to do it: if he neglected it, the avenger of blood might kill him wheresoever he met him. By which it appears, that this solemn process here mentioned tended very much to detect the murderer. Unto which this also contributed, that the place where the heifer's head was struck off might never be ploughed or sowed hereafter (as I noted before), which made the owners of that ground employ their utmost diligence to find out the murderer, that their land might not lie waste for ever; for they might not so much as plant a tree upon it.

Ver. 8. *Be merciful, O Lord, unto thy people Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto thy people of Israel's charge.*] The priests alone pronounced these words, as the Mischna there saith; though Josephus (who often differs from the Talmudists) saith, Both priests and elders prayed God to be propitious unto them, and to prevent the like evil from falling out again in their region. (See Selden, lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 7. n. 5, 6.)

*And the blood shall be forgiven them.*] These are not the words of the priests, saith the same Mischna, but the Holy Ghost pronounces, That when they observed these rites, the guilt should be removed from them; which, in some sort, would have lain upon them, if they had taken no notice of a murder committed so near to their city, nor made inquisition after it, and expressed their abhorrence of it.

Ver. 9. *So shalt thou put away the guilt of innocent blood from among you, when thou shalt do that which is right in the sight of the Lord.*] Sincerely protesting their innocence and detestation of this fact: which was to be done in the day-time, and not in the night; and the body of the heifer was to be buried, but none of it eaten, or any part employed to other use. If the murderer was found before its head was struck off, it was to be let go into the pasture among other beasts; if after, he was to suffer capital punishment, that is, to be cut off by the sword, as the Mischna beforementioned explains it, cap. 9. sect. 7.

By all this it appears, that no ancient law made such provision for the discovery and expiation of secret murders, as this of Moses. For the very best of them, which is that of Plato, enacts no more than this, that if a man was found dead, and he that killed him, after a diligent search, could not be heard of, public proclamation should be made, that he who was guilty of the fact should not come into any holy place, nor any part of the whole country; for if he were discovered and apprehended he should be put to death, Καὶ ἔξω τῆς τοῦ παθόντος Χώρας ἐκβληθησόμενον ἄταφον, *and be thrown out of the bounds of the country, and have no burial,* (lib. ix. de Legibus, p. 874.)

Ver. 10. *When thou goest to war against thine enemies.*] To a voluntary war against any of their neighbouring nations, not against the people of Canaan, none of which were to be spared, if they stood out and fought, but destroyed by the Divine precept, which required this war.

*And the Lord thy God hath delivered them into thy hands, and thou hast taken them captive.*] As the manner was, to make them slaves to their conquerors.

Ver. 11. *And seest among the captives a beautiful woman.*] It was indifferent whether she was a virgin, or a widow, or a wife, according to the Jewish doctors.

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*And hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldest have her to thy wife.*] The plain meaning is, fell so passionately in love with her, as to desire to marry her, though a stranger, of another nation and religion. It is a common opinion, indeed, among the Jewish doctors, that a baser sort of passion is here indulged; for it was lawful, they imagine, for a soldier to lie with such a captive once to satisfy his lust (which some make to be the meaning of this expression, *hast a desire to her*, or, as it is in the Hebrew, *hast cleaved to her*), but not repeat it, unless he would take her for his wife: which they think was allowed to military men when they were absent from their wives, to prevent greater outrages, which were wont to be committed by the heathen. But the best nations severely prohibited all such abuses, as Grotius observes, lib. iii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 4. sect. xix. 1. And though Schickard, in his Mischpat Hammelech, endeavours to make out the wisdom of this law in permitting a Hebrew soldier to enjoy a captive once, (see p. 130, 131. and Mr. Selden, lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 13.) yet he cannot but acknowledge that some of the Jews do not allow of this interpretation, but are of opinion, that he might not touch a captive till she became a proselyte, and he took her for his wife. Thus R. Bechai, as Grotius observes in the place forenamed, sect. xix. 2. "God would have the camp of Israel holy, and not defiled with fornication, and other abominations, as the camps of the gentiles." Unto whom Alexander himself gave a better example; who being extremely taken with the beauty of Roxana, did not abuse her as a captive, but vouchsafed to marry her, and make her his wife; for which he is justly commended, both by Arrianus and by Plutarch; and therefore I think it is most reasonable to expound this law, only of taking such a captive in marriage; which Abarbinel also shews is the most ancient interpretation of it, and hath the best authority on its side among the Jews. For though he acknowledges it is the common opinion of their wise men, that a soldier might lie with a fair captive once, whilst she was a mere gentile; yet herein they followed the doctors in the Babylonian Talmud, which is not of so great antiquity as the Jerusalem Talmud, where R. Johannes (in Massecheth Sanhedrin) delivers the quite contrary doctrine, that it was not lawful for any Israelite to lie with such a woman at all, till the conditions, mentioned in the following words of this law, were fulfilled, when he was to make her his wife. And according to the judgment of this R. Johannes, Abarbinel explains this law in a large commentary on this place.

Ver. 12. *Then thou shalt bring her home to thine house.*] The forenamed doctors, who are so indulgent to the soldiers' lust, will have this to signify, that they were to observe the rules of modesty in the camp, and not openly lie with her like beasts, but privately in their tents. Thus Maimonides himself, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41. But it is evident Moses doth not speak of any thing done in the camp, but of what was to be done when he returned to his house; where he was to dispose her, in the manner following, to be his wife.

*And she shall shave her head.*] These and the following words are variously interpreted, some taking these things to be done to her, with a design to abate his affection to her, that he might not marry her at all; and others, to prepare her, and make her fit for his bed. For shaving her head (which every one knows was used in mourning) deprived her of one of her greatest ornaments, and made her less amiable, and consequently might extinguish his affection, which was kindled by her beauty. So Clemens Alexandrinus understands it. (See lib. ii. Strom. p. 398, 399. and lib. iii. p. 456.) And many of the Hebrews are of the same mind, that these things were ordered to lessen his affection to her, by making her appear less lovely in his eyes. (See Schickard's Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 5. Theor. 17. p. 134, 135.) But there are others who take this to have been a kind of purification, and cleansing her from her gentilism; and a token of her becoming a new woman, that she might be meet to be made his wife.

*And pare her nails.*] This likewise was a piece of cleanliness and neatness. But they who are of the other opinion translate the words, *Let her nails grow*, as our marginal translation hath it, and the Arabic, and Chaldee, and the Hebrew doctors commonly understand it; which was intended to make her look ugly, and to slack his love to her. At least, it was suitable to the condition of a mourner, as she plainly was, it appears by the next verse. The Hebrew words, indeed (which are, *make her nails*), are dubious; from whence arose that dispute we find in the Talmud, between R. Eliezer, who expounds it *pare her nails*, to make them look handsome; and R. Akiba, who expounds it, *let them grow*. The former reasons thus: The hair and the nails are to be used alike. Now her hair is plainly ordered to be cut; and therefore so were her nails to be. But the other doctor turns it quite contrary: What was ordered about her hair, was to make her abominable; therefore this also was intended to make her appear ill-favoured. And, indeed, the Hebrew word being indifferent to either sense, we must judge of the meaning by the circumstances of the place: and here they seem to lead us to R. Akiba's interpretation; which Onkelos, a most judicious paraphrast, follows; and many learned men in later times, particularly Schickard in the book beforementioned, p. 134. and Martinus Gierus de Luctu Hebræorum, cap. 14. sect. 5.

Ver. 13. *And she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her.*] Her fine clothes, wherein they suppose her to have been taken captive; instead of which she was to put on sordid apparel, which was the habit of mourners. This still tended to cool his love; the drift of these things being (as the Jews commonly think) to take away from her all that was inviting and tempting, that so such marriages might not be common among them.

*And shall remain in thy house.*] Nor stir out of doors, but be retired; as persons in a mournful condition are wont to be.

*And bewail her father and mother.*] Who, perhaps, were killed in the war; or rather, whom she was likely to see no more. And this also the Jews suppose might help to abate his affection to her: sorrow and grief very much spoiling one's beauty.

*A full month.*] So long the Jews were allowed to bewail their dead relations, or at least those who were eminent, as they did Aaron and Moses. And here I cannot but observe how Philo magnifies this constitution, and plainly shews he was of the opinion of R. Johannes beforementioned, that this captive might not be touched till all these things were performed. Πάνυ καλῶς ἕκαστα διαταξάμενος,



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(saith he, in his book περὶ φιλανθρωπίας, p. 545, &c.) "Moses ordered every thing most excellently in this law: first, in not letting the reins loose to men's desires, but restraining them for thirty days. In which time, secondly, a trial was made of his love; whether it was a furious ungovernable passion, or had something of reason in it, which advises us to do nothing suddenly, but after serious and long deliberation. And, thirdly, Ἐλεεῖ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον. This was a merciful law to the captive, that, if she were a virgin, she might bewail her unhappiness, in not being disposed of in marriage by her parents: if a widow, that she had lost her first love, and was now to be married to one who would be her lord, as well as her husband."

*And after that.*] Upon these words R. Johannes grounded his opinion, that, till a full month was spent in the forementioned ceremonies, he might not lie with her.

*Thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife.*] If he continued, that is, to love her at the end of the month, and she was willing to embrace the Jewish religion, in which, while she remained retired in his house, she was instructed. For the Jewish doctors agree she was to be baptized, and not merely made a proselyte of the gate (*i. e.* renounce idolatry), otherwise he might not marry her. And if she refused to embrace their religion entirely, Maimonides saith, they gave her a year's time to consider of it; at the end of which, if she remained still obstinate, they required her at least to observe the seven precepts of the sons of Noah, and so to become a proselyte of the gate; otherwise she was to be slain. But though she was so converted, no Jew might take her to wife; for such a marriage, Maimonides saith, was counted impious.

Those Hebrew doctors who think a soldier might enjoy her once, at the first taking her captive, have added another conceit to this, *viz.* that there was not only this month's time allowed her to bewail her parents, but that he was to stay two months more, before he *might go in to her and be her husband*, that he might see whether she were with child or not, by his first enjoyment of her. For if she were, a great difference was to be made between that child, and those she might have by him after marriage. Concerning which, see Selden, lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 13. where he observes, they make Tamar, the daughter of David, an instance of this; whose mother being a captive, they suppose he lay with her as soon as she was taken, and had this issue by her; but afterward she becoming a proselyte, he made her his wife, and she bare him Absalom. Whereby it came to pass, that there was not such a relation between her and the other sons of David by other women, but that it had been lawful for Amnon to have married her.

But all this is judged by the famous Abarbinel (upon 2 Sam. xiii.) to be very absurd; and neither believes that David would have committed such a fact, as to lie with a woman in her gentilism; nor, if he had, that this child would have been looked upon as a gentile, since he afterward married her mother. And therefore he takes those words of Tamar, ver. 13. "Speak to the king, and he will not withhold me from thee," to be a mere put-off, as we speak, to get rid of his company; which Amnon understood very well, who, knowing he could not have her to wife, proceeded to force her.

Ver. 14. *And it shall be, if thou have no delight in her, then thou shalt let her go whither she will.*] If at the month's end, or before, his mind was changed, and he did not like to take her for his wife, then he might neither meddle with her any more (as the Hebrew doctors understand it), nor keep her any longer as a slave, nor sell her, or make merchandize of her (as the text here expressly orders), but give her liberty to go whither she herself thought good. This he *lost*, say the Jews, by his short pleasure he took at first. For other captives, whom a man had made himself master of, by the law of war, he might employ in his work as slaves, or make money of them; but one whom he had lain with, he was either to marry, or set her at liberty. This they ground upon the last words of this verse, which I shall shew may have another interpretation. And therefore I shall not insist upon their sense (which depends upon the same words), who think Moses speaks of his not liking her after she was become his wife, her humour, manners, and conversation, being disagreeable to him; in which case he was to give her a bill of divorce, as he might do another wife, but not keep her as a slave.

*Because thou hast humbled her.*] It must be acknowledged that this is an usual phrase, for having had carnal knowledge of a woman, as the Scripture modestly elsewhere speaks, in the like case. It signifies so in the very next chapter of this book, Deut. xxii. 29. Judg. xix. 24. xx. 2. and many other places, where it is used for violence offered to a woman, which was the greatest *affliction* to her, as the Hebrew word properly signifies. From which I see no reason why we should depart in this place; for it was sufficient affliction and humiliation to a captive woman (as Carpzovius observes, in his annotations upon Schickard's book, which I have so often named), that, after she had been brought into a soldier's house, and kept there a month, having her head shaved, garments changed, &c. in hope of marriage, she was rejected at last, when it should have been consummated. And thus Abarbinel here understands the word *humbled*, not of his lying with her, but of all the forementioned conditions, which were imposed upon her as a preparation for his bed, and of her disappointment after she had submitted to be baptized. And, indeed, the Hebrew word denotes any sort of affliction. (See Exod. i. 11. Psal. lxxxviii. 8. lxxxix. 23. xc. 15. xciv. 5, &c.)

Ver. 15. *If a man have two wives, one beloved, and another hated.*] That is, less loved; as the word *hated* sometimes signifies, Gen. xxix. 31. Matt. vi. 24. R. Solomon thinks that this case follows the other, because it might so happen, that, if a man suffered himself to be carried with too violent a passion towards such a woman as is beforementioned, it might turn into hatred, when he found her not to be agreeable to him.

*And they have borne him children, both the beloved and the hated.*] Towards which it was likely he would be affected very differently, as he was to his wives.

*And if the first-born son be hers that was hated.*] As it fell out in the case of Leah and Rachel.

Ver. 16. *Then it shall be when he makes his sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the son of the beloved first-born,* &c.] He speaks of sons; for daughters were not to have a double portion. And he speaks of sons (as the Jews will have it) born before the death of their father; to whom he divided his inheritance. For a

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posthumous son had not a double portion, as the Gemara upon Bathra saith. (See Selden de Successionibus, cap. 7. p. 29.)

Ver. 17. *But he shall acknowledge the son of the hated for the first-born.*] Which had his first love, and was to enjoy the effects of it.

*By giving him a double portion of all that he hath.*] Of all that he was in possession of when he died; but not of that which was his in reversion after his death; as Mr. Selden shews the opinion of the Jewish lawyers is, lib. de Success. cap. 6. p. 24.

*For he is the beginning of his strength.*] See Gen. xlix. 1.

*The right of the first-born is his.*] By a very ancient custom, antecedent to the law, which made the first-born the head of the family, and gave him as much more as any of his brethren of the estate belonging to it, that he might be able to maintain and support the dignity of it, (Gen. xxv. 31.) But if there was no son, and the inheritance was to be divided among daughters, the eldest daughter had not a double share of the estate; as Mr. Selden shews in the same book, cap. 8.

Ver. 18. *If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son.*] By a *stubborn* son, the Jews understand one that will not do as he is bidden, and by a *rebellious*, one that doth what he is forbidden. And they imagine this law is annexed to the foregoing, about the marriage of a soldier to a captive woman, because the issue of such marriages commonly proved refractory, or at least gave their parents great trouble. So Schickard observes out of Tanchuma. And they confirm it by an example out of Scripture, *viz.* the two children of David, Absalom and Tamar, who were both born of a captive woman, made a proselyte: the former of which conspired the death of his father; and the other being ravished by Amnon, was the occasion of the death of some of her brethren. (Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 5. Theor. 17.)

*Which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother.*] Behaved himself not only undutifully, but crossly to them; and with such contempt of their authority, as argued he had not only lost all filial affection and reverence to them, but would, if he could, undo them.

*And that, when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them.*] Is never the better for admonitions, reprehensions, and corrections, which they were bound to give him.

Ver. 19. *Then shall his father and his mother lay hold of him.*] It is absurd to say, as the Hebrew doctors do (in their qualifications of this law), that his parents were with their own hands to apprehend him, and bring him before the court; though it seems reasonable enough, that both father and mother should agree in the complaint against him, and desire officers might be sent to lay hold of him. In which one cannot well suppose that they would consent to have such a punishment as follows inflicted upon him, unless he were intolerable.

*And bring him unto the elders of his city.*] Who were to examine the proofs, and accordingly to pass sentence upon him. Concerning these elders, see ver. 3, 4.

*And unto the gate of his place.*] Where the court of judgment was wont to sit. (See xvi. 18.) The paternal power among the ancient Romans was so great, that they might put their children to death, as they did their slaves, without any process before a magistrate. And this some have taken to be a natural right; and imagined God would not have commanded Abraham to kill his son, but that it was a part of his inherent power. However this be, they were not thought fit to be long entrusted with it; for God here orders, by Moses, that it should be committed to the public judges, as the most disinterested persons.

Ver. 20. *And they shall say unto the elders of his city.*] This seems to intimate the authority of parents was still so preserved, that their testimony alone was sufficient to convict a rebellious son, without any further proof. The Hebrew doctors, indeed, are of another mind, as I shall shew in the explication of what follows.

*This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice.*] This is to be understood, say they, of a son that was no less than thirteen years old and a day; and so might be presumed to know his duty, and to be capable of being governed by counsel and good advice; and this is reasonable enough: but what they say concerning the time when he became his own man is monstrously absurd. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. p. 559, 560.) What they say of a daughter, not to be comprehended under this law, may be admitted, because she was not capable to do so much mischief in a family as a rebellious son.

*He is a glutton and a drunkard.*] These sins are no where made capital by the law of Moses, but when they were accompanied with rebellious disobedience to parents, who were to bring witnesses, as the Hebrew doctors say, that this son had stolen some of their goods, and sold them, that he might spend the money in these vices; under which others are comprehended, which usually attend them; and that he had done this, after he had been admonished and chastised: so that he was not to be punished as this law at last prescribes, till he was grown incorrigible. For, they say, the court was first to order him to be whipped, and not to proceed further till, upon a new complaint, it was proved that he had run into the same riotous courses since that punishment. Then, upon this second testimony (as they call it), the court gave sentence against him, that he should be stoned to death, unless the parents, before the sentence was pronounced, said they gave him their pardon. There are a great many little niceties about the quantity of meat and wine that he ate and drank, and other matters; with which I do not think fit to trouble the reader.

Ver. 21. *And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones, that he die.*] This is such a severe sentence, that it inclines me to think, the parents looked upon such a son as so debauched, that he would not only spend all their estate, if he had it, but was inclined to kill them, that he might get it into his own hands. For the sentence of death is denounced, elsewhere, against one that struck his father or mother, (Exod. xxi. 15.) or that cursed them, (ver. 17.) It is not said, indeed, he should be stoned, but *put to death;* which they interpret of strangling; this punishment of stoning being appointed for idolaters and blasphemers of God; next to whom parents are to be reverenced, being in God's place, with respect to their children. (See upon the fifth commandment.) And therefore other nations were very severe in their punishment of such children as are here described; and particularly the Romans, after the power was taken from parents to sell them, or put them to death, and the censure of them committed to the magistrates. (See Hen. Stephen. in his Fontes et Rivi Juris Civilis, p. 18.) And

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among the Athenians, Lysias saith (in his oration against Agoratus), He that beats his parents, or did not maintain them, and provide a habitation for them, when they were in want, ἄξιός ἐστι θανάτῳ ζημιωθῆναι, *deserved to be put to death*. The law indeed did not inflict that punishment, but only said, ἄτιμος ἔστω, *let him be infamous;* that is, as they expound it, he might not come into the public assemblies, nor enter into their temples, nor wear a crown in their public festivals; and if any such persons presumed so to do, they were brought before the magistrates, who set a fine upon their heads, and committed them to prison till they paid it. (See Sam. Petitus, in his Commentary upon the Attic Laws, lib. ii. tit. 4. p. 163.) No wonder therefore Moses ordained this punishment, when a son was come to such a degree of profligate wickedness, that he endeavoured to undo his parents. Which some states have thought fit to follow in these latter ages: for David Chytræus saith, he himself saw an example of this severity at Zurich, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty; where a disobedient son was beheaded, who had cursed his mother, and beaten her.

*So shalt thou put evil away from among you; and all Israel shall hear, and fear.*] See concerning this before upon xix. 20.

Ver. 22. *If a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death.*] There were several sorts of capital punishments; viz. *strangling, burning, cutting off by the sword,* and *stoning*. Now the Hebrew doctors limit this unto such offenders as were stoned; of which punishment he speaks in the foregoing verse. But there being eighteen sorts of offenders, who were to be sentenced to this death, they put a further limitation upon these words; their tradition being, as they tell us, the *sin worthy of death* (or stoning) is only idolatry or blasphemy. So we read in the Sanhedrin, cap. 6. sect. 4. "All that were stoned were also hanged, according to the opinion of R. Eliezer: but the wise men say none were hanged but the idolater and blasphemer." And they add there, that only men, not women, were thus used; for which I can see no reason, but the sticking to the mere letter of these words; as if the word *man* did not comprehend both sexes.

But if we examine the Scripture, we shall find this not to be true (that no men were hanged but they that were stoned), for the king of Ai was hanged, (Josh. viii. 29.) and five kings more, (x. 26.) and they were not hanged because they were blasphemers or idolaters (for then all the rest of the Canaanites should have been so treated), but because they were such enemies of God, as had rebelliously withstood the gracious summons of surrender. And there are other examples also which confute this; as, the two traitors that murdered Ish-bosheth, (2 Sam. iv. 12.) and the five sons of Saul, (2 Sam. xxi. 9.) It is more probable, therefore, that all those whom the judges thought to be such great offenders, that it was fit to make them very public examples, were hanged up after they had suffered the punishment of death, to which they were sentenced. This seems to be denoted in the word *chatta*, which signifies sometimes a very *great crime*, as appears from Hosea xii. 8. where he speaks of *iniquity, which is sin:* not as if all iniquity were not *sin;* but some acts of iniquity were not so heinous, as to be called by that name.

*And thou hang him.*] After he had been put to death, as appears by the foregoing words, which speak of his being *put to death* before this suspension: which shews that this punishment was not the same with the Roman crucifixion (as Baronius, Sigonius, Lipsius, and others, have mistaken), for they hanged men alive upon the gibbet; whereby they expired before they were taken down: but this was only hanging up their bodies after they were dead, and exposing them to open shame for a time.

*On a tree.*] On a piece of timber (saith the Sanhedrin) struck into the ground; out of which came a beam, whereunto his hands were tied, as they tell us in the place beforementioned: and so Schickard, in his Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 4. Theor. 14. So that his body hung in such a posture as crucified men did.

Ver. 23. *His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day.*] This is excellently interpreted by Josephus, lib. iv. Archæol. cap. 8. Μείνας δ' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς θέαν τῶν ἁπάντων, ταφῆσθαι νυκτός. *Having remained the whole day a spectacle unto all, he was to be buried at night:* for as soon as the sun went down, the body also was taken down. Examples of which we have in the book of Joshua, viii. 29. x. 26, 27. In which he is far more sincere than their rabbins, who say the law was satisfied if they hanged up the body just before the setting of the sun, and presently after took it down again: which exposition seems to have been contrived in favour of their countrymen; for only Israelites, they confess, were to be thus exposed, not *proselytes of the gate,* as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Jure Nat. et Gent. &c. cap. 12.

*For he that is hanged is accursed of God.*] The Jews interpret this clause, as if the meaning were, he was hanged *because he blasphemed God.* So Onkelos himself, and the Samaritan versions, with those of the Spanish and Mauritanian Jews, as Selden observes, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 4. and Hottinger, in his Smegma Orientale, p. 96, 97. But though this be a common opinion among the Hebrew doctors, yet the LXX. have taken the sense right, Ὅτι κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. *Cursed of God is every one that is hanged on a tree.* And so St. Paul, Galat. iii. with very little difference. For they observed what those doctors did not, that Moses doth not here give a reason why the man was hanged up, but why he was to be taken down from the gallows. Now what consequence is there in this, *Let him be taken down, and buried, because he cursed God?* Every one sees that (though the word *cursed* should be taken in an active sense) this is not a right interpretation of these words: for though it had been good sense to have said, Let him be hanged, because he cursed God; yet not let him be taken down for that reason. Now such persons are here said to be accursed of God, not because they were hanged up, but because of their sin, which deserved they should be thus exposed. So St. Jerome upon Galatians iii. "Non ideo maledictus quia pendet, sed ideo pendet quia maledictus:" *he was not accursed because he was hanged, but he was therefore hanged because he was accursed:* hanging up being a token that the man had committed a horrid crime, whereby he had incurred the high displeasure of Almighty God. So that every one who saw him hang on that fashion was to think with himself, This man was under the curse of God, because of his sin; and unless he had undergone this curse, he could not have been buried, and put into the condition of other

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men. But when he had undergone it for his sin, then it had been a sin in the people not to have taken him down, or prolonged his suspension longer than God imposed this curse upon him. And the land had been defiled, if, after this suffering which God had appointed, they had not buried him. To this purpose Abarbinel, who refutes several other accounts of this matter, particularly that of Sol. Jarchi, who thinks he was not to hang longer than till the evening, because it would have been a dishonour to the Sovereign of the world, after whose image man was made. This is followed by many, and even by Grotius himself, who gives no other reason of it, in his book de Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 19. sect. 4. But this is a reason, as Abarbinel notes, why he should not have been hanged up at all. It may be also usefully noted further, that they say in the tract called Sanhedrin, that not only the malefactor, but all the instruments of punishment, were to be buried at the going down of the sun. Even the tree itself, upon which he was hanged, was to be buried, "that no memory of so foul a thing might be left in the world; nor any might say, Behold, this was the tree upon which such a one was hanged."

*That the land be not defiled which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*] By the stench of the body, after it petrified, as the same Abarbinel expounds it, who observes, that the dead body of no creature corrupts and stinks sooner than that of a man, which is exceeding offensive to the living. For which cause, saith he, the book Siphri determines, not only that all malefactors should be buried as soon as the law here orders (that they might not imitate the manners of the Egyptians and Philistines, and such-like people, who let bodies rot in the air after they were hanged up), but that every man should bury his dead the same day they died, or be deemed to have transgressed a negative precept; which may pass for a very good natural reason of it: but there is something more in it, respecting a legal pollution, under which their whole country lay, as long as an accursed thing hung openly among them; just as all that entered into the tent where a dead body lay, and all that was in it, were made unclean by it, (Numb. xix. 14, 15.) Upon which score St. Paul might well apply this passage to Christ crucified for us; not only because he bare our sins, and was put to death, and exposed to such shame as these sinners were, who were accursed of God; but was also taken down in the evening, in token now the guilt was removed; as the curse upon the man that was hanged ended at the going down of the sun; and as the land of Israel was pure and clean, after the dead body was taken down and buried, with the tree upon which it was hanged. Joh. Coch hath well explained this, in his notes upon the Sanhedrin, cap. 6. sect. 5. whose sense in short is this: *As our blessed Saviour, while he hung upon the cross, was made a curse, and an execration; so, when, according to the law, he was taken down and buried, both he ceased to be a curse, and all they that are his.*

## CHAP. XXII.

Ver. 1. *THOU shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray, and hide thyself from them.*] They were not to turn away their face, as if they did not see them, and so neglect them. And by *brother* is to be understood, not only an Israelite, but any man that lived among them; this being a matter of common right, and extended to their enemies as well as their friends, (Exod. xxiii. 4.)

*Thou shalt in any case bring them again to thy brother.*] Not merely give notice to the owner where he saw them, but take care himself to bring them back, that they might not go further astray, and perhaps be quite lost, before the owner could have notice of them. This and many that follow are precepts of humanity, and care of each other's welfare, without which society could not be preserved.

Ver. 2. *And if thy brother be not nigh thee, or thou know him not; then thou shalt bring it to thine own house.*] And preserve it there, till he could send to him, or find who the owner was.

*And it shall be with thee until thy brother seek after it.*] He was to give notice, by the public crier, that such a beast was with him, and that, as the Jews say, three or four times, that the owner might seek after it. But here they are pleased to make a distinction: that they were to do this, if there were marks upon the beast; but if there were none, they were not bound to cry it: which doth not seem to be reasonable. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4.)

*And thou shalt restore it to him again.*] He paying the charges of keeping it, from the time it was brought to his house till its being restored. But if nobody could prove a right in the beasts that were lost, they became his who found them, and he might lawfully keep them; for no other owner appearing, they were his that was in present possession of them, who did very piously, if he gave the value of them to the poor (and so the law was in many places); but he was an honest owner of them, if he kept them to himself; as Grotius observes, lib. ii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 10. sect. 11.

Ver. 3. *In like manner shalt thou do with his ass, and so shalt thou do with his raiment, and with all lost things, &c.*] In all other cases of like nature, the same law was to be observed.

*Thou mayest not hide thyself.*] Pass them by with neglect, or pretend they did not see them.

Ver. 4. *Thou shalt not see thy brother's ass or his ox fall down by the way, and hide thyself from them.*] Turn away, as if they did not see the danger they were in.

*Thou shalt surely help him to lift them up again.*] This hath been explained upon Exod. xxiii. 5. I shall only add here a famous example of this sort of piety, in Alphonsus king of Naples; who, travelling upon the road, attended by a great number of courtiers, and seeing a poor ass with a burden fallen into a deep slough (whom all that went before him passed by without any regard), when he came to the place, stopped, and went himself to the driver, and lent him assistance to help the ass out of the dirt. So David Chytræus upon this place.

Ver. 5. *The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God.*] The last words of this place plainly indicate, that it was an idolatrous custom, which is here prohibited. For Moses and the prophets are wont to speak in these terms of utmost abhorrence concerning such matters. And nothing was more common among the heathen, than for men, in the worship of several of their gods, to put on the garments

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usually worn by women, and women those worn by men; particularly in the worship of Venus, women appeared before her in armour, and men in women's apparel. And thus the words literally run here in the Hebrew; *Women shall not put on the armour of a man* (so the word *celi* frequently signifies *armour*, as well as other sorts of instruments), *nor a man* (στολὴν the LXX. translate it) *the stole of a woman.* (See Selden, Syntag. ii. de Diis Syris, cap. 4.) And thus Maimonides saith he found this precept in an old magical book, that men ought to stand before the star of Venus in the flowered garment of women, and women put on the armour of men before the star of Mars. (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 37.) Servius also, upon the second book of Æneids, mentions a statue of Venus at Cyprus (in which island were anciently many colonies of Phœnicians), to whom the women sacrificed in men's garments, and the men in women's. Many other nations did the same. (See I. Ger. Vossius, lib. ii. de Orig. et Progr. Idol. cap. 27. 31. but especially our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. cap. 17. sect. 1, &c.)

But setting aside all this, every one knows, that if there were no distinction of sexes made by their habits, it would open a door to all manner of impurity; for which reason, if there were no other, this law was very wise and pious.

Ver. 6. *If a bird's-nest chance to be before thee in the way in any tree, or on the ground,* &c.] By this place, among others, (particularly Psal. viii. 8.) it appears the word *tsippor* signifies all kinds of birds, and not only the smaller sort, as some have imagined, but he seems particularly to speak of clean birds, such as it was lawful for them to eat. And this precept seems to have been given, to breed in the Jews a sense of a Divine Providence, extending itself to all creatures, and to teach them to exercise their dominion over them without any kind of cruelty.

*Thou shalt not take the dam with the young.*] R. Menachem, mentioned both by Drusius and Bochartus, was of opinion, that it is not pity towards birds which is intended in this law, but kindness to mankind; whom God intended by this usage of other creatures, to form unto gentleness and commiseration towards one another. But others, I think, have more truly determined, that this is a merciful constitution, with respect to birds as well as men; it being a sufficient affliction, as Maimonides calls it, to the old one to lose her young; it being unreasonable also that men should consider only their own present interest without regard to posterity, to whom the breed ought to be continued, by letting the old one go free. Unto which those verses, commonly ascribed to Phocylides, have respect:

Μηδέ τις ὄρνιθας καλιῆς ἅμα πάντας ἑλέσθω,
Μητέρα δ' ἐκπρολίπῃς, ἵν' ἔχῃς πάλι τῆς τε νεοττούς.

i. e. *Let no man take all the birds together out of a nest; but let the mother go, that thou mayest have young ones again of her.*

Ver. 7. *Thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, and take the young to thee.*] For there is a great deal of ill-nature in it, to take away the liberty and the life of any creature, from whom we have received a benefit; as Bonfrerius glosses upon these words.

*That it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days.*] Some of the Jews, from these words, have fancied, that the observation of this single precept was of such great value, as to procure for them even forgiveness of sins, and a long life; which is such a foolish conceit, that it makes all other precepts unnecessary. The plain meaning is, that God would reward them for their kind usage even of brute creatures, if other virtues were not wanting, such as charity towards their poor neighbours. And so the Mischna, in the conclusion of the tract called Cholin, discourses very well: "If in a light precept concerning a thing which is scarce worth a farthing, the law says, *That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest prolong thy days;* how much more may this be expected in the weightier things of the law?"

Ver. 8. *When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof.*] The Jews, I think, are a little too curious, in setting a mark upon the word *thy*, fancying, he saith, not simply *the* roof, but *thy* roof, to except the temple, and the synagogues, and schools, from this rule; which were no private man's house, but belonged to the whole congregation. They say, indeed, the temple had battlements; but not for necessity, but for ornament, because the roof of the temple was not flat, as the roof of another house was; for nobody walked upon the temple, as they did upon their own houses, to take the air, and discourse together, or to meditate and pray (in little closets they had there), which made it necessary to have these battlements, of three foot and a half high (as the Jews say), to prevent any man's falling down, when he did not attend, but was thinking of some other thing. (See Constant. L'Empereur, in his annotations on Codex Middoth, p. 160.)

That the roofs of their houses were flat, which was the ground of this precept, we have many proofs in the Scripture. For hither Rahab brought the spies, and covered them with the stalks of flax, which she laid upon them, (Josh. ii. 6.) Here Samuel communed with Saul, upon the top of the house, (1 Sam. ix. 25.) David also was walking upon the roof of his palace, when he saw Bath-sheba washing herself, (2 Sam. xi. 2.) And in the same place Absalom caused a tent to be spread, that he might go in to his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel, (xvi. 22. see also Isa. xv. 3. xxii. 1. and in the New Testament, Acts x. 9.) Nor was it the manner of the Hebrews only, but of the Greeks and Romans also, to make the roofs of their houses so that they might walk upon them; and stand there to see any public show, or take the air; as Is. Casaubon shews, in a multitude of instances, lib. iv. in Athenæum, cap. 12. where he observes also out of Pliny and Seneca, that the Roman houses wanted these battlements, which Moses here ordered in this law. By all which we may easily understand those places in the gospel, that speak of proclaiming these things on the house-top, &c. (Matt. x. 27. Luke v. 19.)

*That thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence.*] And be killed by the fall. For his neglect being the cause of his death, it made him guilty before God of his blood, and liable to be punished by the judges for slighting so profitable an institution as this is: which the Jews extend to a studious care about every thing that might bring a man's life in danger. For example's sake: they might not keep a mad dog, nor set up a broken ladder in their house, &c. as L'Empereur observes upon Bavakama, cap. 5.

Ver. 9. *Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with divers*

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*seeds.*] What he had said concerning their fields, Lev. xix. 19. he now says of their vineyards, which they were not to sow with seeds of a diverse kind: for this was an idolatrous custom, as the reason given against it plainly shews. This Maimonides saith he found in a book of the Zabii, and in one rabbi Josiah, who taught, that "these three things, wheat, barley, and grapes dried in the sun, should be sown together in the ground with one and the same cast of the hand:" which was so senseless a thing, that he could not but think they learnt it from the ways of the Amorites, as his words are, that is, from the wicked idolaters of the country to which the Israelites were going. For wheat being sown properly at one season of the year, and barley at another, and a vineyard being an improper place for the growth of either of them, this custom could not have its original either from God or from man, but from the devil, the author of confusion, who taught them this uncouth rite, in honour of Ceres, perhaps, and Bacchus, whom they joined in the same act of worship.

*Lest the fruit of thy seed which thou hast sown, and the fruit of thy vineyard, be defiled.*] If the Israelites had followed this custom, it would have made both the corn and the grapes that sprung up from such seed impure, because polluted by idolatry; the very smell of which God would not have to remain among the Israelites, as Maimonides speaks in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 37. (See Dr. Spencer, in his very learned work de Leg. Ritual. Hebr. lib. ii. cap. 18.) Every one also knows, that it was unlawful for the Israelites to eat any of the fruits of the earth, till the first-fruits of them had been offered unto God; which would not have been accepted by him of such things as these, that were expressly forbidden by his law; and consequently the whole crop became unclean to them, and might not be used by them.

Ver. 10. *Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together.*] Lest that law should be violated which we read Lev. xix. 19. "Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind." So some give the reason of it; even Maimonides, in the book forementioned, par. iii. cap. 49. But it seems also to have respect to those magical rites of the idolatrous nations in those countries; who thought their fields would be more fruitful, if, according to some directions which had been given by their gods, they were thus ploughed. For one cannot well think that men, of themselves, would join together two creatures so different in their temper and motions, to draw in the same yoke, if they had not been led to it by some superstition or other. For their strength is unequal, as Aben Ezra here observes, "the strength of an ass is not as the strength of an ox." Whence it was that Ulysses, to make it be believed that he was mad, joined a horse and an ass to plough: and Homer, Odyss. 5. would have oxen ἰσοφόρους, joined together; that is, ἴσως φέροντας καὶ ἕλκοντας, *equally bearing and drawing*, as Bochart observes the scholiast there glosses.

The Jews commonly think this law extends to all other creatures of different species, which might not be yoked together. But some understand it so, that they might join several kinds together; provided one was not unclean, and the other clean. Baal-Hatturim finds this mystery in this prohibition, *That the righteous ought to have no society with the wicked.* And there are those who think the apostle alludes to this, when he saith, (2 Cor. vi. 14.) Μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις, *Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers;* which Bochart himself thinks not improbable. (See Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 13. and cap. 40. p. 401. where there are other reasons of this precept.)

Ver. 11. *Thou shalt not wear a garment of divers sorts, as of woollen and linen together.*] The ancients think God intended hereby to teach his people simplicity in their manners. (See Bochart, in the same book, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 45. p. 491.) But there was something farther in it, as I have observed upon Lev. xix. 19. to which I refer the reader. And shall only add here, that the Jews carried this so far, as not to sew a woollen garment with linen thread; nor on the contrary.

Ver. 12. *Thou shalt make thee fringes.*] What these were, is sufficiently explained upon Numb. xv. 38, 39. (See there.)

*Upon the four quarters of thy vesture.*] They wore long garments in those countries, as most people do still at this day. And I suppose the garments of the Jews had usually four skirts: but perchance they sometimes had more or fewer than four; and, in this case, if they had but three, their doctors have resolved they were not bound to make any fringes for them; but, if they had five or six, they were bound to annex them to the four most remote quarters, in which the intermediate were included. But this is a very unreasonable subtilty; the intention of the law being, that they might be put in remembrance of God's commandments by these fringes, which therefore were to be worn in the skirts of their garments, though they had been divided into no wings or quarters at all.

*Wherewith thou coverest thyself.*] Which they commonly wore: and it seems to signify the uppermost garment, which covered all the rest, and was most seen; whereby they were distinguished from the people of other nations: for that was one end of these fringes, to be a distinctive mark that they were of the Jewish religion. And therefore I do not see any reason in the determination of their doctors, who say, *women-servants* and *little children* were not bound to wear fringes: for though little children could not think of the commandments of God, yet it was fit they should wear the note of their religion. There is no reason neither in their resolution, when they say, that if women and servants (who were bound as much as others to observe the laws of God) would wear fringes, though they were not obliged by their constitutions, yet they might not put them on with the common form of benediction which they used. But I think they observe rightly enough, that these fringes were so peculiar to the Jews, that the Samaritans, though acquainted with the law, did not wear them. Nor do the Jews themselves at this day use them upon their upper garment: for that being no longer four-cornered (because it made them a laughing-stock), they wear only under their other garments a kind of square frock, with the aforesaid tassels or pendants fastened to it; (as Leo Modena relates in his History of the Jews, par. i. chap. 5.) Only in their synagogues or schools, at morning prayer, every man puts over his head a square woollen garment, with the tassels fastened at each corner, which they call *talith.* Concerning which Bartoloccius, in his late Rabbinical Lexicon, tom. i. hath a long dissertation, p. 576, &c.

Ver. 13. *If a man take a wife, and go in unto her.*] Have carnal knowledge of her.



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*And hate her.*] Do not like her; but is desirous to be rid of her.

Ver. 14. *And give occasion of speech against her.*] The LXX. translate it ἐπιθῇ αὐτῇ προφαστικοὺς λόγους, *lay to her charge such things* (for so *words* sometimes signify) *as are opprobrious.*

*And bring up an evil name upon her.*] Or, as the Hebrew words are, *bring forth a name of evil,* or infamy: which signifies, as Mr. Selden observes, (lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 1. p. 321.) the action itself, which he brought against her in the court of judgment. This appears from the words following.

*And say, I took this woman, and when I came to her, I found her not a maid.*] This was the form wherein the action was laid against her (as the same Selden there observes), in these words, as the Jews say; "Having lain with this young woman, not of full age, as her husband, I found not in her the tokens of virginity; and making inquisition into the matter, it appears to me that she hath been guilty of adultery, after I had espoused her: and these are eye-witnesses of her guilt."

Ver. 15. *Then shall the father and the mother of the damsel take and bring forth the tokens of the damsel's virginity.*] If the accusation, as they say, was to be made good by witnesses of her adultery, then her defence was to be made, no doubt, by contrary witnesses, who endeavoured to disprove the testimony which was brought against her. For so they are constrained to interpret the words we translate *tokens of her virginity;* as I shall shew upon ver. 17. The Hebrews have many nice subtilties about the word *damsel,* with which I shall not trouble the reader. (See Selden, in the forenamed place, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 1.)

*Unto the elders of the city.*] The court consisting of twenty-three judges; who had the cognizance of common, capital, and penal causes, in every city.

*In the gate.*] Where the court sat, as I observed before upon xvi. 18. And this may be added to what I noted there, that by this may be explained those words in the book of Job, v. 4. concerning the children of the wicked, that they are *crushed in the gate, i. e.* lose their cause, and are condemned in the court of judgment, and those of the wise man, Prov. xxii. 22. *Oppress not the afflicted in the gate, i. e.* do him justice, and not let him be overthrown, because he wants money to defend his cause. This appears to be the sense from the very next words, (ver. 23.) *For the Lord will plead their cause,* &c.

Ver. 16. *And the damsel's father shall say unto the elders, I gave my daughter unto this man to wife.*] The Jews say, the mother had no power to espouse her daughter, but the father only, before she was of age. Mischna Sotæ, cap. 3. sect. 8. where Wagenseil notes, that the mother, and brethren also, had some power in this matter; but such, that the daughter, within a time limited, might make the contract void.

*And he hateth her.*] Hath no affection which a husband ought to have to a wife. If she had no parents alive, the judges appointed her a guardian: and Josephus saith the next of kin were to patronize her, as if they had been her parents.

Ver. 17. *And, lo! he hath given occasion of speech against her.*] See ver. 14. He doth not add what there follows, *and brought up an evil name upon her (i. e.* accused her publicly before you of adultery), because it is sufficiently comprehended in this.

*Saying, I found not thy daughter a maid.*] As such and such give evidence.

*And yet these are the tokens of my daughter's virginity.*] I have good witnesses to the contrary; which are here ready to be produced before the court, to disprove the former testimony.

*And they.*] That is, the witnesses which the father produces.

*Shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city.*] Though such tokens of virginity, as are commonly understood by these words, might always be found in those countries (being very consonant to the opinion of the chiefest Arabian physicians, as Mr. Selden observes out of Avicenna, and of the Africans and other people at this day, as many authors testify, see Joh. Geusius de Victimis Humanis, par. i. cap. 9. and par. ii. cap. 2. and Wierus L. Medicarum Observationem, sect. de Hymene), especially in such virgins as the Jews say were here meant, who were under thirteen years of age; and though all that some physicians and lawyers in these parts of the world have said to the contrary is of no consideration; yet there are weighty reasons to incline us to think, that no man of common sense would bring such an action against his wife, wherein he was sure to be cast, whether his cause was right or wrong, if these were the evidences whereby it was to be tried. For if he accused her falsely, he knew her friends were able to produce the sheet wherein they lay when they were married, with such tokens upon it as would disprove him, and render him guilty of defamation. And if he had a just ground to accuse her, because he knew they could produce no such tokens; yet this was no proof she had been vitiated since she was espoused to him: for she might have been corrupted before; and then he could not attain his end, which was to be rid of her, not by way of divorce (for then he must have given her a dowry, which he was desirous to save), but by having her put to death as an adultress, which ver. 21. shews to be the present case. Such evident reasons as these have constrained the Jews to understand these words, not according to the very letter of them, but figuratively, of such witnesses produced by her parents, as convinced the other of falsity so evidently, that they made it appear as plainly as a piece of cloth that is unfolded, and laid before men's eyes to view it. And they think the Hebrew word *simlah,* which we translate *the cloth,* favours this exposition: for it never signifies *a sheet,* or linen-cloth, (which is wont to be called *sadin,* Judg. xiv. 12. Prov. xxxi. 24.) but such cloth as men's garments are made of, which commonly is woollen, not linen. And so it is used in this book, Deut. x. 18. and in this very chapter, ver. 5. So that the sense is, *They shall produce evident proofs, and lay them before the court, like a piece of cloth, which is spread for all that please to look upon it.* Whether this be the truth or not, I will not dispute, but refer the reader to Mr. Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 1, 2.

Ver. 18. *And the elders of that city shall take that man.*] If they were convinced that he had accused his wife falsely, he was to be delivered into the hands of the officers who executed the sentence of the court.

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*And chastise him.*] Condemn him to receive forty stripes save one, as both Josephus and the Talmudists agree; and it was to be done with a scourge made of thongs of an ox's hide. The woman was dismissed with a solemn benediction; the form of which is set down in the Jewish rituals: and as for the false witnesses against her, they were condemned to be stoned, according to the law, chap. xix. 18, 19.

Ver. 19. *And they shall amerce him in a hundred shekels of silver, and give them unto the father of the damsel.*] Who was to receive this satisfaction for the reproach which was thrown upon his family. It is something strange that Josephus should mention only πεντήκοντα σίκλους, *fifty shekels* to be paid to her father, when the Scripture expressly saith a *hundred*, (lib. iv. Archæolog. cap. 8.) But it is supposed, by some, that he means *fifty* besides her dowry, which he was to have given her, if he had put her away: which, that he might save, he designed to take away her life; and therefore was punished double to what it would have cost him, if he had been so wicked.

*Because he hath brought up an evil report upon a virgin of Israel.*] Laid the most infamous crime to the charge of an innocent virgin; and that out of hatred to her and love to his money. For if he would have put her away, according to the law of divorce, no man could have hindered him, as Maimonides observes: but then he must have paid her *fifty shekels*, which they take to be the dowry of virgins, mentioned Exod. xxii. 16, 17. To keep which to himself, and be rid of her, he brought this scandalous action against her; for which he was thus justly punished.

*And she shall be his wife: he may not put her away all his days.*] Besides the two former punishments, in his body and his purse, he was deprived of the common benefit which all men had who did not like their wives; which was to sue out a divorce. Here Maimonides calls upon his readers to admire the wise ordination of God, which appears in his *judgments*, as well as in his *works*. For because this man took away his wife's reputation, therefore God ordered him to be rendered vile, by being whipped: and because he basely contrived to save her dowry of fifty shekels, he ordered him to be amerced as much more: and because he indulged his lust, and sought nothing but his pleasure, therefore he was bound to keep her as long as she lived, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49.)

Ver. 20. *But if this thing be true, and the tokens of virginity be not found for the damsel.*] If the witnesses which appeared for her could not prove the falsity of their testimony who appeared against her.

Ver. 21. *Then shall they bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house.*] Where she was to be punished, as a disgrace to her parents, who had taken no better care to preserve her chastity while she lived with them.

*And the men of her city shall stone her with stones, that she die.*] This was the punishment of such adulteresses, except only of a priest's daughter, who, if she was guilty of this crime, was burnt alive, (Lev. xxi. 19.) And it plainly shews he speaks here of a woman corrupted between the time of her espousals and her husband's completing the marriage: otherwise he could not have had this capital action against her, none being put to death for simple fornication. And this Maimonides saith, in Seder Zeraim, that, from Moses to his time, it was never doubted, the woman he here speaks of was one that proved false to her husband after she was contracted to him.

*Because she hath wrought folly in Israel.*] A great wickedness; as the word *folly* signifies in Scripture, and as the Vulgar translates it.

*To play the whore in her father's house.*] Where she remained after her espousals, as in a safe place, till her husband brought her home to his own house.

*So shalt thou put evil away from among you.*] See chap. xix. 19.

Ver. 22. *If a man be found lying with a woman married to a husband, then they shall both of them die,* &c.] It is not said what death, either here, or Lev. xx. 10. But the Jews say they were to be strangled: which is an opinion so settled among them, that Buxtorf saith he never saw any Hebrew book which assigned any other punishment for adultery but this. Stoning, indeed, was the punishment of her that, after her espousals, played the whore (as was noted before) between that time and her marriage: but after the marriage was completed, if she were guilty of this crime, this was the only punishment, according to their tradition. (See upon Lev. xx. 10. and Buxtorf. de Sponsal. et Divortiis, p. 32, 33. and Grotius, in John viii. 5.)

Ver. 23. *If a damsel, that is a virgin, be betrothed to a husband.*] But not yet known by him: for there was generally some space between the espousals and the bringing her home to her husband's house. And the time allowed was, more or less, according to her age. (See Selden, lib. ii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 8.)

*And a man find her in the city, and lie with her.*] If he lay with her any where else, the crime was the same; but it was not so easy to corrupt her in her father's house, or among her friends, where she remained till the completion of the marriage, as it was to do it abroad in the city, or in the field.

Ver. 24. *Then ye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city.*] That is, to the court of judgment, which sat there; as I noted upon xvi. 18.

*And ye shall stone them with stones, that they die.*] After they had been sentenced to this death by the court.

*The damsel, because she cried not out.*] Which was a demonstration she was not forced, but lay with him by consent.

*Being in the city.*] Where the neighbours might have heard her cry; and the force, if there had been any, prevented.

*The man, because he hath humbled his neighbour's wife.*] For so she was by such a contract, as made her only his. This is supposed to be the case of the woman taken in adultery, mentioned John viii. 5. (See my notes upon Lev. xx. 10.)

*So thou shalt put away evil from among you.*] See ver. 21, 22.

Ver. 25. *And if a man find a betrothed damsel in the field.*] Where nobody was near, as in the city.

*And the man force her, and lie with her.*] It was presumed, by the circumstances of the place, that she did not consent, but was under a force; as she also affirmed, and he could not prove the contrary.

*Then the man only that lay with her shall die.*] Because he only was guilty of a crime, as it follows in the next words.

Ver. 26. *But unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing; there*



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*is in the damsel no sin worthy of death.*] To make her liable to suffer death: for it was her misfortune, as we speak, not her fault, that she was ravished.

*For as when a man riseth against his neighbour, and slayeth him.*] He not being able to defend himself.

*Even so is this matter.*] It is here observed by many (particularly by Grotius and De Dieu), that chastity is equal unto life.

Ver. 27. *For he found her in the field.*] Far distant from all company.

*And the betrothed damsel cried.*] For help, as she affirmed, and as it was presumed; because, if she had consented, some other place might have been found, more convenient for their purpose than the field.

*And there was none to save her.*] None appeared to rescue her, as she desired.

Ver. 28. *If a man find a virgin.*] In the field, beforementioned.

*Which is not betrothed.*] To a husband.

*And lay hold of her, and lie with her, and they be found.*] There be witnesses of it; or they themselves confess it. This case is different from that in Exod. xxii. 16, 17. in many respects. For that law speaks of one that was drawn in to consent to the man's lying with her by enticing words (which is expressly there mentioned), and fair promises, perhaps, of marriage; but here Moses speaks of one that *laid hold of her, i. e.* deflowered her by force and violence. In this case the man was bound to marry her, if she and her father pleased (for both their consents were required, though the man that deflowered her could not refuse); but in the former case the man himself might choose whether he would marry or not, which he could not refuse in this; and besides, was bound to pay *fifty shekels*, as a mulct upon him for the crime, as follows in the next verse. (See Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 16.)

Ver. 29. *Then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel's father fifty shekels of silver.*] Here is another difference between this case and that in Exodus; where the man was bound to settle a dowry upon her; but here to pay a fine unto her father. The reason is plain; because there was no need of settling a dowry in this case, as in the former; for the dowry was settled upon her in that case, lest the husband might lightly and wantonly put her away by divorce, and she have nothing to maintain her; of which there was no danger here, because this law saith expressly, in the conclusion of this verse, that *he may not put her away all his days.* Yet there are those who think it likely, that in this case also he settled a dowry of *fifty shekels* upon her, besides what he paid to her father; for otherwise the condition of a virgin deflowered by force, was worse than hers deflowered by her own consent.

They have some exceptions concerning this payment to her father, which are not very material, nor certain. But this is considerable, that this fine was the same, whether the woman was of noble or of mean parentage, neither more nor less was paid by the law. But in aftertimes, the Sanhedrin, they tell us, added some other mulcts besides this here mentioned; because it seemed so small, that the honour of a virgin was not thought sufficiently repaired by it. Therefore, he that enticed a virgin paid other two; one for the shame and dishonour he had done her; and the other for the loss of her virginity, and vitiating her body. And he that forced a virgin paid a third besides these two, upon the account of the pain unto which he was supposed to have put her. And in these three they proportioned the penalties to the quality of the person, and other considerations, which made them vary. (See Selden, in the forenamed place, p. 123.)

*And she shall be his wife, because he hath humbled her.*] Though she were blind, or lame, or leprous, he could not refuse her, if she and her father required him to marry her.

*He may not put her away all his days.*] This was a third part of his punishment for the force he had committed, that he should be forced not only to take her to wife, but constrained also to keep her as long as she lived, and not have the liberty of giving her a bill of divorce, as other men might do, who were desirous to part with their wives.

If it be asked, how it could be known whether she was enticed or forced; they answer, as was observed before, that it was reasonably presumed that he forced her, if the thing was done in the field, or in a place far from inhabitants; but if in the city or town, that she consented, unless the contrary was evidently proved.

Ver. 30. *A man shall not take his father's wife.*] That is, shall not marry her.

*Nor discover his father's skirt.*] Nor so much as lie with her. For this is a modest phrase, borrowed from the ancient custom in those countries; where the bridegroom, when he brought his bride into the *chuppa*, as they called it, or *bridal chamber*, spread the skirt of his robe over her, to signify his right to her, and power over her, and that he alone might lawfully enjoy her. (Ruth iii. 9. Ezek. xvi. 8.)

And this verse seems to me to be here inserted as a short memorandum, that they should be careful to observe all the laws which he had delivered against incestuous marriages in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus. (See there, ver. 8. and xx. 11.)

## CHAP. XXIII.

Ver. 1. *He that is wounded in the stones.*] Bruised or compressed in those parts; as the manner was of making eunuchs, who are here spoken of, and were sometimes made that way when they were infants; or by taking them quite away; which was done in some when they were grown up. And there were those who had none of these parts left remaining; as it follows in the next words.

*Or hath his privy member cut off.*] In whole, or in part; which was not used till they found the other did not effectually answer their purpose in this unnatural practice. Wherein some thought they honoured their gods, particularly Cybele, the mother of the gods, unto whose service her priests devoted themselves by cutting off their genitals. So not only Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and several other of the ancient Christian writers testify, but many also of the pagan. (See Joh. Geusius de Victimis Humanis, par. ii. cap. 1.)

*Shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord.*] These persons were so much abhorred by some among the pagans, that Lucian saith they were excluded not only from the schools of philosophers, but, which was more, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ περιῤῥαντηρίων, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἁπάντων συλλόγων, *from their holy offices, and their sprinklings, and all common meetings.* So Diocles is introduced speaking in

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his Eunuchus. But nobody thinks this to be the meaning here, that they should not entertain such a person as a proselyte; or that he should not come to worship God at the temple: for that was free for all nations if they renounced idolatry. But the meaning of this law is, either to forbid the Israelites to marry with such persons, or not to admit them to bear any office in the Jewish commonwealth. The Hebrew doctors generally take it in the first sense. See Selden, de Jure Nat. et Gent. lib. v. cap. 16. and so do a great many among Christian writers. And there is an eminent example of the use of this phrase in this sense, Neh. xiii. 1—3. But some think it was superfluous to forbid this, because none would marry with such persons as were incapable to perform the marriage duty; and therefore they follow the second sense, it being certain that the Hebrew word *kahal, congregation,* signifies, in many places, not the whole body of the people of Israel, but the great assembly of elders, into which no such person was to be admitted; because they were unfit for government, eunuchs being observed generally to want courage. Thus Simeon de Muis, and others, who seem to have great reason on their side. Yet it is so plain that *the congregation of the Lord,* in the following part of this chapter, signifies the people of Israel, who might not marry with the persons mentioned, ver. 2, 3. 8. that I cannot but think it ought to be so interpreted here. For though such marriages were useless and unprofitable, as Maimonides speaks, yet they made a distinction between those who were made eunuchs by God (that is, born so) and those made by men: and this law, they say, is not to be understood of the former, but only of the latter. Some of which, it is certain, were left in such a condition, that they were desirous of marriage, as appears by the constitution of the Emperor Leo, who did not think it superfluous to forbid marriage with them. For it appears by it, that some women choose such husbands. See also Ecclesiasticus xxx. 20. but especially the book ascribed to St. Basil, De Vera Virginitate, tom. i. p. 719, &c. where there is too free a description of the unextinguishable lust of such eunuchs as were only deprived τῶν διδύμων, whose company he charges virgins to avoid, not only because they hoped to corrupt them without danger of discovery, but were insatiable in their desires. And on the other side, though they were unfit for marriage, yet it appears by many instances in history, that they were not unfit for government, nor wanted courage for the greatest undertakings. I need only refer the reader for this to Xenophon's Cyropædia, lib. vii.

They that follow allegorical senses, free themselves from all these difficulties. (See Filesacus, lib. i. Selectorum, p. 169. 185.) But one cannot think that Moses intended any of those things; though such pious use may be made of his words.

Ver. 2. *A bastard.*] The Hebrews do not understand by the word *mamzer,* one that was begotten in simple fornication, out of the state of marriage; but one that was begotten of such persons as the law forbade them to marry, or lie withal, under pain of being *cut off; viz.* those mentioned in the eighteenth of Leviticus. They only except this single case, if a man lay with a menstruous woman, and begat a child of her at that time, it was not a *mamzer.* See Selden, lib. de Succession. in Bona Defunct, cap. 3. and lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 16. and Wagenseil lately, in his very learned Annotation upon Mischna Sotæ, cap. 4. sect. 1. where he observes, out of a MS. which he calls very precious (Etz-Hachajim in Hilcoth Nidda), that *mamzer,* whether male or female, was excluded from the congregation of the Lord. And they were *mamzers* who were born of any woman whom the law prohibited them to have knowledge of; whether it was by violence or by consent, by error or advisedly, it made no difference.

*Shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord.*] Nor marry with an Israelite. So all the doctors, none excepted, expound it, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Successione in Pontific. cap. 2. p. 209. If any man of Israel married such a woman, or any woman of Israel married such a man, and they were found in bed together after espousals, they were both whipped, for violating this precept. But if they lay together without any espousals, this punishment was not inflicted on them.

*Even unto the tenth generation shall he not enter into the congregation of the Lord.*] That is, *never,* as the Hebrew doctors expound it. And Maimonides (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49.) gives this reason for it, that people might be deterred from such marriages or conjunctions, which would leave an indelible blot upon their posterity. And, indeed, some heathens anciently put such a mark of infamy upon mere bastards, as to prohibit both males and females to come to their sacred offices. Such a law there was at Athens, mentioned by Isæus; as Casaubon observes upon Athenæus, lib. vi. cap. 6. p. 410.

There were some also of these *mamzers,* who were not manifestly born of such incestuous, or other forbidden mixtures, but were called dubious, because their fathers were not known, or being exposed, and found in the fields, or the streets, neither father nor mother was known. Yet it being uncertain whence they were descended, the Israelites might not marry with them, for fear they should be polluted by those who, perhaps, were born of incestuous parents. But proselytes of justice, they say, might marry with *mamzers;* and, that they might not for ever be excluded from the congregation of the Lord, they contrived this remedy for the restitution of their blood. They might marry a slave (who was baptized and become a Jew), whose children were not reputed *mamzers,* but only slaves: who, being made Jews, and having their freedom given them, might lawfully marry with a Jewish woman; and then they were entirely incorporated into the congregation of the Lord: for *proles sequitur matrem, the issue follows the mother,* (as that MS. of Wagenseil hath it, p. 565.) and there was no regard had to the father.

Ver. 3. *An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation shall they not enter for ever.*] These last words *for ever,* in this verse, the Jews think warrant them to interpret those words *to the tenth generation,* in the foregoing verse, as if he said, *never.* It is certain, indeed, that Moses intended to exclude the Moabites and Ammonites from marrying with the Jews for ever; for so Nehemiah understood him when he quoted this law, xiii. 1. as a reason against the Israelites' marriages with them in his time, when more than *ten generations* were past. But then these words, *for ever,* being omitted in the foregoing verse, where he speaks of *mamzers,* it seems reasonable that they should not be so interpreted; but that, after ten generations were past, all dis-

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tinction between them and others should be abolished. This, one would have expected, should have been the sense of those who examine every word so nicely as the Jews do: for here being mention made only of an Ammonite and Moabite, that is, of the males of these two nations, they will not have their women concerned in this law: but say, that an Israelite might take one of them to wife, if she embraced their religion. For thus they expound this whole matter of marriages with proselytes of justice; that is, such of other nations as became entirely of the Jews' religion. With such proselytes of some nations, whether men or women, the Israelites were never to make any marriages: with those of some other nations, they were prohibited only to marry with their men: with others, they were prohibited to marry only for some generations; and there were others, with whom they might marry as soon as they were made perfect proselytes. Of the first kind were the seven nations of Canaan, mentioned Deut. vii. 1. with the males or females of which they might never contract an affinity. To the second kind belong the Ammonites and Moabites; to whose males an Israelitish woman was forbid by this precept to marry: but a man of Israel might marry any of their women, after they professed the Jewish religion; otherwise David, who descended from Ruth, a Moabitess, had been illegitimate. Of the third kind were the Edomites and Egyptians; with whom, and with their children, the Israelites might not marry; but their grandchildren might. And of the fourth kind were all other nations besides these mentioned. This is an abridgment of what our great Selden hath more largely shewn to be the sense of the Jews, in his fifth book de Jure Nat. et Gent. &c. cap. 14. which another excellent person, J. Christoph. Wagenseil hath confirmed, out of his inestimable MS. as he calls Etz-Hachajim, in Hilcoth Nidda, cap. 10. (See Excerp. Gem. in Sota, cap. 1. p. 143.)

Ver. 4. *Because they met you not with bread and water, when ye came forth out of Egypt.*] This seems to belong to the Ammonites, who had no compassion towards the Israelites when they were distressed in the wilderness: but, though they were near of kin to them, did not shew them that civility which is commonly expressed to mere strangers in their travels, (Gen. xiv. 18. xviii. 2. 31. xix. 1, 2.) We do not find any mention of this barbarity of theirs in the foregoing history; but we read how kind God ordered the Israelites to be to them, in not meddling with them, much less distressing them, as they passed by their country, (Deut. ii. 19.) Which aggravated their inhumanity in not vouchsafing this common kindness to the Israelites, of giving them the refreshment of bread and water as they went by them.

*And because they hired against thee Balaam the son of Beor, of Pethor of Mesopotamia, to curse thee.*] As the foregoing passage peculiarly refers to the Ammonites, so this doth to the Moabites; who, with the assistance of the Midianites, invited Balaam, by the promises of a great reward, to come from the eastern country and curse the Israelites. (See Numb. xxii. 5—7.) For these two reasons God laid this prohibition upon his people; in which Maimonides observes the Divine justice in proportioning punishments to offences. For Amalek coming out against the Israelites, when they were newly come forth from Egypt, to cut them off with the sword, God commanded their memory to be blotted out, (xxv. 19.) but the Ammonites being only basely covetous, and the Moabites acting against them only by craft, and not by force, God inflicted no other punishment upon them but this, that his people should avoid all affinity with them, and shew no love to them, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41.) And the MS. author of Etz-Hachajim, mentioned by Wagensell, in the place forenamed, makes this the ground of the distinction mentioned before between the males and females of those countries: "Their males (saith he) might never marry with an Israelitish woman; but, by a tradition delivered down to us from Moses in Mount Sinai, we hold, that the women of those countries (if they embraced the Jewish religion) might be married to a man of Israel. For the women must be thought, in all reason, not to have been guilty, as the men were, of that which was the reason of this law; it not being the custom for women to bring out bread and water to travellers; nor did they send ambassadors to hire Balaam to come and curse the Israelites." Accordingly we find Ruth, who was a Moabitess, married to Boaz, the ancestor of David.

Ver. 5. *Nevertheless the Lord thy God would not hearken unto Balaam; but the Lord thy God turned the curse into a blessing unto thee, because the Lord thy God loved thee.*] Balaam, indeed, did not curse the Israelites as the Moabites desired, and he intended; but no thanks were owing to him for that: but it was to be ascribed to the love of God to his people, who constrained him, against his will, to bless them.

Ver. 6. *Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days for ever.*] By entering into any league with them, much less by taking them into conjugal society: but, on the contrary, they were to look upon them as dangerous enemies; who, being near their neighbours, would watch all opportunities to ensnare or disturb them.

Some of the Jews would have this to be an exception to the general rule, xx. 10. that they might not offer them terms of peace, as they were bound to do to all men, but the seven nations of Canaan: though, if they desired peace, they were bound, they say, to grant it. (See Schickard, in his Mischpat Hammelech, p. 118.) But Grotius hath well observed, upon Matt. v. 43. that God did not give the Jews any right to their country, (as appears from Deut. ii. 19.) and therefore the meaning here is, that they should not make any league with them of mutual assistance, which they called *fœdera*, συμμαχίας.

Ver. 7. *Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite.*] So as never to enter into the society of marriage with them, they being a circumcised people.

*For he is thy brother.*] Nearer of kin to them than the Ammonites and Moabites; Esau their father being the twin-brother of Jacob. And so Moses calls them, when he delivers God's command to the Israelites not to meddle with them, Deut. ii. 8. "We passed by from our brethren the children of Esau," &c. Here it may be observed, that the word *brother* comprehended more than the Israelites, as our Saviour shews the word *neighbour* did, Luke x. 29, &c.

*Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, because thou wast a stranger in his land.*] That is, the Egyptians in a sore famine sustained them, their children, flocks, and herds, very kindly; the memory of which benefit God would not have forgotten, though in future generations they were cruelly oppressed by them.

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Ver. 8. *The children that are begotten of them shall enter into the congregation of the Lord in the third generation.*] When they had been proselytes for three generations, it was lawful to marry with them. Nay, some of the Jews are so liberal here of their kindness, as to understand by *banim*, not *children* in general, but *sons*, with whom only marriage is forbidden till the third generation; marriage with their daughters being lawful, as they think, as soon as they turned complete proselytes. Upon which account Solomon took Pharaoh's daughter to wife. See Selden, lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 14, 15. where he observes, that all this held good only till the captivity of Babylon, when, all these nations being confused, they might marry with any of them if they became Jews. For wars, and colonies, and deportations, had made such a mixture of people, that one could not be known from another. This Wagenseil hath lately confirmed out of several Hebrew authors, whom Mr. Selden did not trouble himself to mention; and particularly out of the MS. Etz-Hachajim, which he most highly commends. (See p. 149. upon Sota.) They all agree, likewise, that none of these laws extended to proselytes, who might marry with any of these nations. (See Selden, ib. cap. 18.)

Ver. 9. *When the host goeth forth against thine enemy, then keep thee from every wicked thing.*] This was a rule to be observed at all times; but then especially, when they had the greatest need of the Divine help (for which wicked people could not reasonably hope), and when there was the greatest danger of being wicked, in a time of such licence as soldiers commonly take. There is a sentence very like this in Agathias, lib. ii. (mentioned by Grotius towards the conclusion of his Prolegomena to the book de Jure Belli et Pacis), Ἀδικία γὰρ καὶ Θεοῦ ἀθεραπευσία φευκτὰ μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀσύμφορα, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ προπολεμεῖν καὶ παρατάττεσθαι. *Injustice and neglect of God's service are ever to be avoided as most pernicious; but especially in a time of war, and when men are upon the point of giving battle.* Which he proves elsewhere, by the illustrious examples of Darius, Xerxes, and the Athenians in Sicily.

Ver. 10. *If there be among you any man that is not clean, by reason of uncleanness that chanceth to him by night.*] This seems to be only one instance of uncleanness, from which they were to keep themselves carefully; though it was no moral impurity, nor a voluntary pollution. By which it was easy for them to understand how watchful they were to be over themselves, in all other cases, especially such as had an inward turpitude in them.

*Then he shall go abroad out of the camp.*] There is no such thing required before in Lev. xv. 16. where the same pollution is mentioned. The reason, I suppose, was, that he speaks there of what happened to them in their own houses; where they had private chambers, into which they might retire, and keep themselves from defiling others: but here, of those that were abroad in the army, where it was hard to keep their fellow-soldiers from touching them, without removing out of the camp.

*He shall not come within the camp.*] This some understand, particularly Drusius, of not coming within the camp of God, and of the Levites, that is, to the tabernacle: but it seems to be an exclusion of him from the whole camp of Israel, as I have expounded it.

Ver. 11. *But it shall be, when evening cometh on, he shall wash himself with water; and when the sun is down he shall come into the camp again.*] See Lev. xv. 16. The end of all this, as Maimonides observes, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 61. was, that every man might have this fixed in his mind, that their camp ought to be as the sanctuary of God (into which every one knows no man might enter in his uncleanness), and not like the camps of the gentiles, in which all manner of corruption, filthiness, rapines, thefts, and other wickednesses, were freely committed.

Ver. 12. *Thou shalt have a place also without the camp, whither thou shalt go forth abroad.*] A place distant from all company; where they might ease themselves, as it is explained in the next verse. For natural modesty directed all men on such occasions to seek privacy; and it tended, as all cleanliness doth, to the preservation of health: which was one reason of ordering them to find a place without the camp, that there might be no offensive smell among them. And hereby, as Maimonides observes, they were distinguished from brute beasts, which commonly ease themselves any where, and before any body. But, besides all this, Moses himself gives us the principal reason of this command, peculiarly respecting the Israelites, (ver. 14.)

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt have a paddle.*] An instrument wherewith to dig up the ground, and cover it again; Epiphanius, Hæres. lxxvii. calls it πάσσαλον σιδηροῦν, *an iron paddle.*

*Upon thy weapon.*] Their sword, I suppose.

*And it shall be, when thou wilt ease thyself abroad.*] It was not in their choice when they would do this, but when their needs required: yet the Jews will have it, that they were to accustom themselves to do this business in the morning, as soon as they were up. Thus the Jews at this day, (as Leo Modena tells us, in his history of them, par. i. chap. 6.) afterward washing their hands, that they may go clean to their prayers.

*Thou shalt dig therewith.*] A hole in the ground.

*And shalt turn back, and cover that which cometh from thee.*] That there might be no appearance nor scent of it remaining. This is still practised by the Caribbeans; among whom there is never any such thing as ordure seen. So the authors of the History of the Caribbee Islands tell us, book ii. chap. 14. where they observe, also, out of Busbequius, that the Turks use the same cleanliness in their camps, making a hole with a piece of iron, wherein they bury their excrements. And in this matter the Essenes were extremely superstitious; for, as Josephus relates, they would not ease themselves at all on the sabbath-day, because they looked upon it as a labour to dig in the earth, and excrements not fit to be seen on that day.

Ver. 14. *For the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp.*] At this time the ark, which was the token of the Divine presence, was settled in the midst of their camp; and, whithersoever they moved, was carried along with them: two standards going before, and two following, and the ark between them in the midst, as appears from the tenth of Numbers. It is likely, also, that it was carried in aftertimes in the midst of them, when they went to war; as some think it was when they went against the Midianites, (Numb. xxxi. 6.) and when they encompassed Jericho. Now this presence of God among them was the reason

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why no uncleanness, though in itself natural, might be found in their camp; but, out of reverence to the Divine Majesty, which dwelt between the cherubims over the ark, be removed afar off. And by such actions as these, Maimonides well observes, God intended to strengthen and confirm the faith of the soldiers, that God, dwelling among them, would go along with them, and fight for them against their enemies, as it here follows, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 41. And thus Abarbinel discourses upon these words: "The camps of the Israelites ought to be holy, having a special providence of God among them: for they do not make war by mere human power and courage, but by the power of God and of his Spirit, on which they depend for deliverance from all evil, and victory over their enemies," &c.

*To deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee.*] This is the constant sense of this phrase, *of God's being in the midst of them*, to defend, protect, and deliver them from all evil, as I observed before. (See Deut. vii. 21. Josh. iii. 10. Psal. xlvi. 6. Zachar. iii. 15.) Now this cleanliness being commanded with respect to the Divine presence, which dwelt among them, the Jews are strangely mistaken in using such superstitions as they do in every place, when they have no such presence of the Divine Majesty in the midst of them. (See Schickard in Mischpat Hammeloch, cap. 5. Theor. 18. p. 144, &c.)

*Therefore shall thy camp be holy.*] Free from all manner of defilements, though they be only of this sort.

*That he see no unclean thing in thee.*] In these words, saith Maimonides (in the place beforenamed), he deters them from fornication; which is far worse than the forementioned uncleanness; but too common among the soldiers, when they are absent from their own homes. And therefore, that he might keep them from such impurities, he commands them such actions (he means covering their ordure) as might call to their minds the glorious majesty of God which dwelt among them. But though the Hebrew word, which we here translate *unclean thing*, properly signifies *nakedness*, and all those impure mixtures mentioned in the eighteenth of Leviticus, and therefore by Maimonides particularly applied to such uncleanness; yet Mr. Selden hath well observed, that it signifies all manner of filthiness; and therefore is well so translated by us, both here and in the next chapter, where he speaks of the matter of divorce.

And so it is used by the prophet Nahum, iii. 5. (to name no more), where the *nakedness* of Nineveh, which God saith he would shew to all nations, signifies all the murders, robberies, deceit, and other great wickednesses, which bounded in that city. (See Uxor. Hebr. lib. iii. cap. 23.) And thus Abarbinel here extends it to all the horrid sins which were usually committed in the camps of idolaters.

*And turn away from thee.*] As princes are wont to do, when they see any thing offensive to them. And the meaning is, he would not deliver them from their enemies (as he promised before), but give them up into their hands. I conclude all this matter with the words of R. Zacharias, in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 44. "The pillar of the cloud (in which the glory of the Lord dwelt) encompassed the camps of Israel round about, and made them like a city girt about with a wall, that no enemy might assault them. But this cloud threw all uncleanness out of the camps of Israel, for they were holy:" and he quotes this place for it.

Ver. 15. *Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee.*] The Hebrew doctors understand this of a servant of another nation who was become a Jew. Whom his master, if he went to dwell out of Judea, might not carry along with him against his will; and if he fled from him, when he had carried him, he might not be delivered to him, but suffered to dwell in the land of Israel. Which they understand also of a servant that fled from his master out of any of the countries of the gentiles into the land of Israel; which was to be a safe refuge to him. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Discipl. Hebr. cap. 8. p. 711.)

Ver. 16. *He shall dwell with thee, even among you.*] Having embraced the Jewish religion.

*In the place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best.*] He was not to be abridged of his liberty, but permitted to settle himself where he pleased, in any part of their country.

*Thou shalt not oppress him.*] For there was an express law against all manner of injuries or hardships put upon strangers, (Lev. xix. 33, 34.)

Ver. 17. *There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor a Sodomite of the sons of Israel.*] Or a *whoremonger* of the sons of Israel; as the last part of the verse may be translated, with the same reason that the foregoing words are translated, *no whore* of the daughters of Israel. So Bonfrerius truly observes, and so the Vulgar Latin and the LXX. translate it, and several other versions mentioned by Mr. Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 23. p. 487. Which sort of persons Moses would not have to be tolerated among the Israelites, as they were among the Egyptians; many of which, if we may believe Sextus Empiricus, were so far from thinking it a reproach for women to prostitute themselves, that they looked upon it as honourable, and gloried in it, τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἑταιρεῖν, &c. παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς Αἰγυπτίων εὐκλεὲς, &c. (lib. iii. Pyr. Hypot. cap. 24. p. 152.)

"And great reason there was for this prohibition, because by whoredom families are confounded and destroyed (as Maimonides observes); and their issues are looked upon by all men as aliens; so that none will own them as their kindred, and their neighbours become strangers to them; than which nothing can be worse for them, and for their parents. For which cause (saith he) all public stews were disallowed among the Israelites; who had this benefit by it, among others, that many brawls and quarrels, fightings and bloodshed, were prevented; which frequently happened, when several men were assembled at the same time, contending for the same woman. For so the Scripture saith, Jeremiah v. 7. *They assemble by troops in the harlots' houses.* For the preventing of these and such-like mischiefs, and that the distinction of families might be preserved, both whores and whoremongers are here condemned; and no other conjunction permitted, but with a man's own wife, publicly married. For if a private marriage had been sufficient, many would have kept women in their houses as their whores, and pretended they were their wives. Therefore, after a man had privately espoused a woman, he was bound publicly to keep his wedding." Thus that great man, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49. and see Selden, lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disc. Hebr. cap. 4. p. 554.

How much more abominable then were such persons as

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prostituted their bodies in honour of Venus and of Priapus, and such-like filthy deities! of which sort there were both males and females consecrated to such impure services! and this was practised even in the days of Moses; as appears from the history of those who committed fornication with the daughters of Moab, who exposed themselves in honour of Baal-Peor; for their lying with them was accounted idolatry. And such there were at last among the Israelites, as appears from 1 Kings xiv. 24. 2 Kings xxiii. where we read, that *the houses of the Sodomites* (as we translate it) were by *the house of the Lord*. Which shews they were not vulgar, but consecrated Sodomites, or whoremongers. I need not mention the heathen writers, who tell us this was a piece of religion among them. See our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. de Leg. Hebr. Ritual. cap. 22. and Heideggerus, in his Histor. Patriarch, exercit. i. sect. 2. where he observes, a great many very learned men understand this very place, not merely of vulgar whores, but of such as I have mentioned; which were famous in ancient times among the Phœnicians, Babylonians, and other nations, whom Strabo calls ἱεροδούλους, lib. viii. Geograph. where he saith, (p. 378.) that at Corinth there was a temple so richly endowed, that it maintained πλείους ἢ χιλίας ἱεροδούλους ἑταίρας, *above a thousand of these consecrated whores:* whom both men and women had dedicated to the goddess, Οἱ γὰρ ναύκληροι ῥᾳδίως ἐξαναλίσκονται, *for seafaring men* (who arrived in great numbers at this port) *parted with their money easily*. And, lib. xii. speaking of Comana, he saith, there were a multitude of women there, τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀπὸ σώματος, *who maintained themselves by prostituting their bodies;* and most of them were ἱεραὶ, *sacred persons:* this city being a little Corinth, to which great numbers of people resorted at their festivals, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἑταρῶν αἳ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἦσαν ἱεραὶ, *because of the multitude of harlots which were here sacred to Venus*, p. 559. And the like account we find in Athenæus, lib. xiii. Deipnos. cap. 6. where he saith, they that went to pray there, were wont, for the obtaining their petitions, to add, that they would bring some women to be devoted unto Venus; as Xenophon the Corinthian did, when he returned conqueror from the Olympics.

Ver. 18. *Thou shalt not bring the price of a whore.*] If such persons, as are mentioned in the foregoing verse, offered unto God what they had got by prostituting their bodies, it was not to be accepted, but rejected as abominable. For this was a custom among the idolatrous nations, as appears by a great many of their writers; who tell us, they were wont to dedicate some part of that which they received for the use of their bodies at the temples of their pretended deities. Particularly Herodotus mentions it, as done among the ancient Babylonians, lib. i. p. 199. Which explains what we read in Baruch, vi. 42, 43. where see Grotius's Annotations.

*Nor the price of a dog, into the house of the Lord thy God.*] There was a peculiar reason for this, besides the vileness of this creature, (which Maimonides only mentions, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46.) which was, as Bochartus, and some other great men think, because a dog was highly honoured among the Egyptians, from whom the Israelites were lately come. For the Nile was wont to overflow and enrich their country at the rising of the *dog-star*, and a *dog* was the symbol of one of their principal deities, called Anubis, who was represented with a head like that of a dog. (See Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 56. p. 690, &c.) If we can think this vile idolatry was so ancient as the days of Moses, which it is certain prevailed afterward, this may pass for a very likely reason why God would not accept so much as the price for which a dog was sold or exchanged; for so the LXX. expound it: as, for example, if a man gave a lamb for a fine dog, God would not have that lamb offered at his altar; as Maimonides explains it.

*For any vow.*] There was the greatest obligation lay upon men to make good their vows, wherewith upon any occasion they had bound themselves; but God would have them discharged from such vile obligations as these.

*For even both these are abomination unto the Lord thy God.*] It is hard to give an account why these two (the price of a whore and of a dog) are associated in the same law; unless it be in opposition to some such rites as those beforementioned among the Egyptians. Who, in after-times, it is certain, had such harlots sacred to Isis, as many think are spoken of in the beginning of this verse; and a dog was no where else sacred as a symbol of Anubis, or Mercury. Though this may be said with some probability, that these two are joined together, because a whore and a dog are both alike impudent. Josephus thinks that the *price of a dog* here mentioned, was money given, ἐπ' ὀχεύσει κυνὸς, *for the loan of a good dog to breed withal*, as Mr. Selden observes in his History of Tithes, p. 57. Where he notes, also, that the Jews would not admit the tenths of usury or of war to be offered. But the Talmudists expound it quite otherwise, as I have done, for the price of a dog, either sold or exchanged for some other thing; which the same great man approves of as the truer interpretation, (lib. v. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 4. p. 557.)

Ver. 19. *Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother.*] *i. e.* Unto an Israelite. (See Exod. xxii. 25. Lev. xxv. 36.)

*Usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of any thing that is lent upon usury.*] Here the word *nesech* is used for all sorts of usury; whether that which was made by the loan of money, called here *nesech ceseph*, or that which was made by the loan of food, and such-like things, called *nesech okel*. But, commonly, there are two words used to express this matter, *viz. nesech, usury*, and *tarbith*, which we translate *increase*. Which are not two kinds of usury, one more griping, the other more moderate, as some have conceived; for the same usury is called *nesech* with respect to the debtor, to whom it is grievous, and *tarbith* to the creditor, to whom it is beneficial. (See Salmasius, in his book de Usuris, cap. 7. p. 188.) Yet there is some difference between *nesech* and *tarbith;* else one cannot tell why they are so often both mentioned in the same place. And *nesech* properly signifies the interest, as we speak, which was paid for money; and *tarbith*, the interest of corn, and other fruits of the earth; as the same author shews in that book, (cap. 20. p. 614, &c.) And in the next book (de Modo Usurarum) he shews, that, as the LXX. and R. Levi ben Gersom thus understood the difference, so do the ancient fathers, particularly Origen and St. Jerome, (cap. 8. p. 320, &c.)

Ver. 20. *Unto a stranger.*] One that was not an Israelite, whether he dwelt out of their land, or in it; if he were not a proselyte to the law; of whom they might not take any usury, but use him as a brother.



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*Thou mayest lend upon usury.*] Some of the Jews would have this to be an affirmative precept, obliging them to make the usury of a gentile, if they lent him any money. For this Maimonides quotes a passage out of Siphri; which others say he mistook. See J. Wagenseil, in his Annotations upon Lipman's Carmen Memoriale, p. 598. where he shews that he was of this cruel opinion. But this is not the common sense of the Jews, and their wise men have been so modest also as to decree, That though their law did here permit them to take usury of a gentile, yet they were not to practise it, unless it were that they might provide for themselves, that they might live more safely among the gentiles. And they add this reason for this limitation; Lest the Jews, by this way of commerce and traffic, should grow too familiar with the gentiles, and learn their manners: only men that studied the law, and thereby were out of danger of being enticed to their religion, might freely lend them money upon usury; for this very end, as they think, that they might make a gain of it, and enrich themselves. See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 10. where he observes, that the Mahometans forbid usury only among themselves, not to strangers. Which Salmasius shews is thus limited in the Alcoran by these words, *in their own territories.* That is, if Mahometans live among Christians, they may take usury of them; but of Christians who live among them they may not take any, no more than of a Mussulman, as they call themselves.

*But unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury.*] He repeats this again, that they might not fail to be kind one to another in this matter. And the author of Etz-Hachajim, mentioned by Wagenseil, saith, according to their ancient doctors, this is six times forbidden in the law, not to take usury of their brethren, (p. 601. upon Sota.) And, indeed, as there was nothing more rational than this, that their neighbours making great gain by merchandise (such as the Sidonians, Tyrians, and those that lived upon the Red Sea, and the Egyptians), they should not borrow money of the Israelites for nothing; so it was no less reasonable the Israelites themselves, whose chiefest profit was by husbandry and breeding of cattle, should have money lent them freely by one another, without any interest, their land not being a country of traffic, whereby money might be improved, as in other countries. For, by the laws of other nations, (as Grotius observes on Luke vi. 45.) that usury was odious which was practised upon husbandmen. Abarbinel also is so tender in this point, as to say, that usury hath something in it so unequal (at least as it is commonly practised), that God did not permit the Israelites to exercise it among all their neighbours, but only upon those of the seven nations of Canaan. And thus far he is in the right, that every one who was not a Jew, was not to be deemed a stranger: an Edomite, for instance, is called their *brother* in the seventh verse of this chapter; and, therefore, this precept, *thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother*, is to be extended to Edomites. In like manner, saith he, neither do the Ishmaelites come under the name of strangers, nor other people but those of the seven nations. And this opinion Leo Modena follows in his History of the present Jews, par. ii. chap. 5. where he saith, by the word *stranger*, in this place, none other can be meant but only those seven nations, from whom God commanded them to take away even their lives. And that it is only their present distress, in which they have no other way of livelihood left, that makes them think it lawful to lend upon *usury* to those among whom they live. In which I think he is mistaken; though this doctrine is better natured than that of some of the Jews, who are so full of hatred to us Christians, whom they call Edomites, that they deprive us (as Wagenseil observes in the place abovenamed) of the name of *brethren*, and think it lawful to oppress us with usury. Of which number are R. Bechai, and the author of the old Nitzacon, set forth by Wagenseil (ancienter than that of Lipman's, set forth by Theodoric Hackspan), who was so full of malignity, that he shut his eyes against the light which he plainly saw. For he could not deny that the Edomites were their brethren; and, consequently, that Moses required the Jews not to take usury of them; and that it was anciently unlawful. But then he pretends, that they forfeited this privilege by not coming to help to preserve Jerusalem and the temple from being destroyed, yea, by rejoicing at their ruin. And fearing this would not satisfy, he hath devised this justification of their usury, that the Edomites have made themselves strangers by the neglect of circumcision. (See p. 139.)

*That the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thine hand unto in the land whither thou goest to possess it.*] Charity to their poor brethren had many promises of a great reward: and this law was made peculiarly for the relief of such persons, as appears by those places beforementioned, both in Exodus and in Leviticus. It extended indeed to all; but chiefly was intended as a provision for the poor and needy, whom they were not to neglect: for God ordered them to live together as brethren, children of the same father. And indeed they were all, rich and poor, descended from one and the same original. And therefore he designed there should be no indigent person unrelieved among this people, upon whom he had heaped so many blessings; and, delivering them from the slavery of Egypt, had planted them in the good land promised to their fathers. To which purpose all those precepts were given, which require them to lend gratuitously to their poor brother; to restore the pledge left with them; to leave the corners of their fields unreaped; not to gather the gleanings of the harvest and vintage; to observe the year of release and of jubilee; and such-like peculiar provisions for the comfort of the poorer sort, that they might share in the happiness which God bestowed upon his elect people.

Ver. 21. *When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God.*] In a thing lawful and possible; and by a person who had power to make, and was not subject to the authority of another who had power to make it void. (See Numb. xxx. 2.)

*Thou shalt not slack to pay it.*] Lest they should prove less able, and so be unwilling to perform what they had vowed, or should perhaps forget it. If they lost the thing they vowed, while they delayed, they were bound to give the value of it. Which was one difference between a vow and a free-will-offering; that in the latter case (as Maimonides saith), if that which he designed was stolen or dead, he was not bound to make reparation. The same author applies this to a vow a man made of giving an alms to a poor body, suppose a shekel, which he was to bestow immediately, if any poor body was at hand; if not, he was to

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separate it, and lay it by till he met with one, &c. (cap. 8. de Donis Pauperum, sect. 1.)

*For the Lord will surely require it of thee.*] Demand that which thou hast made to be his own.

*And it would be sin in thee.*] Be punished by God's just judgment upon thee for the wrong thou hast done him.

Ver. 22. *But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee.*] God was so very merciful, as Maimonides observes, that if a man was not able to offer him an ox, or a lamb, he accepted of turtles and young pigeons, of which there was great plenty in that country. And if this was beyond his ability, but he had a desire to testify his affection to God by a free-will-offering, he was pleased to accept an oblation of bread baked in an oven, or pan, or any other usual way. And if this was too heavy, he accepted of bare flour, without putting him to the charge of baking it. For he would have men to be easy in his service, and all their offerings to be free and cheerful; and therefore tells them here, that if they vowed nothing at all to him, he would not take it ill of them, nor impute it to them as a sin, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 46.)

Ver. 23. *That which is gone out of thy mouth thou shalt keep and perform; even a free-will-offering, according as thou hast vowed,* &c.] This was to make them consider well beforehand what their ability was, and not rashly resolve and promise any thing: for though they were not bound to vow the smallest matter, yet having once vowed, they were no longer free, but bound to make it good, though it proved very chargeable to them. Yet there is a traditional doctrine among them practised at this day, that if any man or woman make a vow which afterward they wish unmade, and it be not to the prejudice of any third person that it should be broke, in this case they may go to a rabbin, or to any other three men, who hearing their reasons why they repent of having made such a vow, and judging them good, they may free them from their obligation, saying to such a person thrice, *Be thou absolved from this vow,* &c. and so he is discharged. Thus Leo Modena, in his History of the present Jews, par. ii. chap. 4.

Ver. 24. *When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill at thine own pleasure.*] This the Hebrew doctors take to be a law made in favour of poor labourers, who were hired to work in their vineyards in the time of vintage, whom the owners might not hinder from eating as many grapes as they pleased (and the same held good in olives, figs, dates, and all other fruit), as long as they were at work, but not after they had done working. And if their masters would not suffer them so to do, they were to be scourged with forty stripes save one; for it was not reasonable to deny them this liberty, when the very oxen were not to be muzzled whilst they trod out the corn. (See Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 2. p. 670.) Which must be confessed to be as good a natured law as that of Plato's was harsh and unnatural, which enacted a servant should receive as many stripes as he ate grapes or figs. (See Eusebius, lib. xiii. Præpar. Evangel. cap. *ult.*)

But I see no reason at all to restrain this indulgence only to hirelings, of whom there is no mention at all in this law; and therefore Josephus seems to me to have justly enlarged this benefit (lib. iv. Archæol. cap. 8.) to all travellers on the highway, though they were not Israelites (to whom, and to proselytes of justice alone, the Jews confine this privilege), but mere strangers of any other nation, who had occasion to pass by a vineyard, and needed a refreshment. Which permission may seem to have caused great inconvenience, if not mischief in it, because they might tread down the vines, and make great waste among the grapes. Therefore by *coming into their neighbour's vineyard,* is not meant going into every part of it, with a liberty to pick out the best grapes; but only stepping aside out of their way into the skirts of the vineyard, which lay near the road, and satisfying their hunger, without entering further into the vineyard. This made it no damage to the owners, considering the great plenty of fruit in that country.

*But thou shalt not put any in thy vessel.*] They were only to eat for their present necessity or delight, but not to carry any away with them for the benefit of others, or their own refreshment at another time. And, therefore, might not put any in their pouches, or their garments, or bosoms, or so much as carry away in their hands what they could not eat.

Ver. 25. *When thou comest into the standing-corn of thy neighbour's, thou mayest pluck the ears with thine hand.*] As the disciples of our Saviour did, when they walked through the corn, (Matt. xii. 1.) which they might have justified by the strictest rules of the pharisaical doctors, who granted this privilege unto Jews, but not unto gentiles.

*But thou shalt not move a sickle into thy neighbour's standing-corn.*] They might not cut down any corn, but only pluck with their hands as much as was necessary to satisfy their hunger, or for their pleasure.

## CHAP. XXIV.

Ver. 1. *WHEN a man hath taken a wife, and married her.*] The Hebrew doctors make a difference between these two; understanding by *taking a wife,* his espousing her to be his wife; and by *marrying her,* his completing the contract, by lying with her.

*And it come to pass.*] Either after he hath espoused her, or after he hath consummated the marriage.

*That she find no favour in his eyes.*] *i. e.* He dislikes her; or, as it is expressed ver. 3. *hates her.* Which signifies either an absolute dislike to her, or comparatively with some person whom he likes better.

*Because he hath found some uncleanness in her.*] This is assigned as the reason and ground of his dislike, which signifies something odious to *him,* though, perhaps, it might not be so to another, whom Moses supposes she might marry after this husband had discharged her. Some of the Jews, indeed, extend this liberty so far, as to fancy they might, without any reason at all, for their mere pleasure, part with their wives. (See Buxtorf. de Sponsal et Divortiis, sect. 89.) But others are more modest, and acknowledge that these words [*matter of uncleanness*] signify some weighty cause. Yet they distinguish between the first wife a man took, who might not be put away but for some uncleanness, and the second, who might be put away for a lesser reason. But there were great differences between the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai (whom the Talmudists so much talk of), about this matter of *uncleanness*: yet both agree it hath a far lower signification here



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than in the book of Leviticus, where it signifies adultery, incest, or such-like turpitude. For if adultery had been here meant, she might have been put to death; or the mere suspicion of it tried by the water of jealousy. (See Buxtorf in the book beforenamed, sect. 90. and our Selden, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 20, 21.) Abarbinel thinks the two plainest causes of dislike signified by these words, were either such behaviour as might make her suspected of impurity (as going with her face uncovered, or her breast naked; sporting with young men, or washing in the same place with them, or having her arms bare); or, secondly, when they were of such a different temper, humour, and disposition, that they disliked and nauseated each other's company, and, consequently, lived in continual brawls and contentions. And, besides such moral causes, they allowed also such natural as made a woman offensive; *viz.* leprosy, or some such disease in her body, as he did not discover before marriage. And sometimes they extend this as far as to a stinking breath.

*Then let him write her a bill of divorcement.*] Whatsoever was the cause of the husband's dislike, this law provides the wife should not be damaged by it, being made rather for her advantage than her husband's; *viz.* to free her (as Dr. Hammond observes) from the pain and vexation of her husband's unkindness, and the danger of seeing another taken in, and preferred before her; and she might be perfectly at liberty to leave one, who did not love her, and take another husband who might possibly delight in her. (See Answer to six Queries, q. iii. chap. 2.) Some think that this custom of putting away wives, which they did not like, prevailed before the law of Moses. Which opinion hath something to countenance it, from the mention of divorces in several places (Levit. xxi. 14. xxii. 13. Numb. xxx. 9.) before the book of Deuteronomy was written, wherein he orders a bill to be given in writing to discharge them. If this be true, it gives a good reason why God was pleased to grant this permission; because they were so settled in this practice, that it was safer still to indulge it to them, than quite to abolish it. Which he did with this caution, That husbands should not discharge their wives with a word, bidding them begone out of doors (*i. e.* putting them away rashly, and in a sudden fit of anger), but first write them a bill containing their pleasure herein. Which being a deliberate act might possibly hinder this divorce; to which they might be prone in a passion, but not after some consideration. The form of this bill is in Mr. Selden, and exactly scanned, lib. iii. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 24. Who observes also, in another place of that book, (cap. 19.) that as, for five hundred years, or more, the Roman state flourished without the use of divorces, so for seven hundred years after the making of this law, there is no mention of any bill of divorce; so for seven hundred years after the making of this law, there is no mention of any bill of divorce among the Jews, that is, till the days of Isaiah, (see chap. l. 1.) and but rarely afterward.

*And give it into her hand.*] Saying these, or some such-like words, *Behold, this is thy bill of divorce;* otherwise it was not good: and there were to be at least two witnesses unto it, as the Jews say. Who make ten things necessary (which they think to be founded upon the law itself) to make the bill legal. (See Selden, in the same book, cap. 25.)

*And send her out of his house.*] This Dr. Hammond (in the place abovementioned) looks upon as an obligation upon her husband to furnish her for her journey, to endow her, and make provision for her. For so the word προπέμπειν, *to send out*, signifies in the New Testament, to provide a *viaticum*, 1 Cor. xvi. 6. 11. Titus iii. 13. where it is explained, by *letting nothing be wanting.* But the Jews are of opinion, that the divorce was perfect and legitimate, before he sent her out of his doors: for it was sufficient to give her a bill in such a form, as plainly shewed their matrimony was dissolved; and that she was no part of his family, though he had not actually sent her away. Yet, if he kept her still in his house, after this bill was delivered into her hand, it was presumed they cohabited together, and he was to give her a new bill of divorce.

In all which I can see nothing like a command for putting away their wives, if they were disagreeable; which the Jews would fain extort out of these words. And so they spake unto our blessed Lord, Matt. xix. 7. though in another place they spake of it only as a permission, Mark x. 3. The plain intent of this law being this; That if a man did put away his wife (as they are suffered to do), she might marry another man; but if that new husband died, she might not return to her first husband again. See Buxtorf. de Sponsal. et Divortiis, p. 107, 108, &c. and to shew that Moses rather supposed, than permitted divorces, p. 113, &c.

Ver. 2. *And when she is departed out of his house.*] So that it is publicly known, she is no longer his wife.

*She may go and be another man's wife.*] The bond of marriage being wholly broken by the bill of divorce, whereby he renounced all interest in her, and expressly said, in the very body of the bill (as we speak), *it may be free to thee to marry with whom thou wilt.* Much more was the bond broken by adultery, for which our Saviour gives a man leave to put away his wife, and take another. See David Chytræus concerning this matter, p. 117, &c. where he reports a very wise resolution of Luther's Pomeranus, and Melancthon, in the case of the criminal person.

Ver. 3. *And if the latter husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorce, and give it her in her hand, and send her out of his house.*] This shews that no other way of putting away a wife was allowed, but only this. For, as Maimonides well observes, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49.) if it had been lawful to do it by bare words, or simply sending her out of his house, any woman might have left her husband, and said she was put away; both she, and he that committed adultery with her, pretending a divorce, when her husband had given her none. Therefore the law wisely provided none should be put away, but by such a bill as is beforementioned, whereby an authentic testimony was given of it.

*Or if her latter husband die, which took her to wife.*] Whereby she became free again, as the apostle hath observed, Rom. vii. 2.

Ver. 4. *Her former husband, which sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife.*] One would have thought there could have been no danger of any man's desiring her again, whom he had solemnly sent away with dislike. But such is the levity and fickleness of human nature (the Jews at least were so inconstant), that it seems men sometimes sought after that which they had rejected: and this was the punishment of their injustice, in putting away a wife

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without sufficient cause (as by this they acknowledged), that they might not again enjoy her.

*After that she is defiled.*] This is the reason why the former husband might not marry her again (as the Jews take it), because by her second marriage she was defiled. Which they say she was (so that he could not have her again), though she had been only espoused to a new husband, who had never lain with her. For they make no difference between her second marriage and second espousals, but think a woman contracted such a pollution by her second espousals, that she would not have been so much polluted, if she had played the whore after her divorce. For in that case, they say, he might notwithstanding have married her again; but not after she had been married to another. Thus Mr. Selden reports their opinion, lib. i. Uxor. Heb. cap. 11. where he observes, that the Mahometans, who are wont in many things to ape the Jews, here quite differ from them; allowing a man liberty to take his wife again, though he had divorced her three times.

Now the ground upon which a divorced woman was accounted *defiled*, or *unclean*, after another man had married her, I suppose, was, that this was looked upon as a solemn renunciation of her former husband on her part, who had been renounced by him by the bill of divorce; but he was not absolutely renounced by her till she married another, whereby she was totally alienated from him. This made her unclean, not in herself, nor with respect to her second husband, whom she married, nor with respect to any other man (who might marry her without any pollution), but only with respect to her first husband, unto whom, by this law, she was made unclean; for so all things forbidden to the Jews were accounted, as appears from Acts x. 14, 15. where all meats prohibited by the law are called *unclean*; and God is said to have *cleansed* them, by taking off that prohibition.

*For that is abomination before the Lord.*] That is, to return to her first husband, and to be his wife again: for this, saith Abarbinel, was to imitate the Egyptians, who changed their wives, and took them again into their houses; which was the occasion of great filthiness. But this intimates, that if she had not been married to any other man, but kept herself free, she might have been his wife again, if he had a mind to be reconciled to her. And this shews also, that God intended to discourage them from putting away their wives, by making them incapable, after they had been married to another, for ever to enjoy them again, though they grew very rich, or otherwise desirable, which inclined many, no doubt, to consider well before they parted with them.

*And thou shalt not cause the land to sin, which the Lord thy God giveth thee*, &c.] The people of the land might, by such a large indulgence, have been tempted to pollute it with many sins, and thereby bring God's judgments upon it. (See Jer. iii. 1.) For, as Isaac Arama glosses, if this had not been prohibited, a gate had been opened unto vile men, *to make a trade of changing their wives*, and thereby filled the land with whoredoms.

Ver. 5. *When a man hath taken a new wife.*] The Hebrews think, (as I observed before, xx. 7.) that, whether he had married a virgin or a widow, he was to have the privilege here mentioned; yea, they extend it to him who had married his brother's wife; but not to him who had married her whom he put away, and might take again, if she had not been married since that to another man. For she could not be said to be *a new wife*.

*He shall not go out to war.*] See Deut. xx. 7.

*Nor be charged with any business.*] No public employment was to be put upon him, which might occasion his absence from his wife; not so much as watching, or such-like. For the better understanding of which, it must be remembered, what was said about the fearful and timorous, who were bid to return home from the army, lest they disheartened their brethren, xx. 8. And yet these men were bound to furnish the army with victuals and water, to clear the ways, and take up their quarters; but a new bridegroom was free from all these. Only they made a difference between a war by the Divine commandment, and one undertaken voluntarily: unto the former of which they think this immunity doth not extend, but only to the latter. In the margin these words are translated, *nor any thing pass upon him*, that is, he shall not pay tribute.

*But he shall be free at home for one year.*] The same time of freedom it was thought reasonable to grant unto builders and planters, because they are joined with new-married men in the speech the priest made before they went to battle, xx. 5—7.

*And shall cheer up his wife whom he hath taken.*] Make much of her, as we speak, and so endear himself to her by his kindness, that there might be no occasion of a divorce. For the prevention of which this law seems to have been intended; that by so long a conversation together, without any interruption, they might have so perfect an understanding one of another, and such a mutual confidence might be settled, that he might not easily entertain any jealousies of her, when he should be absent in the wars, or elsewhere.

Ver. 6. *No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge.*] This is a law of the same nature with that Exod. xx. 26, 27. for the preservation of mercy, beneficence, and clemency towards the poor, as Maimonides speaks, More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 39.

*For he taketh a man's life to pledge.*] That is, his *livelihood*; by which he maintains himself and his family, and keeps them from starving. By this reason it was unlawful to take any other thing for a security, by the want of which a man might be in danger to be undone. For instance, they did not allow any man to seize upon the oxen which were at plough. He who broke this law was scourged.

Ver. 7. *If any man be found stealing any of his brethren the children of Israel.*] If he were either taken in the fact, or it was plainly proved against him. So the very words of the Athenian law were, Ἐὰν τὶς φανερὸς γένηται ἀνδραποδιζόμενος, *if a man be an apparent man-stealer*.

*And maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him.*] This was the end of man-stealing, to make a gain of him, either by exchanging him for some commodity, or selling him for money.

*Then that thief shall die.*] This crime was punished with death, though stealing of beasts or other things was not, (see Exod. xxi. 16.) because it was very heinous on a double account, both by depriving the community of one of its members, and making him a slave in another country. And, indeed, the most moderate lawyers did not know how to secure men in the possession of things very valuable, but by inflicting such a punishment on those that stole

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them. Thus, after Solon had tempered the rigid law of Draco, which punished all theft with death, by ordering in most cases only the payment of double, he enacted the stealing of a great sum of money to be capital; nay, he made it a great crime to steal *dung*, because it was a thing of great value in that country, which was very barren, and needed it for their ground. How much more valuable was a man in all men's account, whom if any man stole, the law was τούτῳ θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν, *that death should be his punishment;* as Xenophon reports it. And he was accounted ἀνδραποδιστὴς, a *man-stealer*, who, not only by force or by fraud, carried away a freeman, and sold him for a slave, or suppressed him; but he who inveigled away another man's servant, and persuaded him to run away, or concealed such a fugitive, (as Sam. Petitus observes, out of Pollux and others, lib. vii. Leges Atticas, tit. 5. p. 533.) Which makes me think, not only he that stole *one of his brethren of the children of Israel*, but he that stole a proselyte of any sort, or the servant of a stranger, was liable to the punishment mentioned in this law of Moses.

*And thou shalt put away evil from among you.*] By these words we may understand the greatness of his crime; for they are never used in this book, but when Moses speaks of the punishment of some enormous sin. (See xiii. 5. xvii. 7. xix. 19, &c.)

Ver. 8. *Take heed of the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently.*] This was the highest legal uncleanness, and therefore the greatest caution was to be used to prevent its contagion.

*And do according to all that the priests the Levites.*] They were constituted by the law the sole judges, whether a man had the leprosy or not; and were to order his separation from others if he had; and frequently make inspection, whether it spread, or was at a stand, &c. See the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Leviticus; where there are laws about houses and garments, as well as persons, infected with this disease by the hand of God, as the Jews understand it.

*Shall teach you.*] To *teach* in this place signifies to declare the obligation of the law by the judges of it, the priests the Levites. Thus Jehoshaphat is said to have sent his princes *to teach in the cities of Judah*, and with them he sent Levites and priests, 2 Chron. xviii. 18. where R. Solomon notes, that it was the business of the priests and Levites to teach and instruct, as is here written in this place (which he quotes), and the princes went with them, that none might disobey them, but be constrained by their authority to do according to their command. See Mr. Thorndike, in his Religious Assemblies, chap. 2. p. 22. where he observes, that, in Leviticus, direction is given to the priests how to proceed in judging leprosies; but no provision made till now, that the people should stand to their judgment.

They who imagine that the priest had the care of lepers, as their physicians, forget that no other diseased persons are ordered to repair to them; which is a sign they did not pretend to cure them, but only to preserve others from being defiled by them; and to do what was necessary for their cleansing, when they were healed by God.

*As I commanded them, so shall ye observe to do.*] They were so to observe the priests, as to mark what God commanded; and accordingly obey them, not against, but according to his command.

Ver. 9. *Remember what the Lord thy God did unto Miriam by the way, after that ye were come forth out of Egypt.*] This seems to be mentioned, that they might not think much to be shut up seven days, when they were but suspected to have the leprosy, and seven days more to make farther trial, and to be put out of the camp, when it appeared plainly they had this disease, (Lev. xiii. 4, 5. 45, 46.) since so great a person as Miriam was excluded so long from the society of God's people, (Numb. xii. 15.) And this may be looked upon as an admonition to take care, lest they spoke evil of dignities (which brought this punishment on Miriam), or disobeyed the commands of the priest, which might bring the like, or some other judgment upon them.

Ver. 10. *When thou dost lend thy brother any thing, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge.*] This was a very merciful provision for the poor, whose houses he would have so privileged, that no man might enter into them without their consent, and there choose what he pleased for the security of his debt: but he was to take what the borrower could best spare.

Ver. 11. *Thou shalt stand abroad.*] Keep without door.

*And the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee.*] So the debtor, not the creditor, was to choose what pledge he would give; for he best knew what he could, with most convenience to himself, part withal; and if it was sufficient, the lender had reason to be satisfied with it.

Ver. 12. *And if the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge.*] But restore it before night. Which is to be understood of such things as were necessary for the preservation of his life or health, as the following words demonstrate.

Ver. 13. *In any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment.*] And not be forced to borrow of others a necessary covering to defend him from the cold; and not be able, perhaps, to procure it. (See Exod. xxii. 26, 27.) Which law seems to have been intended to keep them from taking any pledge of a very poor man. For to what purpose should they every morning fetch a pledge, and every evening carry it back again, which would only create them a great deal of trouble?

*And bless thee.*] Pray God to bless thee.

*And it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God.*] Procure thee a blessing from God, who will esteem it an act of great mercy: which is often called by the name of *righteousness* in the holy books, Psal. cxii. 9. Prov. x. 2, &c. Nay, such-like actions are properly called *tzedekah*, or *righteousness*, according to the opinion of Maimonides, who observes, (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 53.) that this word doth merely signify giving to every man his own. "For when a man pays the hireling his wages, or a debtor pays his creditor, that is not called *tzedekah:* but what a man doth out of pure love to virtue and goodness (as when a man cures a poor wretch of his wounds), is properly called by that name. From whence it is said, concerning the restoring of a poor man's pledge, *it shall be to thee for righteousness.*" That is, saith Dr. Hammond (in his Practical Catechism), that degree of mercy which the law required of every Jew, without which he could not be accounted righteous: but there was a degree of

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bounty beyond this called *chasidah*, which was an excess of righteousness or goodness.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant.*] Either by putting more work upon him than he is able to do, or by detaining his wages when it is done. The latter of these is most properly here denoted, as Const. L'Empereur observes out of D. Kimchi, who, in his Book of Roots, saith, the difference between עשק (which is the word here) and גזל doth not lie in this, that the former signifies to *defraud*, the latter to *take away by violence:* but the former signifies to *detain by force*, and the other to *take away by force what belongs to another.* And for the proof of it, alleges this place in Deuteronomy, which he thus translates, *Thou shalt not detain by force the wages of the hireling.* Which is expressed more clearly, Malachi iii. 5. Annot. in Bava-kama, cap. 9. sect. 7. p. 247.

*That is poor and needy.*] And therefore the more to be pitied, and not oppressed, either by giving him less wages than another man, when he ought rather to have greater, or by keeping back his hire beyond the time wherein it ought to be paid: for, as the ancient lawyers say, "Minus solvit, qui tempore minus solvit;" as it is observed by Grotius upon James v. 4.

*Whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates.*] No difference was to be made between a natural Jew and a proselyte of the gate, according to the general law, Lev. xix. 34. For such oppression might tempt them to do very wicked things: for instance, expose or kill their children, when they were not able to maintain them; after the manner of the heathen, who were frequently guilty of this, and thought it no crime when their poverty constrained them to it. See Petrus Petitus, lib. iii. Miscell. Observ. cap. 17. where he produces many proofs of it, both out of Greek and Roman authors.

Ver. 15. *At his day thou shalt give him his hire.*] Which was due to him, either by contract, or by natural equity; and whether he had agreed to serve him for a day, or a month, or a year. At the time when his wages was due, it was to be punctually paid, unless he were willing to have it remain in his hands. For this was not an act of mercy, but of justice, to pay a hireling his wages.

*Neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor.*] This shews he speaks particularly of one that served for a day's wages, and could not forbear the payment of it, because he was so poor as not to be able to provide himself and family necessaries without it.

*And setteth his heart upon it.*] Eagerly expects it, as the support of his life. So the Vulgar translates it, *With it he supports his soul*, that is, his life.

*Lest he cry unto the Lord.*] Make grievous complaints to him who made both rich and poor.

*And it be sin unto thee.*] God will hear his cry, and severely punish thee. (See James v. 4.)

Ver. 16. *The father shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the father: every man shall be put to death for his own sin.*] This is a rule of common reason, which was anciently expressed in this vulgar saying, *Noxa caput sequitur:* and is excellently expressed by Dion Chrysostom, Ἕκαστος αὐτῷ γίνεται τῆς ἀτυχίας αἴτιος, *Let every man be the author of his own misfortune.* Which Amazia, king of Judah, thought extended to the children of traitors, unto whom he allowed the benefit of this law, as we read in so many words, 2 Kings xiv. 6. 2 Chron. xxv. 4. And not only Philo, but Dionysius Halicarnassæus condemns the custom of those nations who put to death the children of tyrants or traitors. See Grotius, lib. ii. de Jure Belli et Pacis, cap. 21. sect. 13, 14. where he observes, that God indeed threatens *to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children;* but in this case, "Jure dominii non pœnæ utitur," *he uses the right of dominion, not of punishment.*

Ver. 17. *Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger, nor of the fatherless.*] Nor of the widow, who is joined with them, ver. 19. For such persons commonly have none to stand by them, and plead their cause; and therefore the judges were to take the greater care to see them have justice done, (Exod. xxii. 21. xxiii. 9.)

*Nor take the widow's raiment to pledge.*] Which is to be understood of one that is poor; as appears from ver. 12. (See Exod. xxii. 21. 26, 27.)

Ver. 18. *But thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt, and the Lord redeemed thee thence: therefore I command thee to do this thing.*] The remembrance of their own miserable condition in Egypt, till God took pity upon them, was to work compassion in them towards others in like forlorn estate; otherwise they did not *remember* as they ought. This is often urged as a reason for shewing mercy to strangers, and such-like helpless persons, particularly in Lev. xix. 33, 34. and in this book, x. 19, 20. xv. 15.

Ver. 19. *When thou cuttest down thine harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go back again to fetch it.*] There are many merciful laws about the poor. (See Lev. xix. 9, 10. xxiii. 22.) They are all put together by Mr. Selden, lib. vi. de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 6. where the exposition the Talmudists give of this law seems to me to be so strict, that it could do little good. For they say a sheaf was not taken to be *forgotten*, unless not only the owner of the field, but all the labourers forgot it: and if none of them remembered it, yet if any man that passed by that way came and gave them notice of it, it was not looked upon as left by forgetfulness. Yet they are so kind as to extend this law, not only to the sheaves of corn left in the field, but to bunches of grapes, and other fruit, which were left behind in their vineyards or orchards. And it seems no unreasonable interpretation of this law, that if an owner of a field, or his workmen, called to mind, before they were gone quite out of the field, that a sheaf was left in such a place, they might go back and fetch it; but not, if they did not remember it till they came into the city. They that would see more cases about this matter, may look into Maimonides de Donis Pauperum, translated by Dr. H. Prideaux, (cap. 5.) and his very learned annotations upon it. Josephus seems to me to have interpreted this law most charitably, lib. iv. Archæolog. cap. 8. where he saith, they were not only not to go back to fetch what they had forgot, but to leave on purpose corn, and grapes, and olives, &c. for the benefit of the poor.

*It shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow.*] Who are commonly put together as proper objects of charity: and are (as Mr. Selden speaks) a kind of paraphrase upon the word *poor.*

*That the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the work of thy hand.*] Make their land still very fruitful: which was a reward of their charity.

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Ver. 20. *When thou beatest thine olive-tree.*] As they were wont to do, in those countries, with sticks, to bring down the olives.

*Thou shalt not go over the boughs again.*] Not search the boughs, after they are beaten, whether any be left.

*It shall be for the stranger,* &c.] Who might go into the olive-yards, after the owner had carried out his fruit, and gather what they found still remaining on the trees.

Ver. 21. *When thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it afterward.*] By making a new gathering after the first. But if the poor themselves left any behind, after the usual time allowed for the gathering such fruits or corn as were left for them, it was lawful for the owner to take it himself; and he was not bound, either to pay the poor the price of it, or to leave it for the beasts and birds. For the command is (say the Jewish doctors, who nicely scan these things), that it shall be for the poor, and that it be left for them; but not any thing given them in lieu of it. (See Selden, in the forenamed place, p. 699.)

*It shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow.*] The Jewish doctors, by *the stranger* here mentioned, in this and the foregoing verses, would have only *proselytes of justice* understood, who had entirely embraced the Jewish religion; so that other proselytes, and mere gentiles, had no right to these things. For by the law, say they, concerning the tithe for the poor, (xiv. 29.) the Levite and the *stranger* are put together: and the Levite being a child of the covenant, so must the *stranger* be, who is joined with him. But this restriction confined this charity within such narrow bounds, that they themselves are not satisfied with it: and therefore they add, that though such only as were within the covenant had a right to these things by the law, yet, if proselytes of the gate, or mere gentiles, mixed themselves with the Jews, by the decree of their wise men, they were not to be hindered from gathering their share in these fruits of the earth which were left for the poor. And they give this reason for it, *because of the way of peace,* that is, offices of humanity and charity ought to be extended to all. (See Selden, p. 700.)

Ver. 22. *And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt: therefore I command thee to do this thing.*] If they had been only *strangers there,* and neglected by the natives of the country, the remembrance of God's mercy in providing for them had been a powerful motive to obey this command: and therefore the remembrance of the slavery and grievous oppressions under which they there groaned was a far greater. (See ver. 18.)

## CHAP. XXV.

Ver. 1. *IF there be a controversy between men, and they come into judgment.*] It is evident, by the sequel, that he speaks of criminal causes.

*That the judges may judge them.*] Who were appointed to be constituted and settled in all their gates. (See xvi. 18.)

*Then they shall justify the righteous.*] Acquit him who is falsely accused of doing any wrong.

*And condemn the wicked.*] To suffer such punishment as his crime deserves.

Ver. 2. *And it shall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten.*] For what crimes men were to be beaten, by the sentence of the lower courts, as well as by that of the great Sanhedrin, see Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 7, 8. They were in all, as they reckon, two hundred and seven.

*The judge shall cause him to lie down.*] By his *officers* who attended the court.

*Before his face.*] In open court. But he was first to be admonished; and the witnesses were to be produced against him, as in capital causes: after which the judge commanded him to lie down before a low pillar, to which his hands were tied; and he being stripped down to his waist, the executioner stood behind him upon a stone, where he scourged him both on the back and breast, with thongs made of an ox's hide, before the face of the judges: for though one judge be only mentioned, the execution was done before the whole bench, after the sentence was pronounced by one of them.

*According to this fault.*] For the violation of a *negative* precept he might be scourged before the court, consisting of three judges; but not for the violation of an *affirmative,* which was to be done before the court of twenty-three, as Selden observes in the place forenamed, sect. 6.

*By a certain number.*] He was condemned to receive more or fewer stripes, proportionable to his crime: and all the time the executioner was scourging him, the principal judge proclaimed these words, (Deut. xxviii. 58.) with a loud voice, "If thou observest not all the words of this law, &c. then the Lord shall make thy plagues wonderful," &c. adding those, xxix. 9. "Keep therefore the words of this covenant, and do them," &c. Concluding at last with those of the Psalmist, lxxviii. 38. "But he being full of compassion, forgave their iniquities." Which he was to repeat, if he had finished these sayings before the full number of stripes were given. (See Selden, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 13. n. 6. which I find in the title Maccoth, cap. 3. sect. 16. and see G. Schickard, Mischpat Hammelech, cap. 2. p. 57, 58.)

Ver. 3. *Forty stripes he may give him.*] Which was more merciful than the Athenian law mentioned by Æschines, which was inflicted upon criminals, τῇ δημοσίᾳ μάστιγι πεντήκοντα πληγὰς, *fifty stripes by the public scourge.* But none among the Jews were to receive above forty for any crime; fewer they might inflict, though not more.

*And not exceed.*] Of this they were so careful, that as one of the three judges commanded the executioner to strike, another told the stripes, while the third pronounced the sentences out of the Scripture beforementioned, to admonish him, and every one else, of the justice of the punishment. So Schickard observes, out of Maimonides, in the place abovenamed. For the prevention also of excess in this punishment, they were wont to give but thirty-nine stripes, and no more; though the offender was ever so strong or pertinacious. Thus the Jews generally affirm, and it appears to be true, by what St. Paul saith of himself, 2 Cor. xi. 24. "Of the Jews five times I received forty stripes save one;" which is exactly the phrase of Mischna in Maccoth, cap. 3. sect. 10. where they interpret *forty stripes* by the next number to forty, *i. e.* thirty-nine. For which they give a foolish reason in the Gemara (as Joh. Coch there observes); but Maimonides gives a sober account, that this was ordered, lest the executioner, by carelessness, might exceed the number of forty, beyond which the law required them not to go; but it was lawful to

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fall short of it, and therefore they required him to stop at the thirty-ninth stroke. Yet, if any man deserved this punishment twice together, they did sometimes exceed the number of forty, and went so far as to sentence such a malefactor to receive seventy-nine stripes; as Mr. Selden observes in the same place: where he likewise notes, on the other side, that if a man was so weak, that he was ready to faint away, before he had received thirty-nine, the judges ordered the executioner to stay his hand.

*Lest, if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy brother should seem vile unto thee.*] Being beaten like a dog, as we speak; that is, so cruelly, that the marks of it remained afterward, to make him contemptible. Which the law was so far from intending, that the Jews say no man was to be reproached afterward with this whipping, or the crime for which he was whipped, because he was still *a brother*, as the word here is. And therefore he was to be restored to the same respect among them that he had before, nay, to any office which before he enjoyed; except he was the president of the Sanhedrin, who was never to be restored to his power, if he had been scourged, nor equally honoured with his inferior colleagues. So Schickard observes, out of Maimonides, in the forenamed book, p. 62.

Ver. 4. *Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.*] It was the custom, not only in this country, but among the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, to use oxen in treading out their corn, either with their feet barely, or by drawing a cart, or other instrument, over it. And while they were at work some muzzled them, and others daubed their mouths with dung; others hung a wooden instrument about their necks, which hindered them from stooping down; or put sharp pricks in their mouths; or kept them without drink; or covered their corn with skins, that they might not be able to come at it. (See Bochartus, in his Hierozoicon, par. i. lib. ii. cap. 40. p. 401.) Which inhumanity God here forbids, and instructs his people, by shewing mercy to their beasts, to be kind one to another, particularly to their servants and labourers, but, above all, to those who laboured in the work of the ministry, for the salvation of souls, as St. Paul argues, 1 Cor. ix. 9. (See Bonfrerius.)

Ver. 5. *If brethren dwell together.*] They are said to dwell together, not only who were in the same family, but in the same country, Gen. xiii. 5, 6.

*And one of them die, and have no child.*] If he left a child, though he were a *mamzer*, or an apostate, his next brother was not bound to marry his wife; but if he left a child by a slave, or a gentile, he was. If he left his wife with child, and she miscarried, he was bound; but if she brought a live child, after she had gone with it nine months, he was free. And by *a child* is to be understood either a son or daughter. (See Selden, lib. de Successionibus ad bona Defuncti, cap. 14.)

*The wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger.*] This shews the end of this law was to preserve inheritances in the family to which they belonged.

*Her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife.*] The Hebrew doctors understand this obligation to lie upon the eldest brother that was surviving; and only of a brother that was by the same father. For though they had the same mother, if they had not the same father, no obligation lay upon him: "For brethren (saith Maimonides) by the mother's side, are not accounted brethren, either in the matter of inheritances, or of marrying a brother's wife: but they are as if they were not brethren; for there is no fraternity which is not from the father." (See Heideggerus Exercit. i. de Œconom. Patriarch 10. 16. and Selden, Uxor. Hebr. p. 80.) But the king, they say, was excepted from this law, as Schickard observes in his Jus Regium, p. 56.

*And perform the duty of a husband's brother to her.*] This was a law before the time of Moses, among the patriarchs, as we learn from Gen. xxxviii. 7, 8, &c. And it was so well understood to be a bounden duty, that the Hebrew doctors say, it was not necessary there should be any solemn marriage celebrated with such widow; because, unless her husband's brother renounced her, she was esteemed his wife, *min hashamajim*, by the authority of God; and that, whether she had been only espoused by the deceased brother, or his complete wife. Yet by the constitution of their elders, he was to contract with her before two witnesses, and give her a piece of money; before which it was not lawful for him to lie with her. There was to be also a sacred benediction of the marriage; and her dowry assigned her by an instrument. But if he did lie with her before these solemnities, there was no formal contract exacted of him afterward; he was only scourged for contemning the constitutions of their elders, and compelled to settle a dowry upon her. See Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 12. where he observes, that, in case a man left several widows, if his brother either married, or renounced one of them, all the rest were free from this law. And if several brethren died, and left every one of them a wife, without issue, the surviving brother might either take or reject them all; or take one or two, and let the rest alone, as he pleased. And if the eldest brother, that married his brother's relict, died also without issue, then the next surviving brother was to marry her; and so forward, according to the case supposed in the gospel. And yet that brother only was admitted to this marriage, who was born before his brother's death; which they gather from the first words of this verse, *if brethren dwell together;* which cannot be meant of one born after his brother's death. They might likewise have concluded, from this phrase, that such of the brethren as had wives already were not bound to take her to wife, but only he that was unmarried; who might be supposed to be meant by *him that dwelt together with his brother*, and was not yet gone to a house of his own. But I fear I have said too much of a matter now quite antiquated, unless it be among some of the Indians and Persians, and among the Tartars that inhabit Iberia and Albania, who still retain this custom; as Huetius observes, in his Demonstratio Evangel. propos. iv. cap. 11. n. 1.

Ver. 6. *And it shall be, that the first-born which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead.*] Shall be reputed the son and heir of the deceased; but there was no necessity to give him his name.

*That his name be not put out in Israel.*] That a family in Israel might not be lost; for this was a provision for the preservation of families. (See Numb. xxvii. 4.) And therefore, if there was no brother, properly so called, to perform this duty, the next of kin (who is also called a



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brother in a large sense) was bound to marry her. See of this word *name*, Numb. xxvii. 4.

Ver. 7. *And if a man like not to take his brother's wife.*] Here now was a great mitigation of that ancient law, which had been before the time of Moses, that a man might refuse to marry his brother's wife, if he did not like her. Which was not permitted before, as appears by the story of Onan, (Gen. xxxviii.) who married Tamar against his mind (as his behaviour towards her demonstrates), which he needed not to have done, if this permission, which here follows, had been then in use.

*Then let his brother's wife go up to the gate.*] Where the court of judgment sat, as I have often observed. (See xvi. 18.)

*Unto the elders.*] A court consisting of three elders was sufficient to judge in this matter. And it was of no consequence, whether these three were created elders, according to the solemn form among them, by laying on of hands; but it was sufficient, if they were such as they called *elders of the street*, or common men. (See lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 15. and lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 7. n. 3.)

*And say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel: he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother.*] She was to put a bill of complaint against him in these words.

Ver. 8. *Then the elders of the city shall call him, and speak to him*, &c.] He being summoned to appear before them, together with the woman (who they say was to be fasting), and two witnesses at the least, she opened the whole matter. And then the question being asked, whether it were three months since her husband's death (which were to be allowed, to see whether she proved with child or not), and whether this man was next of kin; and a satisfactory answer being returned, the judges laid the law before them, admonished them seriously to consider, on each side, their age, or any disparity or incommodity that might be in their marriage, and accordingly to resolve; and then they asked the man, in express words, whether he would marry her, and raise up seed to his brother. If he stood to his first resolution, as it here follows, and said, *I like not to take her;* then the woman read the words foregoing, ver. 7. *My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel*, &c. and then proceeded to do as follows, ver. 9. (See Selden, in the book forenamed, cap. 14.)

Ver. 9. *Then shall his brother's wife come unto him, in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot.*] From his right foot, as the Hebrew doctors say; which was done, I suppose, as a mark of infamy, for his want of natural affection; which made him unworthy to be reckoned among freemen, but rather deserve to be thrust down into the condition of slaves, who were wont to go barefoot.

*And spit in his face.*] In contempt of him who had despised her. The Hebrew doctors, indeed, expounded this only of her spitting upon the earth, directly before his face, so that the spitting might be seen by the judges. And they give this as a reason, why the king was not subject to this law of marrying his brother's wife, (and they might add the high-priest, Lev. xxi. 13, 14.) because it would have been below his dignity to have had his shoe pulled off (if he had not liked the woman), or to have had her spit before him, as Bartenora's words are: which would have been a better reason, if they had said, it had been very unbecoming for her to have spit in the king's face. See Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 10. and Hackspan, lib. i. Miscellan. cap. 7. n. 8. where he observes, the king was bound to all the six hundred and thirteen precepts, but only this of marrying his brother's wife.

*And shall answer.*] To his peremptory refusal of her.

*And say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house.*] She was immediately to read these words of the law. And then the judges gave her a writing, signifying his renunciation of her, in the manner now related, that so it might be free for any other man to marry her. See the form of it in Selden, lib. i. Uxor. Hebr. cap. 14. where he hath observed certain niceties about the kind of shoe that was to be pulled off, but gives no account why this ceremony was used.

Ver. 10. *And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed.*] As soon as she had loosed his shoe, both the judges, and all the by-standers round about, cried aloud three times, *The shoe is pulled off, the shoe is pulled off, the shoe is pulled off!* And thereupon his family had this name, as a disgrace, for not doing the duty of a brother. Some will have this pulling off the shoe to have been only a mark, that he parted with his right to her; but these words shew that it was in the nature of a brand upon him and his posterity. And so Josephus saith, lib. iv. Archælog. cap. 8. that he went out of the court with a mark of ignominy. Which doth not relate merely to her spitting in his face; for Maimonides saith expressly, (in his More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 49.) that this action (*viz.* of pulling off the shoe, as well as the other) was a foul and ignominious thing in those days, intended to move men to perform the duty of a husband's brother, that they might avoid such reproach. J. Wagenseil hath given us the exact form of the shoe, which was used on such occasions, in his Annotations upon Sota, p. 664. and see 1212. where he commends Leo Modena's account of this whole business; which differs not at all from that which I have given; only I observe that he saith, when the woman taketh off the shoe from the man's foot, she lifts it up on high, and throweth it against the ground; which I take to be a note of indignation and contempt. And he saith also, it was anciently accounted a more laudable thing to take her, than to release her; and imputes it to the corruption of men's manners, and the hardness of their hearts, that now they look only after worldly ends, either of riches or beauty: which makes very few in these days (especially among the Dutch and Italian Jews) to marry their brother's widow. (See his History of the Rites and Customs of the Jews, par. iv. chap. 7.)

Ver. 11. *When men strive together one with another.*] Fall out (as we speak) and fight, either with their fists or sticks, or other weapons.

*And the wife of one draweth near for to deliver her husband out of the hand of him that smiteth him.*] Who had wounded him, and was likely, I suppose, to be too hard for him.

*And putteth forth her hand, and taketh him by the secrets.*] As a sure means to make him let go his hold of her husband, that he might preserve himself.

Ver. 12. *Then thou shalt cut off her hand.*] This was to be done by the sentence of the court, as a punishment for

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her impudence; and for the hurt which, perhaps, the man might have received hereby in those parts whereby mankind is propagated.

*Thine eye shall not pity her.*] The word *her* not being in the Hebrew text, several of the Jews (and Grotius seems to approve their opinion) interpret this law quite otherwise; as if the woman might both take hold of his secrets for the delivery of her husband, and also cut off the other man's hand; and they should not pity him who suffered thus, nor punish the woman, who might do any thing of this nature, to preserve one so dear to her as her husband: but this is a very forced interpretation. Maimonides is a little more reasonable in his exposition of these words, which he will have to signify, that they should lay a fine or a mulct upon her for her immodesty; which is suitable to their interpretation of that law, Exod. xxi. 24. "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth," &c. (See L'Empereur on Bava-kama, p. 198.) But it is an intolerable presumption in Maimonides to say, that if any one interpret this of a proper abscission of the woman's hand, though he pretend to be a prophet, and say, The Lord hath said unto me these words, *Thou shalt cut off her hand,* are to be understood as the words sound (*i. e.* literally as we speak), and do a miracle to confirm it, he is to be looked upon as a lying prophet, and may be put to death, because it is contrary to the constant tradition of their elders. So he writes Seder Zeraim, translated by our famous Dr. Pocock, p. 15. 38. Upon which principle they killed our blessed Saviour.

Ver. 13. *Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights.*] In the Hebrew the words are, *a stone and a stone:* for their weights were then made of stone, as are ours now commonly of lead or brass.

*A great and a small.*] To buy in commodities with the great, and sell them out again by the small; which was then and is now an usual way of cheating.

Ver. 14. *Thou shalt not have in thine house divers measures,* &c.] In the Hebrew, *an ephah and an ephah:* for this was the most known measure among them, by which all the rest of their measures were made. (See Exod. xvi. 36.) From hence it was that Lucius Ampelius thought Mochos, that is *Moses* (who by ancient writers is called Moschos), was the inventor of weights and measures, because he took such pious care there should be no deceit in them, as the most learned Huetius observes in his Demonst. Evangel. prop. iv. cap. 8. n. 16.

Ver. 15. *But thou shalt have a perfect and just weight, and a perfect and just measure.*] Neither too scanty nor too large. See Lev. xix. 35, 36. where all these three verses are sufficiently explained.

*That thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*] Justice, as well as charity, was necessary to prolong their happiness in the land of promise, (xvi. 20.)

Ver. 16. *For all that do such things, and all that do unrighteously.*] All that any way wrong their neighbours.

*Are an abomination to the Lord thy God.*] This is an expression commonly used, to declare God's hatred of all idolatrous practices. (See xviii. 9. 12.)

Ver. 17. *Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when ye were come forth out of Egypt.*] The Jews have framed three precepts out of this and the two following verses. One is, that they should *remember what Amalek did unto them.* Which Maimonides, according to their oral tradition, refers to the *mouth,* that they should always be talking of what Amalek did to them. The second, *not to forget it;* which he refers to their *heart:* that they should never let slip out of their mind the hatred Amalek had to them. And the third, that they should *blot out their remembrance from under heaven, i. e.* utterly destroy them, and leave none of them remaining. But none of the Jews have explained this better than Abarbinel; who, inquiring why such severity was expressed against the Amalekites, when the Edomites, who were of the same race, were dealt withal very favourably, (as we read before, xxiii. 8.) observes four reasons given here by Moses himself, why they should remember, when they were settled in the land of Canaan, and able to effect it, to exterminate this nation: for that is the single precept he gives them in charge; only he bids them not forget what Amalek had done to deserve that heavy sentence long ago passed upon them, and remaining on record, (Exod. xvii. 14—16.) confirmed with a solemn oath, though they were not able to execute it till they were settled in the land of promise. The first of these reasons is, because, whereas men undertake war against others, either to defend their own country, or to subdue their enemies' country, the Amalekites came forth against the Israelites without any such cause; for the Israelites did not pass by their country, and consequently gave them no apprehension of an invasion; nor had the Israelites then possession of any land of their own, which might tempt the Amalekites to covet it, and drive them out of it. But they undertook this war, with a petulant malice, only to bring them into slavery again. Which is the thing here intimated in this verse, *Remember what Amalek did to thee,* &c. Unto which he should have added, that their barbarity was much aggravated, by their assaulting them when they were newly delivered from grievous oppressions, and were unaccustomed to war, and without any provocation.

Ver. 18. *How he met thee by the way.*] This the same Abarbinel takes to be the second cause of God's high displeasure against Amalek: that, whereas it is the custom of all countries, before they begin a war, to denounce it by heralds, shewing the grounds of it, they rose up against the Israelites unexpectedly; which was a piece of the basest treachery. Which he thinks is intimated in these words, *he met thee by the way;* that is, on a sudden, by surprise, without any notice by a declaration of war. He might have added, that they did this when the Israelites were in a journey, and had travelled a great way, and in a wilderness, where they stood in need of refreshment; but were very unfit for fighting. Then, saith one of their rabbins, in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 44. "they came in like a bear in their way, to devour the mother with the children."

*And smote the hindermost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary.*] This he makes the third cause; that they did not offer them a pitched battle, but only fell upon their rear (as we speak), and there cut off such as lagged behind through feebleness and weariness, being unable to march so fast as the rest of their brethren. This is, in a very sober sense, suitable to the use of the word in Josh. x. 19. But what some of the Jews say, that the Amalekites cut off the privy members of certain of the tribe of Dan, in derision of circumcision,



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is disowned by others of them, as having no foundation. See Schickard, in his Jus Regium, p. 112, 113. where Carpzovius observes, this was only a fancy of their *midraschim*, or preachers, wherewith they entertained the people in their sermons, on occasion of the ambiguity of the word we translate *cut off the hindermost*. Which R. Zacharias much better interprets, in Pirke Eliezer, cap. 44. where he makes it to signify all that were behind the cloud (which protected those who were under it), as those who went out of the camp, by reason of some uncleanness, to wash themselves. But this is no more than an ingenious conceit; for the laws about cleansing were not then delivered.

*And feared not God.*] This he makes the fourth cause; that though they feared Israel, whom they durst not look in the face, but cut them off behind, yet they feared not God, who had done such wonderful things for them in Egypt, and brought them thence with a mighty hand, and overthrown Pharaoh in the Red Sea. Which might have made them understand, that he sets up kings and pulls down kings, as Daniel speaks, ii. 21. But instead of considering this, they would have *profaned the glory of the Lord* (as he speaks), by enslaving those whom he had but newly delivered, and continued under the protection of a glorious cloud. Unto all which may be added, that they were originally derived from the same stock with the Israelites; *viz.* from Isaac.

Ver. 19. *Therefore it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath given thee rest from all thy enemies round about, in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*] God did not require them to put this command in execution immediately after they were possessed of the land of Canaan, but after they were well settled there: so that there were some ages passed before they went about it; and then God himself put them in mind of it; or rather strictly enjoined it to be performed by Saul their first king: and we do not find them blamed for not doing it in the time of the judges, (1 Sam. xv. 1—3.)

*Thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.*] So God commandeth Saul in the place now mentioned, *utterly destroy all they have, and spare them not; but slay both men and women*, &c. For by the same justice that one person is cut off, a whole family, or a whole nation, may be utterly destroyed: that other families or nations, seeing or hearing God's judgments upon them, may be moved to flee from that wickedness for which they are punished. They are the words of Maimonides, par. iii. More Nevochim, cap. 41.

If we could believe all that the Talmudists say, we might think there were some among the Jews who endeavoured to mollify the severity of this precept: for they tell a story in Bava-bathra of Joab's master, who taught him to read it thus; Blot out *zechar*, the *male* of Amalek, not *zecher*, the *remembrance*. But at the same time they tell us, Joab thought to have killed him for leading him into an error.

*Thou shalt not forget it.*] This is not a distinct precept, but only a repetition of the foregoing; to imprint it more on their minds and hearts. And accordingly the Jews pretend to have had their hearts so set upon it, that when the officers were about to proclaim freedom from war to those persons mentioned xx. 5, 6, &c. they always excepted the war against the seven nations and Amalek, in which every body was bound to assist.

I shall end this matter with an observation of Abarbinel, that in this paragraph about Amalek, the injunction which God gave to Moses, Exod. xvii. 14. was fulfilled by him: *Write this for a memorial in a book.* No other book, saith he, is hereby meant, but the book of the law, which when Moses wrote, he was bound to mention this precept about Amalek; which he doth in this place. And if we suppose that he immediately wrote a distinct history of this matter, yet he inserted it afterward into the Pentateuch, both here and in the book of Exodus.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Ver. 1. *AND it shall be, when thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and possessest it, and dwellest therein.*] When they had a settled possession of the several inheritances, which fell to their share in the land of Canaan.

Ver. 2. *That thou shalt take of the first of all the fruit of the earth.*] This is not meant merely of the first first-fruits they should have after they were settled in Canaan, but of the first-fruits they should have every year; which being the most desirable (as Conradus Pellicanus here observes) of all other, and coveted by every one, *majori aviditate, with a greater appetite than ordinary*, nature itself directed men to offer them to God, the giver of all good things. And these were distinct from that mentioned Lev. xxiii. 10. being of *all* the fruits of the earth. The principal of which being seven, the Jews commonly say, these only were to be carried to God; viz. *wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives*, and *dates*. Some of the doctors say, the first-fruits of all kind of things whatsoever were due; and a question being raised, whether a stranger was bound to pay them or not, some of them say, no; because they could not use the protestation mentioned ver. 3. But the more common opinion is, that they might both bring first-fruits and use the protestation, because Abraham was also the father of strangers, (Gen. xvii. 5.) And it may be, saith R. Bechai, that is pointed at ver. 11. of this chapter; where it is said, "Thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is among you."

*Which thou shalt bring of thy land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*] In order to which, they say, every owner of land, when he went into his ground, and found any figs, or bunch of grapes, or a pomegranate more forward than the rest, he was to tie a rush about it, and write upon it, *these are first-fruits*. So Wagenseil, and many others, have observed out of the title Biccurim, cap. 3.

*And shalt put it in a basket.*] The quantity of each, they say, was to be at least a sixtieth part. And they might be all put into the same basket, provided they were not mingled, but preserved distinct; barley being laid at the bottom, and then wheat, and next olives, and above them dates, and then pomegranates; and last of all, figs and grapes, being hung on the outside; and leaves of palm, or other trees, put between every kind of first-fruits.

R. Bechai saith, that the rich brought these fruits in baskets of gold and silver, that is, covered with gold or silver (as Maimonides speaks); and we read of the like golden baskets carried by virgins, in the feast of Bacchus at Athens. (See Ezek. Spanhemius on Callimachus's hymn

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to Ceres, p. 733.) Now, if the basket here mentioned was made of these, or any other metal, the Jews say, the priest was to restore it to the owner, when he had emptied it: but if it was a wicker basket, or such-like, the priest had it together with the first-fruits. (See Wagenseil upon Mischna Sota, cap. 7. sect. 3.)

*And shalt go unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose to place his name there.*] The man himself was to go, as the Jews say, with the basket upon his shoulder: and a great company were wont to go together, who met at the chief city of their province. The time of going was at the feast of Pentecost, (Exod. xxiii. 16.) not before, but at any time after, till the feast of dedication, which was in our November: after which they were not accepted. Of the manner of going up with a bullock before them, whose horns were gilt, and head crowned with an olive garland, with music, and singing in the way the first verse of Psalm cxxii. &c. see Wagenseil, in the place abovementioned; and Selden, lib. iii. de Synedriis, cap. 13. n. 3. with Dr. Lightfoot in his Temple Service.

And here I cannot but think fit to note, that the heathen, in all probability, from hence derived the custom of carrying their first-fruits, as a tithe every year, unto the island Delos, where Apollo was supposed to have his special residence. And this not only from the islands thereabouts, and the neighbouring countries, but from all parts of the world; as the Jews we find every where sent, from the countries where they dealt, a sum of money every year, instead of first-fruits and tithes, unto Jerusalem; which privilege the Romans allowed them, after they had conquered them, as Josephus tells us, lib. vii. de Bello Jud. cap. 13. That heathen custom, now mentioned, is expressed by Callimachus, in his hymn upon Delos, in those remarkable words, ver. 278, 279, &c.

> Ἀλλά τοι ἀμφιτεῖς δεκατοφόροι αἰὲν ἀπαρχαὶ
> Πέμπονται· πᾶσαι δὲ χοροὺς ἀνάγουσι πόληες
> Αἵτε πρὸς ἠοίην, αἵ θ' ἕσπερον, αἵ τ' ἀνὰ μέσσην
> Κλήρους ἐστήσαντο, καὶ οἳ καθύπερθε βορείης.

The sense of which is this: *That first-fruits were sent for tithes every year from all countries, not only from the east, and west, and south, but from the north also.* And they were sent with such joy, as the Jews expressed on this occasion; for all cities, he saith, did χορους ἀνάγειν. And so we read in several authors, that there were θεωρίαι, as they called them, *solemn embassies* sent from several people, by chosen persons, unto Delos, to celebrate there the feast of Apollo with music and dancing, &c. Particularly the Athenians, Peloponnesians, and Messenians, &c. of whom see Ezek. Spanhemius, in his Observations on Callimachus, p. 487. And, which is most strange, the Hyperboreans, a very northerly people, sent *frugum primitias* to this island, as Pliny, and I know not how many other authors, testify. Only what he calls the first-fruits of their corn, and such-like things, they call the first-fruits of their *holy things:* as the same excellent person observes there, (p. 490. 492, &c.) Which was done to testify their honour to this god, and for the maintenance of his priests and other ministers, who attended upon him there. For Delos, of itself, was but a barren isle, the soil being dry and stony, and called therefore by Callimachus, ver. 208. δυσήροτος.

There are other footsteps of this among the heathen; the *mystica vannus iacchi,* mentioned by Virgil in his Georgics, being nothing else (according to Servius), but *vas vimineum, a wicker basket,* in which their first-fruits were carried. (See the same Spanheim, p. 495.)

Ver. 3. *And thou shalt go unto the priest that shall be in those days.*] Who was then in attendance at the sanctuary, and particularly appointed to wait for their coming. When they entered the gates of the city, they sung the second verse of Psalm cxxii. "Our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem:" and then they went to the mountain of the temple, and sung the whole hundred and fiftieth Psalm: and as soon as they entered the court of Israel, the Levites began to sing, Psal. xxx. 1. "I will extol thee, O Lord my God," &c.

*And say unto him.*] The following confession in this verse was made by them with the baskets on their shoulders, to stir them up to humility, as Maimonides interprets it. His words are these: "While they were compelled to carry their baskets on their shoulders, and in that manner to proclaim the Divine benefits, it signified that it was a considerable part of God's worship and service, for a man to be mindful of his afflictions and tribulations, when God had given him ease and rest from them. This the law takes care of, in several places; as when it saith, 'Thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant,' &c. with this intention, that he who lived in riches and pleasure, might be secured from the vices which spring from thence, such as pride, haughtiness, apostacy, and the like. According to what is said in this book, viii. 12. 'Lest thou eat, and art full,' &c. and xxxii. 15. 'Jesurun waxed fat, and kicked,' &c. To prevent which, God commanded the first-fruits to be thus offered every year to his Divine Majesty." (More Nevochim, par. iii. cap. 39.)

*I profess this day unto the Lord thy God, that I am come into the country which the Lord sware unto our fathers for to give us.*] This is a thankful acknowledgment of God's faithfulness to his promise, whereby they were put in mind to be faithful unto him, of whom they held this good land, by his gracious and free gift, and held it by this tenure, of paying to him this yearly rent.

Ver. 4. *And the priest shall take the basket out of thy hand, and set it before the altar of the Lord thy God.*] After the foregoing words were said, the basket was taken down from their shoulders, and every one holding his basket by the handle, or the rim of it, the priest put his hands under it, and waved it about, according to the prescription in the law, while the men recited the following words, ver. 5, 6, &c. This waving was a manifest token that it was offered to the Lord of the world, as an acknowledgment that he was in a peculiar manner their Lord and Sovereign, of whom they held this land.

Ver. 5. *And thou shalt speak and say before the Lord thy God.*] Audibly pronounce in the presence of God.

*A Syrian ready to perish was my father.*] Their father Jacob was not a Syrian by birth, for he was born in the land of Canaan. But one and the same person may be said to be of divers countries (as Bochartus hath observed), with regard either to the place of his nativity, or of his education, or of his life and conversation; which occasioned three countries to be ascribed to our blessed Saviour, *viz.* Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Capernaum. (See his Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 5.) Thus Jacob, who was born and bred in

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Canaan, is notwithstanding called a Syrian, because he lived twenty years with his uncle Laban, who was a Syrian, (Gen. xxv. 20.) and consequently Jacob's mother was so, as were both his wives, and all his children, who were born there, except Benjamin. But he is more particularly here called a Syrian, to put them in mind of his poverty, when he went first into that country, and there lived as a servant, under a hard master; which is expressed in these words, *ready to perish*, that is, very poor, and reduced to great straits, being forced to flee from the fury of his brother Esau, and to travel on foot to Padan-Aram, (which was comprehended anciently under the name of Syria, Gen. xxxii. 10.) where he was so cruelly used by his uncle Laban, (xxxi. 7. 39—41.) that Onkelos takes these words, which we translate *ready to perish*, in an active sense, for him that *destroys* another. For by the Syrian here he understands Laban, (who is so called, as I noted before, Gen. xxviii. 5.) as if the meaning were, *the Syrian* (that is, Laban) *sought to destroy my father*. For, as he used him barbarously when he was with him, so he followed after him, when he went away, with a mind to ruin him. And thus Manasseh ben Israel understands it, and many others mentioned by Fesselius, which is the sense also of the Vulgar Latin, *Syrus persequebatur patrem meum*.

*And he went down into Egypt.*] Though he brought him from Laban with great substance, yet as he was still but a sojourner in the land of Canaan, so he was forced by famine to go down into Egypt for sustenance.

*And sojourned there with a few.*] They were but seventy persons, and lived there as strangers. All which they were now bound to commemorate, for their humiliation before God (which I observed before out of Maimonides), which might move them the more to exalt and magnify the mercy of God to them, who had made them (as it follows) a mighty nation. For this confession consists of these two parts; their own unworthiness, and God's great goodness.

*And became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous.*] See Exod. i. 7.

Ver. 6. *And the Egyptians evil-entreated us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage.*] The goodness of God unto them in making them so numerous, was the occasion of sorer affliction, than either they or their fathers had endured. (See Exod. i. 9, 10, &c.) The remembrance of this was exceeding useful, to stir up their gratitude to God, not only for their deliverance from the Egyptian slavery, but bringing them into a country of their own, most plentifully stored with all manner of good things.

Ver. 7. *And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked upon our affliction*, &c.] Having acknowledged their low, and poor, and distressed condition, now they proceed to an acknowledgment of God's wonderful goodness; which appeared the more in relieving them when they were utterly helpless. (See Exod. ii. 23—25. iii. 7, 8.)

Ver. 8. *And the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt, with a mighty hand, and with a stretched-out arm, and a great terribleness*, &c.] See iv. 34. and vii. 19. This is so vehemently inculcated upon them (as Maimonides speaks in the place forenamed), that they should *remember the day they came out of Egypt all the days of their life*, xvi. 3. Exod. x. 2. Which it became them especially to remember at this time, that they might demonstrate the truth of prophecy both concerning punishments and rewards.

Ver. 9. *And hath brought us into this place, and given us this land, even a land flowing with milk and honey.*] As they remember the terrible plagues upon Egypt in the foregoing verse, so they commemorate the singular blessings bestowed upon them in this.

Ver. 10. *And now, behold, I have brought the first-fruits of the land, which thou, O Lord, hast given me.*] Thus they concluded this solemn rite, as they began it, (ver. 3.) with an acknowledgment that they held this land of God as the supreme Lord, and that by his free gift.

*And thou shalt set it before the Lord thy God.*] Having said these words, they left the basket by the altar, as the Jews say, where it had been placed, (ver. 4.) and then the priest set it before the sanctuary, where God dwelt by his special presence there.

*And worship before the Lord thy God.*] They made a profound reverence towards the holy place, by bowing their bodies as low as they could, and so went out of the temple: so the Hebrew word imports. And this outward act of worship, no doubt, was accompanied, in all good men, with humble thanks to God for his benefits, and prayer for the continuance of them.

Ver. 11. *And thou shalt rejoice in every thing which the Lord thy God hath given unto thee, and unto thy house; thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is among you.*] They were to make a feast at the time of offering these first-fruits; and there to entertain the Levites, and the strangers, as well as their own family. These feasts were made out of the provision mentioned, xii. 6, 7. xvi. 10—12. Besides which, the bullock, which went before them when they carried up the first-fruits from their several cities, was offered for a peace-offering, when they came to the sanctuary; as Mr. Selden observes in the place abovementioned, (lib. iii. de Synedr. cap. 13. p. 203.)

Ver. 12. *When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithes of thine increase.*] For there was a second tithe to be paid after the first to the Levites, as was observed above, xii. 6. and is plainly spoken of, xiv. 22, 23, &c. Which the Jews call the *consummation* or *finishing of tithing*, as I observed there, ver. 29. And so these words may be translated, *When thou hast finished all the tithes of thine increase.*

*The third year, which is the year of tithing.*] Every third year, the second tithe beforementioned was to be employed to a peculiar use, (see xix. 28, 29.) as it follows here in the next words. (So the Jews expound it, whose sense our Mr. Mede expresses in a few words.) For two years together they paid the Levites' tithe, and the festival tithe; but in the third year they paid the Levites' tithe, and the poor man's tithe; that is, what was wont in other years to be spent in feasting, was wholly spent every third year upon the poor. (Book i. Discourse xxxii. p. 228.) But there are some that think they were bound every third year to pay this poor man's tithe, besides that to the Levites' and the festival tithe: about which I shall not here dispute.

*And hast given it to the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, that they may eat within thy gates, and be filled.*] According to the commandment, xiv. 29. (See there.)

Ver. 13. *Then thou shalt say.*] As they were every year to make the foregoing profession when they brought their

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first-fruits, so they were to make another profession, which here follows, every third year: "When the course of all manner of tithing (as Mr. Mede there expresses it) was come about."

*Before the Lord.*] This sounds as if they were to make this profession before the most holy place at the sanctuary. Which seems to confute the common exposition of the Jewish doctors, that this tithe of the third year was not to be spent there, but at home, within their own gates. But it may be supposed, that every man was privately to make this solemn profession, as in the presence of God, who knew the truth of what he said. Or rather, that the next time he went up to worship at God's house, he was bound to make this declaration before the Divine Majesty. Which is the most likely interpretation, because these words, *before the Lord*, are always so used in these books. And unless they had been obliged to this, their covetous and cruel disposition might have inclined them to defraud the poor, which by this means was prevented. For though men might have satisfied themselves in omitting this profession, if it had been left merely to their own private consciences, yet when they were bound to come and make it publicly at God's own house, as they could not avoid it, so few would be found so impudently profane, as solemnly to tell a lie to God himself.

*I have brought away the hallowed things.*] Things separated by the Divine commandment from their own private use, for the use of the poor.

*Out of my house.*] From the rest of the fruits of the earth which they had gathered.

*And also I have given them unto the Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow.*] That is, unto the refreshment of the poor. So the Jerusalem Targum paraphrases ver. 2. which is worth the mentioning: "In the third year, which is the year of tithing for the poor, ye shall give the first tithes to the Levites, and then the tithes of the poor to the strangers, fatherless, and widows, that they may eat in their cities, and be filled."

*According to all thy commandments which thou hast commanded me.*] According to the direction beforementioned, xiv. 29.

*I have not transgressed thy commandments, neither have I forgotten them.*] Neither done contrary to God's precepts, nor forgotten to perform them; either by keeping these tithes to themselves, or by bestowing them otherwise than God appointed.

Ver. 14. *I have not eaten thereof in my mourning.*] After the general profession, mentioned in the verse foregoing, that they had brought all hallowed things out of their houses, and employed them as God directed, they were to make three particular professions, which are mentioned in this verse. And, it is probable, they have respect to some idolatrous customs which were in those days: the first of them is, that they had *not eaten thereof in mourning*, or *in lamentation*. For so the Hebrew word *oni* signifies, very bitter grief, and sore mourning. Such the Egyptians made in harvest-time, when they offered the first-fruits of the earth, and kept the feast of Isis with doleful lamentations. So Diodorus Siculus, and other authors, tell us, particularly Julius Firmicus, who severely reproves their folly, or madness rather, saying, *Cur plangitis fruges terræ*, &c. "Why do you bewail the fruits of the earth? Why weep you at the growth of your seed? &c. You should rather give thanks for these things to the most high God, whose bounty is not to be lamented; but bewail rather your own error," &c. If there was such a custom in the world, when Moses lived, it may very well be thought that he taught the Israelites to disclaim such senseless and impious practices. And as the Egyptians, by this mourning, acknowledged Isis, that is, *the earth*, to be the giver of all these good things; so he required God's people to bring in their harvest with the greatest joy and thanks unto the Most High: for there was no joy so great as that of harvest and vintage; directly opposite to the heathen, who kept the feast of Bacchus also with lamentations. (See our learned Dr. Spencer, lib. ii. de Ritual. Hebr. Leg. cap. 24. sect. 1.)

*Nor taken aught thereof for any unclean use.*] As some of the old idolaters were wont to do; who separated some part of the first-fruits for magical purposes, and sometimes for carnal and filthy. So Julius Firmicus informs us, who immediately after the mention of their lamentations, when they gathered the fruits of the earth, asks this question, "Quid addis incestum et adulterium?" Which shews that there were unclean rites which accompanied their offerings; and that they made them minister unto Venus. See the same learned author in the same place, sect. 3.

*Nor given aught thereof for the dead.*] If this be the right translation of the last words, *for the dead*, St. Austin hath given us a likely reason of this clause, which was, to profess they had not imitated the gentiles, who were wont to set meat and drink upon the graves of the dead, as he tells us, Serm. 15. de Sanctis. But it doth not appear that they set any part of their tithe, or first-fruits upon them, nor that they did it only in harvest-time; but rather common bread and wine, which at all times they set upon their graves when they were interred: and therefore it may be translated *to the dead*, (as the same excellent person observes, sect. 3.) And so it is a profession, they had not offered any of the fruits of the earth to heroes (after the manner of the gentiles), particularly to Osiris. For that they honoured them with their first-fruits, appears by a passage in Porphyry, lib. iv. περὶ Ἀποχῆς, sect. 22. where he mentions three laws made by Triptolemus, an ancient lawgiver among the Athenians: one of which is this, Θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, *To worship the gods with the fruits of the earth.* Which Draco thus expounds, as he shews in the conclusion of that book; Θεοὺς τιμᾶν καὶ ἡρῶας ἐγχωρίους ἐν κοινῷ ἑπομένους νόμοις πατρίοις ἰδίᾳ κατὰ δύναμιν σὺν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ ἀπαρχαῖς καρπῶν, &c. *To honour the gods, and the heroes of their country publicly, according to the laws of the nation; and privately, as much as they were able, with speaking well of them, and with the first-fruits, and the annual offerings.* (See Meursius, in his Themis Attica, lib. i. cap. 1.) But however we take this, the giving any part of tithe, either *for the dead*, or *to the dead*, shews there was such a superstitious custom: unto which this clause having a manifest respect, we have reason to think the two former have so likewise.

*But I have hearkened to the voice of the Lord my God, and done according to all that thou hast commanded me.*] Performed all that God required, and done nothing contrary to it. All these words from ver. 13. to this place, were to be spoken with a low and humble voice, because they are a sort of commendation of themselves, and of their own integrity; which is not to be proclaimed aloud. But

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when they made the foregoing profession, at the presenting of their first-fruits, (ver. 5, 6, &c.) they being an acknowledgment of their own meanness and poor beginnings, and of God's infinite goodness in their advancement, they were to lift up their voice, and say aloud, *My father was a Syrian ready to perish*, &c. Thus the doctors resolve in the Gemara of Mischna Sota, cap. 7. in the beginning of it.

Ver. 15. *Look down.*] Have a gracious regard.

*From thy holy habitation from heaven.*] This is an humble acknowledgment of the infinite majesty of God, who, though he was graciously pleased to dwell among them by a glorious symbol of his presence in the sanctuary, yet dwelt in a far more transcendant glory in the heavens, the highest of which could not contain him, as holy men acknowledged, (1 Kings viii. 27. 2 Chron. ii. 6.)

*And bless thy people Israel, and the land which thou hast given us.*] Having performed their duty, they had the greater confidence to beg the continuance of God's mercies to them, and to their country; which it had been presumption to expect, if they had not acknowledged him to be the donor of all the good things they enjoyed in the manner before appointed. For this was the end of all oblations, both of this tithe, and of the first-fruits, and any other, to acknowledge God to be the Lord, *of whom all things come* (as David speaks), *and of whose own we give unto him.* (See 1 Chron. xxix. 11—13, &c.)

*As thou swarest unto our fathers.*] He teacheth them to conclude as they began, (ver. 3.) with a thankful acknowledgment of God's faithfulness to his promise.

*A land that floweth with milk and honey.*] See xi. 9. The Jerusalem Targum paraphraseth it thus, *A land producing fruits as pure as milk, and as sweet and delicious as honey.*

Ver. 16. *This day.*] This refers to the time when Moses spake all these words unto them.

*The Lord thy God commanded thee.*] By me.

*To do these statutes and judgments.*] These two words comprehend the precepts in the foregoing chapters: some of which concern matters of religion, and others of civil government.

*Thou shalt therefore keep and do them, with all thine heart, and with all thy soul.*] Set yourselves sincerely and heartily to the performance of them.

Ver. 17. *Thou hast avouched.*] So the Hebrew word signifies, as Job Ludolphus observes, who renders it, *asseverare, serio affirmare;* being the same with the French word *avouer*, and may be here translated, *thou hast solemnly professed*, or rather *protested.*

*The Lord this day.*] The word *this* is not in the Hebrew (as it is in the foregoing verse), but he saith simply *hajom* (not *hajom hazeth*), *the day*, or *that day;* which signifies the time when Moses delivered these laws from God.

*To be thy God.*] Then they owned him to be their king and governor. For so the name Elohim properly signifies dignity, empire, and authority, as Grotius observes upon Exod. xx. Fortunatus Scacchus, before him, expounds these very words: "Which (saith he) have respect to God as their emperor, who had the supreme government of the commonwealth of Israel, with a right and authority of constituting laws, and giving mandates for the establishing of that government." Sacror. Elæochrysm. par. ii. cap. 52. p. 509. (See Exod. xxiv. 3, 4, &c. and xxxiv. 27.)

*And to walk in his ways.*] By his *ways*, that author understands the moral precepts written on tables of stone.

*To keep his statutes.*] The ritual precepts.

*And his commandments.*] Concerning the duties of his worship and service.

*And his judgments.*] The political precepts belonging to their good government.

*And to hearken unto his voice.*] In all things which he should declare from his oracle, when they consulted it.

Ver. 18. *And the Lord hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people*, &c.] At the same time (for the word *this* is not in the Hebrew), the Lord assured the Israelites that they should be his people, in a special manner, provided they made good their promise of keeping his commandments: for the covenant was mutual. (See Exod. xxiv. 3. 7. xix. 5, 6.) It is observable that the Jerusalem Targum paraphrases these two verses in this manner: "Ye have taken the Word of the Lord to reign over you to-day, that he may be your God, &c. And the Word of the Lord reigneth over you, a people dedicated to his name, as his peculiar," &c. Where *Memra, the Word*, cannot be understood otherwise than of the second Person in the Deity.

Ver. 19. *And to make thee high above all nations that he hath made.*] It is a pious note of Conr. Pellicanus, that there is no greater glory to the faithful, than that they are peculiarly grateful, devoted, dedicated, obedient unto God, as his children.

*In praise, and in name, and in honour.*] These words express his singular kindness to them, in that though all nations were his (being made by him, and he the Lord and governor of them all), yet he promised to have such a special favour to them, that all nations round them should take notice of it, and speak with admiration of their happiness, and the honour he had done them. All this is included in those words beforementioned, Exod. xix. 5, 6. where the last words of this verse are explained, *That thou mayest be a holy people unto the Lord thy God, as he hath spoken.*

All this Moses called to their mind, that it might prepare and dispose them to renew the same covenant with God, before he left them; which he presses upon them in the nine-and-twentieth chapter of this book, after he had given them some other admonitions, and laid before them the blessings and curses that would come upon them, according to their fidelity or falseness in that holy covenant. Which is the subject of the two following chapters.

## CHAP. XXVII.

Ver. 1. *AND Moses, with the elders of Israel commanded the people, saying.*] I observed in the preface to this book, and upon chap. iv. 41. and other places, that Moses did not speak all that is contained in this book at once, but at several times; and that he commonly took the elders to his assistance, as is here expressly affirmed; though some things he spake himself alone to all the people, as I observed upon ver. 1.

*Keep all the commandments which I command you.*] This is a new exhortation to obedience; which he could not press too often, considering the great proneness of this people to break God's laws.

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*This day.*] At this time, and formerly: for it doth not precisely signify *one day;* and the word *this* is not in the original.

Ver. 2. *And it shall come to pass, on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan.*] Here it is evident the word *day* doth not signify precisely the very same day they passed over, but not long after, as soon as they were come to Mount Ebal, (ver. 4.) after the taking of Jericho and Ai, as appears from Josh. viii. 30. For they were to pass over Jordan, *unto the land which the Lord their God gave them* (as it here follows), before they were obliged to do what is here required.

*That thou shalt set thee up great stones.*] It is not said how many; but some fancy there were twelve, according to the number of pillars which Moses employed (Exod. xxiv. 4.) when he made the covenant between God and his people. But, unless we could certainly determine how much of the law was to be written upon these stones, we cannot give a good guess at their number. For if only the ten commandments, fewer than twelve would serve; if the whole book of Deuteronomy, so many are not sufficient. As for the marginal reference in our Bibles unto Josh. iv. 1. it can have no respect to this place; for those twelve stones were ordered to be taken out of Jordan, and left there, where they lodged that night, which was at Gilgal. (See there, ver. 3. 8. 20.)

*And plaster them with plaster.*] That being plain and smooth, they might write what is here commanded upon them, which they could not do while they were rough and uneven.

Ver. 3. *And thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law.*] Many think he means the whole book of Deuteronomy; which, because it is long, *great stones* are ordered to be provided for this purpose. Others think only the ten commandments are here intended, which were the principal *words of the covenant,* as Moses calls this law, xxxix. 1. But Josephus (lib. iv. Archæol. cap. *ult.*) is of opinion, that he means the cursings which here follow from verse 15. to the end of the chapter. Which is no improbable opinion; they containing several select precepts, and the last of them seems to respect the whole law of Moses, ver. 26.

But, however we understand this, it is certain, that, before the use of paper was found out, the ancients, particularly the Phœnicians and Egyptians, were wont to write their minds upon *stones,* as a great many authors testify, mentioned by Huetius, who observes, that this custom continued long after the invention of paper, especially if they desired any thing should be vulgarly known and conveyed down to posterity. See Demonstr. Evang. propos. iv. cap. 2. n. 15. where he observes, that Moses ordered the book of Deuteronomy to be inscribed upon stones. I suppose he means all the *laws* contained in this book (not all the *exhortations* and *historical passages),* which agrees very well with this injunction, that they should write on the stones *all the words of this law.*

*When thou art passed over, that thou mayest go in unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee,* &c.] When they were gone over Jordan to take possession of the land of Canaan, and were come to the place where he directed these stones to be set up, and this inscription made upon them. Which place is particularly named in the next verse. And from these words Fortunatus Scacchus thinks he hath reason to assert, that none of the things forementioned are meant by the *words of this law,* here commanded to be written; but that upon the very top of these *stones* (or the *altar* made of them, as he would have it understood) were written only the words of this covenant, whereby the people of Israel confessed themselves to have received the land of Canaan from God, and to hold it on condition of their obedience unto him. For so he interprets the words *write unto them, in summa superficie.* And to make us know what he means by *the words of this law,* he thinks the following words are added, *that thou mayest go in unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee,* &c. that is, thou shalt declare who brought thee hither, and gave thee possession of this country, and upon what condition; *viz.* that thou shouldest keep the commands given to thee by God in Horeb. And therefore Moses doth not bid them write on the stones the *law of the Lord* nor *the law* absolutely, but the *words of this law.* Where the demonstrative particle *hazoth* limits the sense to the present matter of which he is speaking. Thus he, Myrothec. 2. Sacror. Elæochrysm, cap. 57. where he endeavours to strengthen this interpretation, by observing, that, after this command for writing this law upon the stones, "Moses, and the priests, and Levites, spake unto all Israel, saying, Take heed, and hearken, O Israel, this day thou art become the people of the Lord thy God," &c. (ver. 9, 10.)

Ver. 4. *Therefore it shall be, when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones.*] This phrase, *set up,* seems to imply that they were a kind of pillars erected for this purpose, that the inscription might appear more fairly upon them.

*In Mount Ebal.*] Here the Samaritan Pentateuch hath, *in Mount Gerizim;* which is a manifest corruption, to justify their building a temple there, which they pretend God commanded in these words.

Ver. 5. *And there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God.*] That they might offer sacrifice to God, and renew their covenant with him.

*An altar of stones.*] Upon which Josephus himself fancies the forenamed inscription was to be made; and so the Talmudists also, in Mischna Sota, cap. 7. But it is plain, the stones designed for that use were to be set up before the altar was built; the intention of it being (as I shall shew presently), that they might promise to observe the words which were there written.

*Thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them.*] See Exod. xx. 25.

Ver. 6. *Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones.*] Not hewn, nor polished; whereby all manner of imagery was avoided. Such rustic altars of rough stone, piled one upon another, were in use among the heathen, who seem to have imitated this pattern. The form of one of them Fortunatus Scacchus hath given us out of some ancient monuments at Brixia, related by Octavius Roscius. (See his forenamed book, cap. 59. p. 585.) Such altars the Israelites were permitted to build upon some special occasion, as Gideon and Manoah did, (Judg. vi. 24. 26. xiii. 19.) and Samuel, (1 Sam. vii. 17.) and Saul, (1 Sam. xiv. 35.) and David: (2 Sam. xxiv. 25.) and such an one Moses himself built, (Exod. xxiv. 4.) And as Moses there set up twelve pillars, according to the number of the tribes of Israel, when they entered into covenant with God at Horeb, so the forementioned author thinks, at the con-



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firmation of it, when they came into Canaan, they built not twelve altars, but heaped up twelve stones, which made one altar, without any cost at all bestowed upon it. And thus Elijah took twelve stones, and on a sudden built an altar with them, when he endeavoured to bring the Israelites back again into the covenant of God, (1 Kings xviii. 31, 32.)

*And thou shalt offer burnt-offerings thereon.*] As they did at Horeb, (Exod. xxiv. 5.) and as Joshua did when they came into Canaan, and had built the altar here commanded, (Josh. viii. 31.) which *burnt-offerings* were an acknowledgment of God's sovereign dominion over them; and that they held this land of him, as their supreme Lord, from whom they had received it. They kept the Passover as soon as they came into Canaan; but we read of no altar erected, nor burnt-sacrifices offered, till they came to Ebal.

Ver. 7. *And thou shalt offer peace-offerings.*] So Moses also did at Horeb, as we read in the forenamed place, (Exod. xxiv. 5.) and so Joshua did when they came into Canaan. And they were offered as thanksgivings to God, for bringing them into that good land.

*And shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God.*] The sacrificers had a part of the peace-offerings given them, that they might feast with God, in token that they were in covenant with him. (See Lev. vii. 5.) And therefore God ordered these sacrifices to be offered, as soon as they came to this place, where his law was to be inscribed upon the stones beforementioned; that the people of Israel, to whom God promised the possession of the land of Canaan, upon the condition that they observed his laws, might confirm their covenant with him, when they took possession of it; and be given to understand, that God, having performed what he promised, expected that they should be mindful of their obligation, faithfully to observe his Divine laws. So that this altar may be properly called (as the same Fort. Scacchus terms it), "the altar of confederation, or confirmation of the covenant, into which they had entered at Horeb."

Ver. 8. *And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly.*] So that they might be read easily. How the Talmudists came to fancy they were written in seventy languages, I cannot imagine: but such a conceit there is among them, as Mr. Selden observes, lib. ii. de Synedr. cap. 9. p. 396. for so many languages they think there were in the world. And Bartenora saith, God would have every body that came into their country learn these truths, if he pleased; and no pagan be able to excuse his ignorance, by saying, He had no means to know them. (See Joh. Wagenseil upon Sota, cap. 7. sect. 5. annot. 5.)

Ver. 9. *And Moses, and the priests, and the Levites, spake unto all Israel, saying.*] It seems, by this, that Moses and the elders (ver. 1.) took the priests and Levites to their assistance, to deliver what follows.

*Take heed.*] Attend to what we say. The Hebrew word is found no where else; and seems to belong to their outward posture.

*And hearken.*] So as to consider.

*This day thou art become the people of the Lord thy God.*] These words following after the precept concerning building an altar of confederation, must be understood as relating unto that; and therefore the word *this day* doth not respect only that particular day on which Moses spake this to the people, or the day wherein God declared it, but the day upon which such an altar, for the renovation of the covenant, was to be erected, when Joshua was to speak these words: for then, and not before, the blessings were pronounced to those that observed the laws of God, and the curses against those that broke them; and God had not fulfilled his promises to them till they came over Jordan. Therefore he did not order this altar to be built, and these sacrifices to be offered, whereby they obliged themselves to him, and became his people by a new bond, till their entrance upon the possession of what he had promised.

Ver. 10. *Thou shalt therefore obey the voice of the Lord thy God, and do his commandments,* &c.] These words, and the foregoing, are plainly words of a mutual covenant between God and them. Into which covenant they entered three times: first, at Horeb, (Exod. xxiv.) and then just before Moses died, twenty-ninth of this book, (ver. 1. 12, 13, &c.) and when they were come into Canaan, (Josh. viii. 30, 31, &c.) And because the Divine laws delivered to them were confirmed and ratified at all these times, therefore it is that those laws are so frequently called by the name of the *covenant;* and when they transgressed them, they are said to *break this covenant.*

Ver. 11. *And Moses charged the people the same day, saying.*] Which charge, I suppose, the elders, with the assistance of the priests and Levites, delivered throughout the whole camp of Israel, (ver. 1. 9.)

Ver. 12. *These shall stand upon Mount Gerizim.*] This is a mountain upon which Samaria was afterward built.

*To bless the people.*] By saying *Amen,* when they heard the blessings read by the priests. For it was not the people who stood upon the mountain that blessed (*i. e.* pronounced the blessings), but the priests below, (ver. 14.)

*When ye are gone over Jordan.*] See ver. 2.

*Simeon, and Levi, and Judah, and Issachar, and Joseph, and Benjamin.*] These six tribes, who stood upon Mount Gerizim (*i. e.* upon the top, and on the descent of it down to the bottom), were all descended from the sons of free women, Leah and Rachel; and therefore many think appointed to bless, which was more honourable than to curse.

Ver. 13. *And these shall stand upon Mount Ebal to curse.*] This was a mountain opposite to the other; and there lay a valley between them. Abimelech seems to have been made king upon this mountain, when he had killed all the sons of Gideon but Jotham: for it was done *in the plain* (or *by the oak) of the pillar, which was in Shechem;* that is, by this pillar, on which the curses of the law were written, (Judg. ix. 6.) whereupon Jotham got upon Mount Gerizim, and then cursed the men of Shechem. Which shews, that the tops of these mountains were not so far distant one from another, but what was said upon the one might be heard by those who were on the top and the sides of the other. And yet there was such a valley between them, that they could not presently come at Jotham to apprehend him, but he had time to flee, and get away, after he had spoken his apologue.

*Reuben, Gad, and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali.*] Four of these were children of the handmaids: and Reuben had lost his dignity by going up to his father's bed; and Zebulun was the youngest of Leah's sons; who was therefore chosen, rather than any of the other, for this less honourable employment. For otherwise there would not have been an equal number of tribes upon each mountain.

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Ver. 14. *And the Levites.*] That is, the priests, who are often called *the priests the Levites;* particularly in that very place, where we read of the execution of this command, Josh. viii. 33. And the Levites were among those that stood upon Mount Gerizim, (ver. 12.) who did not pronounce the blessings, but answered *Amen* to them. Yet the Gemara upon Sota, cap. 7. sect. 23. will have it, that as many of the Levites as were fit to minister (that is, all from thirty to fifty years of age, who were fit to carry the ark) stood round about the ark with the priests; the rest of the Levites being upon Mount Gerizim, with the other tribes appointed to have their station there.

*Shall speak, and say unto all the men of Israel.*] The same Gemara rightly gathers, that the ark with the priests were below in the valley between the two mountains; because it is said, in the place beforementioned, that all Israel and the elders stood about it, Josh. viii. 33. Which could not have been, unless it were placed between the two mountains whereon they stood, upon both sides, from the top to the bottom.

*With a loud voice.*] That every one that stood on the side or top of the mountains might hear what they said, the priests being placed so, in several parts of the valley, that their voice might reach them all. For which end they were advanced, perhaps, upon a pulpit, (as Ezra afterward was, Neh. viii. 4.) and a signal likewise given when they should say *Amen.*

Ver. 15. *Cursed be he that maketh any graven or molten image.*] The people upon the mountains being to bless as well as curse, the Mischna, in the title Sota, (cap. 7. sect. 5.) rightly explains this; that, first, the priests, turning their faces towards Mount Gerizim, proclaimed with a loud voice, *Blessed be the man that maketh not any graven,* &c. unto which all the people that stood there answered *Amen;* and then turning their faces towards Mount Ebal, they said these words, *Cursed be the man that maketh,* &c. to which they that stood there made the same answer. See also the Jerusalem Targum, which paraphrases these words in the same manner.

*An abomination unto the Lord.*] Which is odious, and far to be removed from the presence of the Lord, as the same Targum interprets it.

*The work of the hands of the craftsman.*] A mere device of men, and therefore not to have Divine worship given to it of any sort.

*And putteth it in a secret place.*] Though he was not a public declared worshipper of images, yet, if he did it privately, in some closet of his own house, or in any other secret place, to conceal his wickedness, though he escaped the punishment of the law, which sentenced open idolaters to death, yet he could not escape the vengeance of God.

*And all the people.*] The forenamed Mischna and Targum say, that the people on both mountains answered *Amen,* both to the blessings and to the cursings; which doth not agree with what goes before, ver. 12, 13.

*Shall answer and say, Amen.*] Express their consent to it. For the word *Amen,* as the Talmudists say in Schebuoth, hath sometimes the force of an oath, sometimes only declares consent and approbation, and sometimes is used for the confirmation of any thing. An example of the first they think there is in Numb. v. 22. and they allege this place for an example of the second; and for the third, Jer. xxviii. 6.

Ver. 16. *Cursed be he that setteth light by his father and mother.*] It is observed by interpreters, that, as the precept of honouring parents stands next to the commandment concerning the honour that is due to God, (Exod. xx. 12.) so the curse pronounced against those who dishonoured them, is here placed next to the curse against worshippers of images. And as idolaters were to be put to death, so were those that cursed their parents, (Exod. xxi. 17. Lev. xx. 9.) And I may add, from the foregoing words, that though they did it ever so secretly, they lay under this curse.

*And all the people shall say, Amen.*] But before this curse was pronounced, they had said *Amen* to the blessing opposite to it [*Blessed is he that setteth not lightly by his father and mother*], as was observed in the foregoing verse. And the same is to be noted concerning the following curses, which were preceded with a blessing, till they were all ended.

Ver. 17. *Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark,* &c.] Against which there is an express precept in the foregoing part of this book, xix. 14. And Pellicanus well observes, that, by this particular instance of God's displeasure against injustice, they were deterred from all encroachments upon their neighbours' possessions.

Ver. 18. *Cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way.*] By giving him wrong directions, or misleading him. (See Lev. xix. 14.) Some apply this to giving pernicious advice to simple people; which is certainly worse than misguiding of the blind, because it leads men into sin, as well as into danger.

Ver. 19. *Cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and widow.*] These three I observed before (xxiv. 19.) are commonly put together, as a paraphrase on the word *poor:* whose cause God himself undertakes to plead, (x. 18. and see Exod. xii. 21, 22.) And, therefore, all good lawgivers have taken special care of them, particularly of orphans; concerning whom Plato ordains, that the conservators of the laws should be ἀντὶ γενητόρων, *instead of their natural parents,* and look after them so well, that they should not fare the worse for wanting their fathers. (See lib. viii. de Legibus, fol. 926, &c. edit. Serrani.)

Ver. 20. *Cursed be he that lieth with his father's wife.*] See xxii. 30. and Lev. xviii. 8.

Ver. 21. *Cursed be he who lieth with any manner of beast,* &c.] Exod. xxii. 19. and Lev. xviii. 23. This some of the Jewish doctors, out of an unaccountable pride, apply to the vulgar sort of their own nation (whom they call *the people of the earth*), as if they were no better than beasts, with whom they were not to marry.

Ver. 22. *Cursed be he that lieth with his sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother,* &c.] This hath been explained also, Lev. xviii. 9.

Ver. 23. *Cursed be he that lieth with his mother-in-law,* &c.] See Lev. xviii. 17. and xx. 14.

Ver. 24. *Cursed be he that smiteth his neighbour secretly,* &c.] Though it be but with his tongue, whereby he wounds the fame of an absent person. But the word *smite* is often used for killing, (Exod. xxi. 12. Lev. xxiv. 17.) Of which, if a man was guilty, though he committed the murder so

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secretly, that he could not be put to death by the sentence of the judges, yet he lay under this heavy sentence of God.

Ver. 25. *Cursed be he that taketh a reward to slay an innocent person*, &c.] This seems to have respect to the judges, who for money not only gave wrong judgment in other causes, but condemned those that were not guilty to death. (See Exod. xxiii. 7, 8. and in this book, x. 17. xvi. 19.)

Ver. 26. *Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them.*] The word we here translate *confirm*, is more plainly translated *perform*, in 1 Sam. xv. 11. And so it certainly signifies here; the performing of what God commands, being a kind of establishment of the law, as disobedience is a subversion of it, and, as far as lies in the offender's power, an abolishing it, and taking it away. Therefore, the apostle exactly translates the sense of these words, Galat. iii. 10. *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things*, &c. where the apostle adds the word *all* (as the LXX. and the Samaritan did, even in St. Jerome's time), to expound *the words of this law*, to signify not merely all that is contained in these blessings and curses, *but all things which are written in the book of the law*. So that whether this whole book (*i. e.* all the laws contained in it) were to be written upon the pillars, or only these blessings and cursings, the matter comes to the same issue; because all that is contained in this book is comprehended in this last curse, yea, all that is contained in the whole law of Moses. Therefore, it is not very material neither, whether only these curses and blessings were recited upon Mount Gerizim and Ebal, or the whole law of Moses, from one end to the other, about which the Jews themselves differ. But they that are of the latter opinion, think it well grounded upon Josh. viii. 33. where we read how Joshua carefully performed what Moses here enjoined. And, that his words might not be forgotten, Moses seems to have ordered the continuance of this solemnity every seventh year, in the twenty-ninth chapter of this book, ver. 10, 11, &c.

The Mischna in Sota (which I have often mentioned), concludes this matter with these words: When the blessings and the cursings were ended, they brought stones and built an altar, which they plastered over, and wrote upon them all the words of this law in seventy languages. But I have shewn before, that the stones on which the law was written were different from the altar, and were erected before the building of the altar. The Gemara there adds, (cap. 7. sect. 24.) That every one of the Israelites there present stood bound one for another (that is, for the whole company), that they would observe these laws. Which I know not how they extract out of Moses's words; but their doctors frequently mention it in their books, and make this pious use of it, that, by virtue of this security which they gave for each other, every man was bound to reprove his neighbour if he saw him offend, unless he was content to undergo the punishment which was threatened unto the breach of God's laws, and come under the curse, (Lev. xix. 17.) And unto this they apply those words, *they shall fall one upon another*, (as we truly translate, Lev. xxvi. 37.) as if they signified, *every one shall fall by his brother*, that is, by his brother's crimes: for we all promised, say they, (in the Gemara Sanhedrin, cap. 3. sect. 6.) and engaged one for another; and so from that time were punished one for another.

END OF VOL. I.

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